PRAKRIT JAIN INSTITUTE RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS SERIES
VOLUME I

General Editor
DR. NATHMAL TATIA, M.A., D.Litt.,
DIRECTOR, RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF PRAKRIT,
JAINOLOGY & AHIMSA, MUZAFFARPUR (BIHAR).

STUDIES IN THE BHAGAWATĪSŪTRA

By
Dr. Jogendra Chandra Sikdar,
M.A., Ph.D.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF PRAKRIT, JAINOLOGY & AHIMSA,
MUZAFFARPUR (BIHAR)
1964

Price: Rs. 18.67

Published on behalf of the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology & Ahimsa, Muzaffarpur (Bihar) by Dr. Nathmal Tatia, M.A., D.Litt., Director.

Printed in India at The Tara Printing Works, Varanasi,

Dedicated To

MY REVERED GURUS

LATE DR. PRABODH CHANDRA BAGCHI,

M A D LITT (PARIS)

Ex Vice-Chancellor, Visva Bharati University (Santiniketan)

And

DR. HIRALAL JAIN,

M A LL B D LITT

Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Institute of Languages and Research University of Jabalpur,

Ex Director, Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology & Ahimsa, Muzaffarpur (Bihar)

The Government of Bihar established the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa at Vaishali (Muzaffarpur) in 1955 with the object, *inter alia*, to promote advanced studies and research in Prakrit and Jainology, and to publish works of permanent value to scholars. This Institute is one of the five others planned by this Government as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted. Apart from the Vaishali Research Institute, four others have been established and have been doing useful work during the last twelve or thirteen years, namely, the Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga, the K P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna, the Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad for Research and Advanced Studies in Hindi at Patna, and the Nalanda Institute of Research and Post-Graduate Studies in Buddhist learning and Pali (the Nava Nalanda Mahavihara) at Nalanda (Patna).

As part of this programme of rehabilitating and reorientating ancient learning and scholarship, this is the Research Volume I, which is the thesis of Dr. J. C. Sikdar, Research Scholar of the Institute, approved for the Ph.D. degree of Bihar University. The Government of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fulness of time.

GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

The *Viyāhapannatti* (*Vyākhyāprajñapti*) or the *Bhagavatī*, as it is popularly known, is the fifth Aṅga of the Jaina scripture. It is encyclopædic in contents and gives a comprehensive glimpse of the various aspects of the life and society of ancient India over a range of several centuries beginning from the 6th century B. C. One can learn from it everything about ancient Jainism–its traditions and history, dogmatics, the life and activities of Lord Mahāvīra and his attitude towards other sects and thinkers and his peculiar method of exposition and expression. The *Bhagavatī* is also a veritable promptuary of legends and parables.

Dr. Sikdar studied the text of the *Bhagavatīsūtra* with great care and patience under the guidance of two very eminent savants–the late Dr. P. C. Bagchi and Dr. H. L. Jain. His studies spread over a number of years, primarily at Viśva-Bhāratī University and later on at our Institute. As a devoted student of Ancient Indian History and Culture, he could with ease glean data from the Ardhamāgadhī text and weave them into a connected history of the various aspects of our ancient culture, political and economic conditions, social life and education. He has also made an attempt to study the evolution of Jaina philosophical thought as embodied in the *Bhagavatīsūtra* and also the literary value of the work.

The tenets of Jainism in their original character have been fully preserved in the *Bhagavatīsūtra*, and their critical study, with a special reference to the corresponding ideas and concepts of Buddhism and other contemporary schools of thought, still remains a desideratum. Brilliant researches have been made in the field of general history and culture, but the specific issues and their bearing on our history and culture still remain obscure. This is even more true in the field of tenets and dogmas. Scholars should therefore come forward to evaluate the philosophical con-

tents of the *Bhagavatīsūtra* and reconstruct a connected history of Jaina thought from this specific point of view.

We are thankful to the author for allowing us to include the book in our Research Publication Series.

Vaishali
Mahāvīra Jayantī,
April 24, 1964.

NATHMAL TATIA
Director
Research, Institute of Prakrit,
Jainology and Ahimsa

PREFACE

The *BhS* (*Viyāhapaṇṇati*, Skt. *Vyākhyāprajñapti*) is one of the most important works of the *Arddha-Māgadhī* literature of the Jaina Canon, largest in volume and encyclopædic in its contents covering various aspects of Jaina Philosophy and History in the form of dialogues between Lord Mahāvīra and his disciples. This work has not so far been exhaustively studied from the literary, historical and philosophical points of view, although Weber, Jacobi, Winternitz and other scholars made brief appraisal of it in course of their reviews of the Jaina canonical literature It throws important light upon many problems of Indian History and Thought by revealing various aspects of them, such as, political, social and economic conditions, education, different religious systems, the Jaina tradition, nature of faith and preconditions and mythological figures before Lord Mahāvīra, contemporary history, cosmology, cosmography, evolution of Jaina Philosophical Thought, etc. A critical study of the book was a desideratum and I have attempted in this thesis prepared for the Ph. D. degree of the Bihar University, to fulfil the want in my humble way.

The thesis has been divided into eleven chapters. The first chapter deals with the position of the *BhS* in the *Arddha-Māgadhī* Canon and its relation to the other canonical works. It reveals that this text is a mine of varied contents treasured in a consolidated form, as found in all the works put together, convering all aspects of *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha-Dharma* and its philosophy. It shows that the *BhS* is integrally connected with the other canonical works and occupies the highest position in the *Arddha-Māgadhī* Canon.

The second chapter treats of the authorship and date of this canonical work and makes a brief analysis of its contents, language and style. It is revealed here that in the first stage the *BhS* along with the other canonical works, was derived

from the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra and given a shape of *grantha* by Sudharma-Svāmin and then it was transmitted by him to Jambū-Svāmin, in the second stage it was collected and fixed in the *Pāṭalīputra* Council and in the third stage it was codified by the *Vallabhī* Council as the tradition says. But the core of the contents and subject-matter of the work existed long before the time of Lord Mahāvīra. Its language represents the Middle-Indo-Aryan stage, so its contents and language lend support to the assignment of its date to the period beginning from the 6th Cen. B. C. to the 6th Cen. A. D. As regards the technique of its style, it originates with prose containing the thoughts and activities of various religious teachers and conveys them through the language of the people in their own natural style.

The third chapter deals with the political conditions as reflected in the *BhS* and reveals that there was no political unity among the different states of India under one sovereign ruler during the time of Lord Mahāvīra. A quadrangular struggle among the four leading states, viz. *Kāśī*, *Kośala*, *Vaiśālī*, and *Magadha* went on and led to the two great devastating wars called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka-Saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusala-Saṅgrāma* for establishing their respective political and economic supremacy over North-East India. In these wars king Kūṇika came out successful by inflicting a crushing defeat on the confederate army of *Kāśī*, *Kośala*, nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis* led by king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī* This chapter throws an important light upon the polity and administration by giving an idea of the political theory and administration of both monarchical and non-monarchical forms of government, running side by side. The former was based on the principle of divine kingship and the latter on the social contract theory, as they are reflected in the monarchical state of *Magadha*, and the Republics of the *Licchavis* of *Vaiśālī* and of the *Mallakis* of *Pāvā* and *Kuśīnārā*.

The fourth chapter treats of the social conditions as reflected in this canonical work by making a critical study of *Varṇas* (social orders), *Āśramas* (stages of life), social structure and family

relations, popular belief in dreams, celebrations of birth and marriage, position of women, dresses and ornaments, art of decoration, houses and articles of furniture, sports and amusements, manners and customs. It reveals that the society was based on the traditional *Varṇāśrama Dharma* but the social order was not very rigid, as it is evidenced by the fact of the racial synthesis of various Indian tribes and foreign nationals, such as, *Kirātas*, *Barbaras* (Indian tribes), *Pārasīs*, *Arabs*, *Siṁghalīs*, (foreign nationals), etc., in the evolution of Indian civilization. The spirit of *Varṇāśrama Dharma* illustrated itself in the system of life into stages, for spiritualism dominated in the individual, social, political, religious and secular aspects of the people's life of that period.

The fifth chapter makes a study of the economic conditions as reflected in the Bhagavatī Sūtra by revealing that the economic structure of its society stood on agriculture, arts and crafts, labour and capital, industry, trade and commerce, roads and communications and banking business. As regards the general economic conditions of the people it is found that there was a small number of rich persons in comparison with the economic standard of those days and that of the present time. A current of poverty flowed beneath the surface of much opulence of social wealth and prosperity.

The sixth chapter deals with education of that period by making discussion on the conception of education, its system, art of writing, language and literature, science and arts. It reveals that education was based on the unity of thought and action, knowledge, right attitude and right conduct. Its ideals and aims were self-control, building up of moral character, physical, mental and intellectual development, theoretical and practical knowledge in different branches of learning to make an individual capable of shouldering the responsibilities of the worldly affairs and discharging both temporal and secular duties by holding before him the goal of life—*Mokṣa* (liberation). So the system of education was academic and vocational, because a balance was maintained between the individual and secular aspects of life. This spiritual

background of education made itself realize that the human life and body, material enjoyment of objects of Nature were transitory and belonged to the mundane world and the soul to the spiritual one.

The seventh chapter treats of the existence of various leaders of thought and their philosophical and religious systems as mentioned and described in the *BhS* viz. *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma*, *Ājīvikism*, other schools and sects, such as, *Kriyāvādins*, *Akriyāvādins*, *Ajñānavādins*, *Vinayavādins*, *Parivrājakas*, *Vānaprasthas*, *Carakas*, other *Tīrthikas*, the order of Lord Pārśvanātha, that of Jamālī, the first schism in the *Nirgrantha* order led by him, deities, supernatural powers and elements, etc. It depicts a picture of ancient India of the period of this canonical work, when the habitual religion of the people was in its degrees and forms in clash and adjustment with the higher religions preached by various schools of thought, while the common people followed their traditional faiths and customs.

The eighth chapter deals with the historical data found in this work and its bearing upon the history of the time—the life of Lord Mahāvīra, his contemporary kings, clans, tribes and races. It throws fresh light upon the parentage of the Master by revealing that he was the son of Devānandā, the *Brāhmaṇī* of *Brāhmaṇa-kuṇḍagrāma*. Lord Mahāvīra appears to have erected a great edifice of *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma* on a solid metaphysical foundation by systematizing the fundamental principles of this religion laid down by his predecessors.

The ninth chapter makes a study of cosmology, cosmography and historical geography as found and described in the *BhS* with the corroborative evidences of the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical sources of information.

The tenth chapter throws an important light upon the contribution of this canonical work to the evolution of Jaina philosophical thought by dealing with Jaina Metaphysics, Psychology, Epistemology, Ethics, Logic and the doctrine of *Karma* and liberation as revealed herein. It gives an exposition of the

metaphysical principles in general and the doctrine of matter in particular, containing an idea of the atomic theory, and reveals the relation of Metaphysics with Physics by dealing with the six fundamental substances of the Universe, viz. *Dharma* (principle of motion), *Adharma* (principle of rest), *Ākāśa* (space), *Jīva* (soul), *Pudgala* (matter) and *Addhāsamaya* (time). It shows that the metaphysical inquiry goes beyond the aspects of Physics.

The section of this chapter dealing with ethics reveals that the unlimited possession of wealth and its unrestricted enjoyments have not been commended as final according to the ethical principles laid down in this canonical work, for the forces of desire and enjoyments lead man to the mad lust for wealth and consequent suffering. So it lays a great emphasis on the principle of non-possession (*aparigraha*).

The eleventh chapter makes the estimation of the value of the *BhS* from the literary, historical and philosophical points of view and reveals that its value lies in the fact of its service to mankind with its thought-provoking and wisdom evoking principles of truth of life and Nature, amply and brilliantly expressed in thoughts evolved by the rational ideas of Lord Mahāvīra.

The critical study of the *BhS* was assigned to me in July, 1954 by my late revered teacher, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Vishva-Bharati University at Shantiniketan where I served as Research Scholar-cum-honorary lecturer for about three years. There I made free study of some Jaina canonical works in general and the *BhS* in particular. After the sudden death of Dr. Bagchi on the 19th January, 1956, naturally I could not get the proper guidance at proper time; still I resolved myself to continue the studies in the same subject as an academic duty as assigned by him. Fortunately I got timely help from Dr. Hiralal Jain, M. A., LL. B., D. LITT., then Director, Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Muzaffarpur, Bihar. It is he who kindly gave me a seat as Research scholar in the Institute in March, 1957, to continue my studies in the same subject under his mature

guidance. A regular scheme was drawn up with his help and guidance. Before starting the study topicwise I made a free translation of the *BhS*. Then I went deep into the subject according to the scheme. In the day-to-day progress of my studies my revered teacher, Dr. H. L Jain, guided me in dealing with the problems that arose by taking regular classes for the advancement of my work under his paternal care. I had to face the difficulty for not finding some of the necessary reference-books, journals, periodicals, etc., in the library of the Institute, as it was then newly established Research Institute and most of the reference-materials were unavailable in the market.

In this connection I feel called upon to acknowledge my deepest gratitude to my Guruji, Swamin Swatmananda, Shri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Burdwan, and Dr. Dhirendra Mohan Datta, the retired Professor of Philosophy, Patna University, for their encouragement in the pursuit of my studies and researches. I refrain from the vain attempt to praise my revered teacher and guide, Dr. H. L. Jain, because my feelings of attachment and gratitude for him are too deep for utterance. In one word only I say he has transformed my life in the field of learning with his intellectual majesty combined with his benevolent heart and able guidance. I am very grateful to my revered teacher, Dr. Nathmal Tatia, M. A. D. Litt., Director, Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Muzaffarpur for his act of kindness to get my Ph. D. thesis published by this Institute with great interest.

I am much indebted to my dear friend and colleague, Research Scholar, Sri K. R. Chandra for his invaluable help with his intelligent suggestions and sweet company in working out my thesis. I am also thankful with gratitude to my first dear fellow brother, Śri Vimal Prakāsh Jain, M. A Lecturer, Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa for his arduous work in assisting me in abbreviating my thesis for publication and reading the proofs. I am also indebted to Shri Atulnath Sinha and Shri Nandkishore Prasad, Research Scholars, for preparing the Index. In this connection I remember

also my sister, Meera with affection for giving me fresh strength and energy by her constant inspiration in my hard task to complete the thesis. I place on record my debt of gratefulness to the institute for the award of a Research Scholarship to me for the prosecution of my studies and the publication of my thesis.

Mahāvīra Jayantī JOGENDRA CHANDRA SIKDAR
Friday, the 24th April, 1964.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

Pages

Position of the Bhagavatī Sūtra in the Arddha Magadhī Canon. Its inter-relation to the other canonical works. 1-30

Section I. Position of the Bhagavatī Sūtra in the Arddha-Māgadhī Canon.

" II. Inter-relation of the Bhagavatī Sūtra to the other canonical works.

CHAPTER II.

Its authorship and date. Examination of the internal and external evidences, such as, linguistic and literary as well as historical. 31-61

Section I. Authorship and date of the Bhagavatī Sūtra.

" II. Analysis of the contents.

" III. Language.

" IV. Style.

CHAPTER III.

Political Conditions. 62-145

Section I. Political disunity.

" II. Factors of political conditions.

" III. Polity and Administration.

" IV. System of Administration.

" V. Structure of Government.

" VI. Function of Government.

" VII a. Administration of Justice.

" b. Army.

" c. Ethics of War.

" VIII. Inter-state Relation.

" IX. Gaṇa-polity as revealed in the Bhagavatī Sūtra.

CHAPTER IV.

Pages

Social Conditions. 146-267

Section I. Varṇa (Social order).
" II. Āśrama (stage of life).
" III. Social structure and Family Relations.
" IV. Dream, Pregnancy and Celebrations of Birth and Marriage.
" V. Position of Women as depicted in the Bhagavatī Sūtra.
" VI. Food and Drink.
" VII. Dresses and Ornaments, Houses and Articles of Furniture.
" VIII. Sports and Amusements, Manners and Customs.

CHAPTER V.

Economic Conditions. 268-326

Section I. Agriculture.
" II. Arts and Crafts.
" III. Labour and Capital.
" IV. Trade and Commerce.
" V. Roads and Communications.
" VI. General Economic Conditions.

CHAPTER VI

Education. 327-387

Section 1. Conception of Education, Educational system, Art of writing, Language and Literature.
" II. Science and Arts.
" III. Biology.
" IV. Astronomy and Mathematics.
" V. Military Science.
" VI. Fine Arts (Architecture, Art, Painting, Music, Dance, Drama, etc.).

CHAPTER VII

Pages

Various leaders of thought and their philosophical and religious systems mentioned and described in the Bhagavatī Sūtra. 388-464

Sectian I. Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma

„ II. Religious Vows and Austerities.

„ III. Religious Rules for the Nirgrantha Monks and Nuns.

„ IV. Classification of the Nirgrantha Monks.

„ V. Āgāra or Śrāvaka Dharma and Aśrutvā Kevalin.

„ VI. Ājīvika Sect—A brief-sketch of the life of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra the Ājīvika leader.

„ VII. Doctrine of Ājīvikism.

„ VIII. Other Schools and Sects.

„ IX. Deities.

„ X. Supernatural power of the Monks and Supernatural Elements.

CHAPTER VIII.

Historical data found in the Bhagavatī Sūtra and its bearing upon the history of the time. ... 465-517

Section I. Life of Lord Mahāvīra.

„ II. Kings.

„ III. Clans.

„ IV. Tribes and Races.

CHAPTER IX

Cosmology, Cosmography and Geography ... 518-554

Section I. Cosmology.

„ II. Cosmography.

„ III. Geography—Janapadas (States), Towns and Cities, Hills and Rivers.

CHAPTER X

		Pages
Contribution of the Bhagavatī Sūtra to the evolution of Jaina Philosophical Thought.	...	555-607
Section I. Jaina Metaphysics.		
„ II. Jaina Psychology.		
„ III. Jaina Epistemology.		
„ IV. Jaina Ethics.		
„ V. Jaina Logic.		
„ VI. Doctrine of Karma.		

CHAPTER XI

Value of the Bhagavatī Sūtra from the literary, historical and philosophical points of view.	...	608-626
Section I. Literary value of the Work.		
„ II. Historical value of the Work.		
„ III. Philosophical value of the Work.		
Bibliography	...	627-638
Index	...	639-658

System of transliteration adopted in the Work

VOWELS

अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ऋ	ऌ
a,	ā,	i,	ī,	u,	ū,	ṛ,	ḷ,
		ए	ऐ	ओ	औ		
		e,	ai,	o,	au.		

CONSONANTS

क्	ख्	ग्	घ्	ङ्	च्	छ्	ज्	झ्	ञ्
k,	kh,	g,	gh,	ṅ,	c,	ch,	j,	jh,	ñ,
	ट्	ठ्	ड्	ढ्	ण्	त्	थ्		
	ṭ,	ṭh,	ḍ,	ḍh,	ṇ,	t,	th,		
	द्	ध्	न्	प्	फ्	ब्			
	d,	dh,	n,	p,	ph,	b,			
		भ्	म्	य्	र्	ल्			
		bh,	m,	y,	r,	l,			
			ळ्ह्	व्	श्				
			ḷh,	v,	ś,				
			ष्	स्	ह्				
			ṣ,	s,	h,				
				ं	ः				
				ṁ,	ḥ.				

The straight form of the diacritical mark has been used in this work to indicate the long ā, ī & ū.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. G. I.	...	Ancient Geography of India.
Antagaḍa	...	Antagaḍadasaō.
Anu. Sū	...	Anuyogadvāra Sūtra.
Anu. Ṭī	...	" Ṭīkā.
Ācā.	...	Ācārāṅga.
A. I.	...	Ancient India.
A.R.A.S.I.	...	Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India.
A.S.I.R.	...	Archaeological Survey of India—Reports.
Āva. Cū.	...	Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi.
Āva. Nir.	...	" Niryukti.
Āva. Ṭīkā.	...	" Ṭīkā.
BhS.	...	Bhagavatī Sūtra
B.K.S.	...	Book of the Kindred Sayings.
Bṛh. Bhā.	...	Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya.
C.H.I.	...	Cambridge History of India.
C. L.	...	Carmichael Lectures.
Comm.	...	Commentary.
C. I. I.	...	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C. A. G. I.	...	Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.
Daśa Sūtra	...	Daśavaikālika Sūtra.
Daśa Cūrṇi	...	" Cūrṇi.
D. P. P. N.	...	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names.
Dīgh. N.	...	Dīgha-Nikāya.
Dīgh. Comm.	...	" " Commentary.
D.K.A.	...	Dynasties of the Kali Age.
E. R. E.	...	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Ep. Ind.	...	Epigraphia Indica.
H. and F.	...	Hamilton and Falconer's translation of Strabo's geography.
G.O.S.	...	Gaekwad Oriental Series.
H. C.	...	Hindu Civilization.
Hari.	...	Harivaṁśa (Purāṇa).
H. A. I.	...	Hindu Administrative Institutions.

Ind. Ant.	...	Indian Antiquary.
I. H. Q.	...	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Jambu. Sū.	...	Jambūsūtra.
Jāt.	...	Jātaka.
J. Gr. S.	...	Jaimini Gṛhya Sūtra.
J.A.O.S.	...	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.S.B.	...	" " the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.I.S.O.A.	...	" of the Indian Society and of the Oriental Art
J.R.A.S.	...	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.D.L.	...	" of the Department of Letters.
J.R.I.	...	Jūnāgaḍha Rock Inscription.
Kalpa.Ṭīkā.	...	Kalpa Sūtra Ṭīkā.
L.A.I.	...	Life in Ancient India.
Manu.	...	Manu-śmṛti.
Mbh.	...	Mahābhārata.
M. V.	...	Mahāvastu.
Mārk. Pu.	...	Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.
M. R. E.	...	Minor Rock Edicts of Aśoka.
Nārada.	...	Nārada-Smṛti.
Nāyā.	...	Nāyādhammakahāo.
Nirayā.	...	Nirayāvaliyā Sutta.
Niśī. Cū.	...	Niśītha Cūrṇi.
N. R.	...	Nākhsh-i-Rustam (Inscription).
Ovā. Su.	...	Ovāiya Sutta.
Paṇṇa.	...	Paṇṇavanā Sutta.
Paṇha. Ṭīkā	...	Paṇhavāgaraṇa Ṭīkā.
Peta. Comm.	...	Petavatthu Commentary : Ed. by E. Hardy, P. T. S. London, 1901.
P. T. S.	...	Pāli Text Society.
Pkt.	...	Prākṛita.
P. H. A. I.	...	Political History of Ancient India—Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury.
Rāmā.	...	Rāmāyaṇa.
Rāya. Su.	...	Rāyapaseṇiya Suya.
R. V.	...	Ṛg-Veda.

Skt.	...	Saṁskṛta.
Sū. Ṭī.	...	Sūtrakṛtāṅga Ṭīka.
Sūya.	...	Sūyagaḍa (Sūtrakṛtāṅga).
S. B. E.	...	Sacred Books of the East.
S. B. M.	...	Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra.
Sumaṅga.Vi.	...	Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī.
Sāmañña.	...	Sāmaññaphala Sutta.
Taṇḍula.	...	Taṇḍula Veyāliya.
Uttarā. Sū.	...	Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.
Uttarā. Ṭi	...	Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā.
Vinaya.	...	Vinaya-piṭaka.
Vasu.	...	Vasudeva-hiṇḍi.
Vāyu.	...	Vāyu-Purāṇa.
Viv.	...	Vivāga Suya.
Vya. Bhā.	...	Vyavahāra Bhāṣya.

FIRST CHAPTER

Position of the Bhagavatī Sūtra in the Ardha-Māgadhī Canon. Its inter-relation to the other Canonical works.

FIRST SECTION

Position of the BhS. in the Ardha-Māgadhī Canon

The *BhS* (*Viyāhapaṇṇatti*, Skt. *Vyākhyāprajñapti*) is one of the most important works of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon of the Jainas. It is largest in volume, exceeding all the volumes of the ten *Aṅgas* put together and encyclopaedic in its contents covering various aspects of Jaina Philosophy and History in the form of conversations between Lord Mahāvīra and his disciples, Goyama Indabhūī and others and the members of the heterodox sects as existing during his period.

The study of this work has thrown light upon many problems of Indian History and Thought, more particularly in the field of Jainology. It is the mine of informations regarding various aspects of History and Culture, such as, political, social and economic conditions, education, different systems of religion, political history, cosmology, cosmography, Geography and evolution of Jaina Philosophical Thought which are rarely embodied in any of the Āgamas in such a consolidated manner.

Besides these, the *BhS* presents in a graphic manner a more vivid picture of the life and work of Lord Mahāvīra as ascetic and teacher, his relationship to his disciples and contemporaries and his dignified dynamic and divine personality than any other canonical work. It throws light upon the mythological figures before him, such as, Munisuvrata, Vimala, etc., Jaina traditions, and nature of faith and preconditions to those prevailing during the period of the Master. Here, side by side with the appearance of supernatural beings and the demonstration of the spiritual power of Lord Mahāvīra, are depicted the purely human traits as revealed in the scene of his accidental

meeting with his former mother, Devānandā, the *Brāhmaṇī* at the *Bahuśāluka Caitya* in *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma*[1].

It is first necessary to make a brief survey of the contents of the other works of the Ardha-Māgadhī canon in order to determine the position of the *BhS* among them.

This canonical text traces back the origin of the Āgamas at the time of the first Tīrthaṅkara, Lord Ṛṣabhadeva, by recording that there were twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras beginning from Lord Ṛṣabhadeva upto Lord Varddhamāna (i.e. Lord Mahāvīra)[2]. Of these twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras twenty-three were the Jināntaras[3] (i.e after the first one). During the time of the first and last eight Jināntaras there was the non-destruction (i e. existence) of *Kālika-Śruta*, while at the time of the middle (or intermediate) seven Jināntaras there took place the destruction of *Kālika-Śśruta* (Kālikaśrutasya ekādaśāṅgīrūpasya vyavacchedaḥ)[4] and at the period of all Jināntaras there was the destruction of *Dṛṣṭivāda* "Savvatthavi........... Vocchinne Diṭṭhivāe".[5]

Lord Mahāvīra has said: "In Jambūdvīpa in Bhāratavarṣa the *Pūrvagata Śruta* will follow in the Avasarapiṇī Kāla of my one thousand years, i.e. upto one thousand years from my time, whereas the *Pūrvagata Śruta* of the remaining Tīrthaṅkaras in the *Avasarpiṇī Kāla* followed upto numerable times and that of some of them continued up to innumerable times".[6]

It is further stated that Arhats are invariably 'Prāvacanī', while *Pravacana* is twelve *Gaṇipiṭakas*, viz. *Āyāra* (*Ācārāṅga*) *Sūyagaḍa* (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*), *Ṭhāṇāṅya* (*Sthānāṅga*), *Samavāyāṅga*, *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* (i e. *Vyākhyāprajñapti*, *Bhagavatī Sūtra*), *Nāyadhammakahāo*, *Uvāsagadasāo*, *Antagaḍa* (*Antakṛta*), *Anuttarovavāiyadasāo*, *Paṇhavāgaraṇa*, *Vivāy-suya* and *Diṭṭhivāya*.[7]

It is clear from these evidences that the oldest part of the canon according to the tradition as recorded in this

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 382.
[2-5] *Ib*, 20, 8, 678.
[6] *Ib*, 20, 8, 679
[7] *BhS*, 20, 8, 682.

Canonical work is represented by the fourteen *Pūrvas* or the former scriptures and the twelfth *Aṅga, Dṛṣṭivāda*, now regarded as lost. The knowledge of those *Pūrvas* also gradually became extinct within one thousand years after the Master's demise.

Table of the contents of the *Pūrvas* preserved in the *Nandī Sūtra*[1] are as follows: (1) *Uppāya* (*Utpāda*), (2) *Aggāṇīya* (*Aggāṇīya* = *Agrāyaṇīya*), (3) *Viriyappavāya* (*Vīryapravāda*), (4) *Atthinatthippavāya* (*Astināstipravāda*), (5) *Nāṇappavāya* (*Jñānapravāda*), (6) *Saccappavāya* (*Satya-pravāda*), (7) *Āyappavāya* (*Ātmapravāda*), (8) *Kammappavāya* (*Karmapravāda*), (9) *Paccakkhāṇappavāya* (*Pratyākhyāna-pravāda*), (10) *Vijjāṇuppavāya* (*Vidyānupravāda*), (11) *Avaṁjha* (*Avandhya*), (12) *Pāṇāu* (*Prāṇāyuḥ*), (13) *Kiriyāvisāla* (*Kriyāviśāla*) and (14) *Logabindusāra* (*Lokabindusāra*).

According to the tradition they formed a vast volume of the sacred literature and the present Āgamas are said to have been extracted from one single small section.

It is recorded in the *BhS* that Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, the *Ājīvika* leader took his doctrine from the eight *Mahānimittas* (eight great causes) which were a portion of the *Pūrvas* (*aṭṭhaviha-Puvvagaya*)[2] (i. e. *Vijjāṇuppavāya*)[3]. So the *Pūrvas* were older than Lord Mahāvīra, as it is known from the fact that there are frequent references to them in this canonical work as existing even in the time of Munisuvrata[4] and Dharmaghoṣa, a disciple's disciple of Vimala, the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara[5].

There appear to be two traditions of the *Pūrvas*, viz. *Daśapūrvas* (ten *pūrvas*), and *Caturdaśa* Pūrvas (fourteen *Pūrvas*) as recorded in the *Dhavalā* (*Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*) vol. 8.

"Namo dasapuvviyāṇaṁ[6] (Salutation to Daśapūrvīs)
Namo Coddasapuvviyāṇaṁ[7] (Salutation to Caturdaśapūrvīs)."

1 *Nandī Sūtra*, (S. 57). 2 *BhS*, 15, 1, 539.
3 *Dhavalā* Vol. VIII, p. 52. (*Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Dr. H. L. Jain)
4 *BhS*, 8, 2, 618. 5 *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
6 Introduction to *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama-2*., Dr. H.L. Jain 12, p. 54.
7 *Ib*, 13., p. 54.

It is known from this *Dhavalā* that the learning of the reader of the *Srutas* ended with the completion of the study of the tenth *Pūrva* and he received the worship of the goddesses, *Rohiṇī* and other 500 *Mahāvidgās* and *Aṅguṣṭhaprasena* and other 700 *Alpavidyās*. If he did not fall from the moral path out of greed, he was entitled to Jinahood.

The *Pūrvas* related controversies held between Lord Mahāvīra and his rival teachers. The Master wanted to combat the opinions of other religious leaders belonging to heterodox sects in defence of the doctrines he professed. So there was no more necessity of these discussions after his demise. This led to the composition of the new canon and the old one was in neglect and went into oblivion.

Weber thinks that "the development of the *Śvetāmbara* sect had arrived at a point where the diversity of its tenets from those embodied in the *Dṛṣṭivāda* became too visible to be passed over." So[1] the *Dṛṣṭivāda* was neglected, but Jacobi holds by contradicting this view that the *Digambaras* who have lost the *Pūrvas* and the *Aṅgas* also, maintain that the *Pūrvas* existed even after the completion of the new canon.

Of the existing *Āgamas* the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* gives an exposition of the disciplinary and monastic rules in the two Books called *Srutaskandhas* (*Suyakkhandha*). The *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* deals with the faith and heretical doctrines, viz. those of one hundred and eighty *Kriyāvādins*, eighty-four *Akriyāvādins*, sixty-seven *Ajñānikas*, thirty-two *Vainayikavādins*. It shows what the religious life should be in general and how it leads to liberation.

The *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* treats of substance (*Dravya*)[2] from different points of views (*Sthānas*), for example, division of time beginning from the unit of *Āvalikā* upto *Śirṣaprahelikā*, then

[1] S. B. E. (Vol. xxii) Introduction, p. XLVI. see also Indian *Antiguary*, Vol. XVII.

[2] *Sthānāṅga Sutra*—(S. 727) section-10. It can be compared with the contents of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* of the Buddhists.

to *Utsarpiṇī*. The '*Yugaṁ*' has been placed between the year and century as intermediate gradation and the quinquennial yuga is thereby still used as a system of calculation.

It makes references to seven schisms[1] along with the names of their leaders and the centres of their origin, viz. 1 *Bahurayā* (*Bahuratā*), 2 *Jīvapadesiyā* (*Jīvapradeśikā*), 3 *Avvattiyā* (*Avyaktikā*), 4. *Sāmucchеiyā* (*Sāmucchedikā*) 5. *Dokiriyā* (*Dvikiriya*), 6. *Terāsiyā* (*Trairāśikās*), and 7. *Avaddhiyā Abaddhikā*) and the seven religious teachers of these seven schisms were Jamāli, Tīsagutta, Āsādha, Āsamitta, Gaṁga, Chalua and Goṭṭhāmāhila, having their respective centres of origin (*uppattinagarāim*) in *Śrāvasti*, *Ṛsabhapura* (*Usabhapura*), *Siyabiyā*, *Mithilā*, *Ullukātīra* (*Ullugatīra*) *Pura*, *Aṁtarańgī* and *Daśapura*.

The *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*[2] is the fourth *Aṅga*, the first part of which gives an exposition of substance and thus supplements the preceding third *Aṅga*. The last part contains the extent of divisions of the separate *Aṅgas* with their respective names and a summary of the twelfth *Aṅga-Diṭṭhivāya* and it furnishes some legendary data on the eminent personalities of the *Nirgrantha* Order, e g. Kunthu and others and about the lunar and *Nakṣatra*, computation of time and the quinquennial yuga, eighteen kinds of script (*Baṁbhī livi*, etc.) forty-six *mātrikāpadas*, season of the lunar year and seventy-two kinds of *kalās* (arts of learning).

The *Nāyādhammakahāo*[3] is composed of two books, the first consists of a series of edifying stories containing moral teachings and the second contains a number of pious legends. These two books are closely inter-related to each other.

The *Uvāsagadasāo* mainly deals with the lessons concerning the *Upāsakas* (lay disciples) like Ānanda of *Vāṇijyagrāma*[4], Saddālaputta of *Polāśapura*,[5] etc. Its first chapter is the most

[1] *Ib*, (S. 587). [2] *Samavāyāṅga*.
[3] *Nāyādhammakahāo–Nāyā and Dhammakahā*.
[4] *Uvāsagadasāo*–1. [5] *Uvāsagadasāo*–7.

important, because it furnishes in a systematic way the rules of observance of a Jaina layman, while the other books only provide illustrations.

The *Antagaḍa* deals with the legend of pious princes, etc. who are striving after the attainment of liberation through death by inanition (*Saṁlekhanā*). It refers to the sections in the fifth[1] and sixth *Aṅgas*[2], Candanā, Prasenajit, etc.

The *Aṇuttarovavāiyadasāo* is a collection of legends of saints like the preceding one, each of whom attained the highest (*anuttara*) heavenly world by their meritorious acts.

The *Paṇhavāgaraṇa* (the work containing questions with their replies) deals with the principles of Jaina morals in ten sections comprising two parts—the first of which treats of '*Āśrava*' influx of karma-matter into soul which is thus attached to *Karma*; the second prescribes the rules in regard to the function which enables the soul to stop (*saṁvara*) the influx of *karma*-matter and leads it to liberation.

It also makes reference to some foreign tribes—*Milikkha jāti*, such as *Kunti*, *Saga*, *Javaṇa*, etc.'[3] *Jupiter*, the *Moon*, the *Sun*, *Venus*, *Saturn*, *Rāhu*, *Dhūmaketu*, *Mercury*, *Mars*, etc.

The *Vivāga Suya* consisting of two books[4] (ten chapters) furnishes only illustrations to the preceding work. It proves by a series of legends what recompense is prescribed for straight conduct and what punishment is laid down for the violation of moral prescription. It contains legends of good and evil deeds.

Of the twelve *Upāṅgas* the *Uvavāiya* (*Aupapātikv*)[5] *Suya* is divided into two parts. The first contains a sermon of Lord Mahāvīra on the Law in general, partly *āgāradharma* (householders' religion) and partly *anāgāradharma* (*monastic religion*)

[1] *BhS*,, 11, 11, 430.
[2] *Nāyādhammakahāo*—(The material upto the taking of vows of Goyama).
[3] *Paṇhāvāgaraṇā*—S. 4.
[4] *Vivāga suya-Duhavivāga* & *Suhhvivāga* (*Vipāka Sūtra*).
[5] *Ovavāiyā*, S. 74-100.

delivered in *Campā* which was under the rule of king Kūṇika, the son of Bimbhisāra (Bimbisāra). The second part deals with the successive rebirths and conditions of deliverance. In the central part there is the mention of heterodox sects, such as, *Parivrājakas* (*Parivvāyagā*), *Kaṇha-Parivvāyagā*, *etc.* and eight representatives of each class from the *Brāhmaṇa* caste. "Tattha Khalu ime aṭṭha-māhaṇa-parivvāyagā bhavaṁti Kanne ya, Karakanti ya, ammaḍa, etc."

It refers to the female attendants belonging to different tribes, such as, *Cilāiyā* (*Kirātas.*), etc. and alludes to eighteen unnamed *deśībhāṣā* (local dialects), other sects, such as *Annautthiyā* (*Anyatīrthikas*), *terāsiyā* (*Trairāśikas*), seven schisms—*Bahuragā*, *Jīvapadesiyā*, (*Jīva-pradeśikā*) *Dokiriyā* etc.

The *Rāyapaseṇiya* (*Rājapraśnīya*)[1] contains questions of the king, Pāesi and equally furnishes some reply on the subject of re-incarnation of soul and its relation with the body. This *Upāṅga* also gives an account of the former birth of Sūriābha Pāesī and his future birth as Daḍhapaiṇṇa and it also refers to the foreign peoples.

The *Jīvābhigama* consisting of ten sections[2] enumerates and classifies the diverse species of animated beings, e. g. divviha upto dasavviha and at last gives a description of the universe by furnishing some astronomical data, such as, the number of the suns, moons, stars, etc. in each of the dvīpas (island-continents).[3]

The *Paṇṇavaṇā Suya* having thirtysix chapters (or sections)[4] contains an ethnographic sketch according to which men are divided into two categories, viz. *Ārya* (noble) and *Mleccha* i.e. barbarians and it enumerates twenty-five and a half Aryan countries.[5] Besides, this *Upāṅga* treats of different forms, conditions of life, etc. of beings (*Jīvas*). Lastly it mentions eighteen kinds of script, viz. *Baṁbhī* upto *Polimdī*.[6]

[1] *Rāyapaseṇiya.*
[2] *Jīva. pratipattis.* [3] *Ib.*, 3rd *Pratipatti.*
[4] *Paṇṇavaṇā.* V. 4, 7, 36 *sayas.* : *Paṇṇavaṇā ti Samugghae.*
[5] *Ib.*, 1, 1 (36-37). [6] *Ib.*, 1, 37, 55a.

The fifth and seventh *Upāṅgas*, namely, *Sūriyapaṇṇatti* and *Caṁdapaṇṇatti* contain a description of the suns, the moons etc. by giving an exposition of Jaina Astronomy.

The *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti*,[1] the sixth *Upāṅga* describes *Jambūdvīpa* as the habitat of men and it is interfused with many legends. It enumerates seventy-two kinds of Kalās (arts of learning). The conclusion of this work ends in its reference to the sun, the moon, stars, the extent of their vimānas, and Mars and Saturn as belonging to the lunar court.

The eighth to twelfth *Upāṅgas* are *Nirayāvaliyā* or *Kalpikā*, *Kappāvaḍaṁsiā* (*Kalpāvataṁsikā*), *Pupphāo*, *Pupphacūlāo* (*Puṣpa cūḍā*) *or Pupphacūliā* and *Vaṇhidasāo* (*Vṛṣṇidaśā*). Each of them except the last one (12 ch.), having ten chapters contains legends about the after world, destiny of ten princes fallen in a battle.

Thus the *Nirayāvaliyā Sūtra* contains a description of hells and the future births of the ten princes, Kāla and others, the step-brothers of king Kūṇika in the fourth hell as a result of their participation in the war called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*. Here it furnishes the historical data about this war, king Kuṇika and imprisonment of his father, Seniya-Bimbisāra.

The *Kalpāvataṁsaka* deals with the account of the ten sons of the ten princes, Kāla and others, all of whom were converted to *Śramaṇa Dharma* and attained their respective heavens.

The *Pupphiyā* (*Puṣpikā*) discusses the topic of the ten gods, viz. the moon, the sun and others, who paid their homage to Lord Mahāvīra by making their appearance to him from their celestial worlds. Thereupon the Master relates the story of their former births in which they were initiated to *Śramaṇa Dharma* by Lord Pārśvanātha and devoted to the study of eleven *Aṅgas*, commencing with *sāmāyika*.

The *Pupphacūlāo* treats of ten other accounts of similar character of ten goddesses, namely, *Śrī*, *Hrī*, *Dhṛti* and others.

[1] *Jombuddīvapoṇṇatti*.

The *Vaṇhidasāo* (Vṛṣṇidaśā) also deals with similar legends of the twelve princes of the *Vaṇhi* race (Vṛṣṇi race), such as, Nisadha (Niṣaḍha), Mahāniṣaḍha, etc. It treats of the history of Niṣaḍha, son of Balarāma and nephew of Kṛṣṇa in *Bārāvaī* (Dvārāvatī). In his previous birth he was said to have been devoted to the study of the eleven Aṅgas commencing with *sāmāyika* under the tutorship of Siddhattha.

The ten *Paiṇṇas* (Prakirṇakas) which form the third group of the texts of the Āgamas are "melanges" small treatises of verse starting precisely with some points of discipline, ritual, or mythology. They are as follows :

(1) *Cañsaraṇa* (Catuḥ Śaraṇa), four refuges in 63 verses, namely (a) *Ṣaḍ-āvaśyaka* and the *Sāmāyika* which enumerates six daily observances necessary for adopting a life devoid of sin, (b) *Pratikramaṇa*, the manual of confession, (c) *Pratyākhyāna*-(renunciation) (or review of general discipline), (d) *Caturviṁśatistava vandanās* which glorify the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras and pay homage to their virtues.

(2) The *Āura-paccakkhāṇaṁ* (Āturapratyākhyāna), composed in 70 verses with an insertion in prose after verse 10, treats of the supreme renunciation.

(3) The *Bhattaparinnā* (Bhaktaparijñā) reminds the monks of the way they should prepare themselves for death.

(4) *Saṁthāraga* (Saṁstāraka) (the pallet of straw)—It gives in detail a particular point of the death ritual, preparation for the saintly death (*paṇḍitamaraṇa*). It describes the bed of grass or straw on which the dying monk should spread himself for meditating on the truth taught by the Master.

(5) The *Taṇḍulaveyāliya*—(Tandulavaikālika), a treatise on philosophy composed in the form of dialogue between Gautama Indrabhūti and Lord Mahāvīra gives successively the state of foetus in the womb of the mother (*dans la matrice*), the birth of the child, the diverse state of existence, the rital functions and the maladies[1] in which a man falls. The text is partly in prose and partly in verse.

[1] *Taṇḍulaveyāliya*-31 : Bala : Kiḍḍa upto Sāyanī ya dasamā-Kāladasā. See *Dasaveyāliya*-v. 10.

(6) The *Candāvijjhaya* containing 174 verses is a work on the general discipline indicating the qualities which the teachers and disciples should have, the rules of conduct to follow in diverse circu mstances of life and at last the manner in which one should prepare himself for the holy death.

(7) The *Devindatthava* (Devendrastavas) containing about 292 verses in Pkt. enumerates, classifies and describes different gods.

(8) The *Gaṇivijjā* (Gaṇitavidyā) is a short treatise of Astrology in 86 verses on the hours and days, constellations, planets as well as the favourable and nefast signs and on horoscope.

(9) The *Mahāpaccakkhāṇa* (Mahāpratyākhyāna) is a general formula of confession and of renunciation, etc. in 142 verses.

(10) *Vīratthava* (Vīrastava) contains in 43 verses different names of the Jina, the hero who has vanquished all obstacles to freedom.

Next come the *Cheda Sūtrās*—Books of "decision" or "statutes" the contents of which refer to the clergy and rules of conduct prescribed for them, though there is a large admixture of subsidiary matter of a legendary character, e.g., the entire *Kalpa Sūtra*. The first two rules according to the existing order refer to the expiation and penances (*prāyaścitta* and *tapas*) while the rest contain general matters refering to discipline. They are as follows :—

(1) *Nisīha* (20 books) (Nisītha, Niṣedha, Nisīthādhyayana). It contains rules prescribed for the monks and nuns for leading their lives according to them.

(2) *Mahānisīha* (6 sections)—This work discusses the teachings of Gautama Indrabhūti on transgress (*Salla*) and punishment (*Pāyacchitta*).

(3) The *Vavahāra* (ten *uddeśakas* or books) is the third *Cheda Sūtra* which treats of prescriptions and interdictions for the Jaina monks and nuns. The first *Uddeśaka* deals with—*Parihāraṭṭhāpaṇaṁ* (parihāra-paristhāpana a kind of conduct) witha regard to 1, 2, 3, or 4 monks. The second with relation of two fellow monks (*Sāhammiya*), the third with teacher and

disciples, the fourth with the *merā* (maryādā) of the saints (*Sāhūṇam*), the fifth with the *merā* (maryādā) of *Samjātis*, the sixth with the mischances, the seventh with the *avagrah* (lordship) of kings, etc. (*rājādīnām*), the eighth with the *avagrah* of co-religionists or fellow monks (*Sādharmikāvagrha*), the ninth with *Āhāra* (meal or food). and the tenth with *abhigraha* (vow).

(4) The *Āyāradasāo* (or *Dasasuyakkhanda* -Daśaśrutaskandha) is the fourth *Chedasūtra* containing ten *uddeśakas* They treat of regulations pertaining to the *Vinya* (moral training), the course of life and the discipline of the laity and monk (*Śrāvaka* and *sādhu*).

The eighth is the *Kalpa Sūtra* which deals with the legends of Lord Mahāvīra and other religious leaders and the rules of conduct for the Yatis (monks). The ninth *dasāo* called *Mohaṇijjaṭṭhānaṁ* contains legends and a sermon of the Master delivered in *Campā* under the rule of king Koṇiya (Kuṇika) on the topic '*Mohaṇijjaṭṭhāṇāim*' the causes which lead to the assimilation of *Mohanīya-karma* into the embodied soul.

The tenth *dasāo* called *Āyatiṭṭhāṇa* deals with the sermon of Lord Mahāvīra on the distraction of the mind of all monks and nuns except Indrabhūti and Candanbālā by the splendour of king Seṇiya and queen Cellanā during their attendance to his religious discourse.

(5) The *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra*, having six uddeśakas treats of ordinances for the Jaina monks and nuns in regard to that of which is proper (*kappai*) and that which is not, such as, restrictions regarding food, apparatus, etc.

The *Nandīsūtra* and the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* are the two miscellaneous works—the former consisting of three sections contains a versified list of Tīrthaṅkaras, of the Gaṇadharas and thirty other teachers and then in prose a theory of knowledge and a classification of the works constituting the Siddhānta. This last part is most precious document for the history of the Jaina Canon.

The *Anuyogadvāra* seems to be another redaction of the *Nandīsūtra* dealing with a theory of knowledge and a classi-

fication of the canonical texts. It is in the form of questions and answers, in prose and verse mixed without having any subdivisions in chapter.

Of the four *MūlaSūtras* (1) the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* teaches the young monk his principal duties and furnishes him against dangers which befall an ascetic career. It is not probably composed by a single author but rather constituted of a series of tenets selected from the traditional literature and arranged according to a certain order.

(2) The *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* in its original text does not exist but only a versified exposition called *Niryukti* (*Nijjutti*) is incorporated into a later canon in 20 chapters. The *Niryukti* deals with ten oompulsory observances for the monks and contains also legendary data on the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras and some informations on the discipline of Lord Mahāvīra as well as on the first schism.

(3) The *Daśavaikālika* is a manual of discipline in ten chapters followed by two appendices.

(4) The *Piṇḍaniryukti* contains the information on the cause of hunger and the nature and kind of food to be taken.

The *BhS* also contains all these varied contents in a consolidated form as embodied in all the above mentioned canonical works put together and touches upon every aspect of *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma* and its philosophy.

In agreement with the *Acārāṅga Sūtra* this fifth *Aṅga* gives an exposition of the disciplinary and monastic rules,[1] observance of vows,[2] *samitis*, (rules of conduct),[3] *guptis* (self-control)[4] begging rules[5] for the *Nirgrantha* monks and nuns, rules prescribed for them in regard to the acceptance[6] and taking[7] food by them and other rules, such as, *Lāghaviḱaṁ* (a little quantity of article should be kept), *Appiccha* (a little

[1] *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 3.
[2] *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 2; *BhS* 15, 1, 541; 18, 10, 647 etc.
[3-4] *Ib*, 2, 1, 91. [5] *Ib*, 1, 3, 30; 8, 6, 333; 15, 1, 541.
[6] *Ib*, 8, 6, 333-34.
[7] *Ib*, 7, 1, 268, 69, 70; 14, 8, 525; 5, 6, 210.

desire of a monk), *Amucchā* (non-delusion)[1], *Akohattva* (angerlessness),[2] etc.[3]

Like the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* this canonical work deals with true faith (unflinching devotion to and faith in Guru), as it is explained thus: That which is spoken by the Jinas is true without any doubt (Tameva saccaṁ nisaṁkaṁ Jiṇehiṁ paveditaṁ). He who bears it in mind practises it and returns from the other opinions to the view promulgated by the Jinas, is a true devotee and worshipper of the instructions of the Jinas (evaṁ maṇaṁ dhāremāṇe Jāva bhavati).[4]

The *BhS* also mentions heterodox sects,[5] such as, the *Ājīvikas*,[6] *Vainayikas*,[7] *Parivrājakas*,[8] *Carakas*,[9] *Vānaprasthas*,[10] *Tāpasas*,[11] *Jamālī's sect*,[12] followers of Lord *Pārśvanātha's* order,[13] other *Tīrthikas*,[14] etc.

The *BhS* preaches what the religious life should be in general and how it leads one to perfection, as the heretical doctrines have so many pitfalls that one should follow the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra to save himself from the down fall into them.[15]

The *BhS* deals with the substances from different aspects[16] as they are treated in the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* and it gives an exposition of them like the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* and mentions the twelve Aṅgas and twenty-four Tīrthāṅkaras by their names.[17]

In agreement with the *Nāyādhammakahāo* this fifth *Aṅga* contains some edifying stories containing moral teachings, e. g.

1 *BhS*, 10, 2, 400. 2 *Ib*, 1, 9, 74.
3 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 3.
4 *BhS*, 1, 3, 31. 5 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 8.
6 *BhS*, 11, 25 ; 5, 8, 330 ; 15, 1, 539-61.
7 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 3, 2, 144.
8 *Ib*, 14, 8, 529 ; 2, 1, 90 ff. 11, 12, 436.
9 *Ib*, 1, 1, 25. 10 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. 11 Ib, 1, 1, 25.
12 *Ib*, 9, 33, 386-7. 13 *Ib*, 1, 9, 76 ; 9, 32, 371 etc.
14 *Ib*, 7, 10, 305 etc.
15 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 1, on various sects for all these accounts.
16 *Vide infra* Ch. X, Sec. I. 17 *BhS*, 20, 8, 672.

stories of Mahābala,[1] Jamāli[2] and others, and some pious legends, e. g. Gośāla-upākhyāna.[3]

Like the *Uvāsagadasāo* it embodies lessons for lay disciples and presrcibes some rules and observances of a Jaina layman, such as, twelve vows of a householder,[4] etc.

As in the *Antagaḍa*, the *BhS* treats of the legends of pious men, princes[5] and others who practised austerity to attain liberation through death by observing the vow of *Saṁlekhanā* (inanition of the body to save the soul).

Like the *Anuttaropapātikasūtra* the *BhS* presents the biographies of saints who attained the highest celestial world by their prolonged asceticism and were born among the gods, e.g. Skandaka,[6] a converted *Nirgrantha* monk was born among the gods in the Acyutakalpa as a result of his austerities and meditation.

In agreement with the *Paṇhavāgaraṇa* it deals with the principles of Jaina moral teachings,[7] influx of *Karma*[8] (*āśrava*) into the soul which is attached to *Karma* and prescribes the rules to be observed to stop it, i.e. the process of *Saṁvara* (stoppage of influx of *Karma*) and that of *Nirjarā* (dissociation of *Karma*) which leads the soul to liberation. For example, Skandaka observed the five great vows, *vinayas* (moral disciplines) and other acts of austerities and meditation on soul and thus he put a stop to the influx of *Karma* and attained final emancipation.[9]

Like the *Vivāga Suya* it proves by a series of legends the reward for the good conduct and punishment for the violation of moral prescription, as it is found in the cases of Jamāli,[10] Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra,[11] etc.

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429-31.
2 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383-81.
3 *Ib*, 15, 1, 539 ff.
4 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 5.
5 *BhS*, *Skandaka* 2, 1, 90 ff ; Tāmali—3, 1, 134 ; Śiva. 11, 9, 417-19 ; Ṛṣabhadatta–9, 33, 382 : King Udāyana–13, 6, 491 ff.
6 *Ib*, 2, 1, 93 ff.
7 *Vide infra* Ch. X, Sec. IV.
8 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. VI.
9 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. I
10 *BhS*, 9, 33, 386–7.
11 *Ib*, 15, 1, 339 ff.

In the agreement with the *Upāṅga*, *Aupapātika Sūtra* the *BhS* treats of the sermons of Lord Mahāvīra on the Law in general, the successive rebirths and conditions of liberation[1] and deals like the *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra*[2] with the question of reincarnation of soul and enumerates and classifies the different species of animated beings at the same time.[3]

The *BhS*, makes discussion on the globe,[4] as it is treated in the *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* and deals with the repatriation of living beings,[5] and ethnographic sketch according to which men are classified into two categories—Aryans and non-Aryans[6] as mentioned in the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*.

It gives an exposition of Jaina Astronomy[7] in brief like the *Sūriyapaṇṇatti* and the *Caṁdapaṇṇatti*.

The *BhS*[8] describes the *Jambūdvīpa* island inhabited by men, as it is dealt with in the *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti* and it contains some legends about the next world-destiny of soldiers fallen in the battles called *Mahāśilākaṇṭka Saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*.[9] as such similar topics are found in the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* and the remaining *Upāṅgas*.

In agreement with the ten *Prakīrṇakas* the *BhS*[10] treats of the subjects on moral discipline, ritual and mythology[11] in brief and like the *Cauśaraṇa* (Catuḥśaraṇa) deals with some rules and discipline, observances most essential for adopting a life devoid of sin, confession, *pratyākhyāna*, religious discipline[12], worship of Tīrthaṅkaras and paying homage to their virtue[13] in short in its stray references.

1 *Vide infra* Ch. X, Sec. VI. 2 *BhS*, 12, 7, 458.
3 *Vide infra* Ch. VI, Sec. III on Biology.
4 *Vide infra* Ch. IX, Sec. 1 and 2 on Cosmology and Cosmography. 5 *BhS*, 12 7-458.
6 Though they are not specifically classified, the clans—*Ugras*, *Bhogas*, etc. were Aryans, where as, the *Kirātas*, *Barbaras* etc. were non-Aryans. (*BhS*, 9, 33, 380, 383. *Vide infra* Ch. VIII. Sec. 3 & 4 on class and tribes.
7 *Vide infra* Ch. VI, Sec. 4
8 *Vide infra* Ch. IX Sec. 2 on Cosmography.
9 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300-303.
10 *Vide infra* ch. VII, Sec. 2 & 3 11 *BhS* 5, 8, 203; 11, 11,431.; 18, 2, 618.
12 *Vide infra* Ch. VII. Sec. 2 & 3 13 *BhS*, 1, 1, 5,

It puts emphasis on the supreme renunciation (*Vyutsarga*)[1] and enthanasy (enthanasie) (*Saṁlekhanā*) like the *Āurapaccakkhāṇa* and teaches the monks in what way they should prepare themselves for the death, as it is discussed in the *Bhattapariṇṇā*. For example, the case of Skandaka as given[2] in details regarding a particular point of the ritual of death that it describes the bed of grasses or straws on which Skandaka spread himself for meditating on the truth taught by Lord Mahāvīra[3].

Next as in *Taṇḍula-Veyāliya*, this canonical work explains the gradual development of the embryo of a child and its birth[3], different states of existence, the functions, etc., in brief.

Like the *Candāvijjhaya*, *BhS* treats of the general discipline showing the qualities which should be possessed by the teachers and disciples[4], and the rules of conduct to follow. It states that the teachers should receive disciples with affection; there should not be the attitude of a *pratyanīka* (opposition or enemity) in different conditions of life and it describes the manner in which one should prepare himself for the holy death. Lastly, it enumerates the host of gods and goddesses[5] and classifies and describes them in details.

In agreement with the *Gaṇivijjā*, the *BhS* deals with a few short treatises on some aspects of Astronomy, such as, time, hours, days, etc. and contains some rules of confession, of renunciation as prescribed in the *Mahāpaccakkhaṇā*.

It mentions the different names of Lord Mahāvīra, such as, *Vardhamāna*[6], *Nāyaputta*, *Kāsava*, etc. in its stray references as they are found in the *Vīrastava*. Like the *Cheda Sūtras* the *BhS* prescribes some disciplinary rules for the monks to be observed as already pointed out.

1 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 2
2 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 1 on education (Medical science).
3 *Vide infra* Ch. VI, Sec. 2.
4 *BhS* 9. 33, 389 ; 15, 1, 555 (comm) ; 117, 11, 429.
5 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 10
6 *BhS* 20, 8, 678 ; see also 1, 1, 5 (*Āigara*, etc.)

As in the *Nandī Sūtra*, the *BhS* also makes reference to some Gaṇadharas of Lord Mahāvīra, such as, Goyama Indabhūī, Aggibhūī, Vāyubhūī[1], etc., and explains the theory of knowledge[2] and makes classification of the Āgamas into twelve *Aṅgas*[3]. It contains the theory of Logic[4] and also Epistemology like the *Anuyogadvāra*.

In agreement with the *Mūla Sūtras* the *BhS* teaches the monk or young monk some of his principal duties and provides him with the rules against dangers which may befall an ascetic career[5].

The *BhS* treats of the compulsory observance of vows and rules prescribed for the monks and contains some legendary data on the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras[6] in brief and Munisuvrata[7] and Vimala[8] in particular and some information on the discipline of Lord Mahāvīra[9] as well as the first schism led by Jamālī[10] as evidenced in the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*.

In addition to these varied contents the *BhS* furnishes a good deal of information regarding the classification of the *Nirgrantha* monks into the categories of *Pulāka*, *Bakuśa* upto *Snātaka*[11] and that of the *Saṁyatas* (self-controlled), *Samavasaraṇa*,[12] viz. *Kriyāvādins*, *Akriyāvadins*, *Ajñānikavādins* and *Vainayikavādins*, *Yugmas*,[13] political, social and economic conditions education, various leaders of thought and their systems and philosophies in general and *Ājīvikism* in particular, contemporary history, particularly the two political events—called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka-Saṅgrāma*, and *Rathamusala-Saṅgrāma*, Cosmology, Cosmography and Geography, evolution of Jaina Philosophy, Psychology, Epistemology, Ethics, logic and the Doctrine of *Karma*[14], presented in a consolidated manner.

1 *Vide infra* Ch. VIII, Sec. I on the topic 'Lord Mahāvīra as teacher'.
2 *Vide infra* Ch. X, Sec. 3
3 *BhS*, 20, 8, 678.
4 *Vide infra* Ch. X, Sec. 5
5 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 3
6 *BhS*, 20, 8, 678.
7 *Ib*, 18, 12, 638.
8 *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
9 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541 ff.; 18, 10, 647.
10 *Ib*, 9, 33, 386-7.
11 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, See, I
12 *BhS*, 30(1-4)824 to 828.
13 *Ib*, 31, 1, 829 to 41, 1-196, 868.
14 For details see *infra* Ch. III to X.

As regards the style and language it is not merely a collection of dry clods of data on the above mentioned topics, but it also contains descriptive, explanatory and emotive styles with literary flourishes, colourful descriptions of persons and things, human emotions and traits depicted with the psychological background, humour and pun expressed in the language of the people in their own style.

The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* may be great in regard to their style and language as they are partly composed in *Āryā* metre, but the *BhS* is the greatest of all the canonical works as the richest mine of varied contents dealing with different aspects of life and Nature.

Thus the *BhS* occupies the highest unique position as the treasure of knowledge and truth in the Ardha-Māgadhī Canon bearing the appearance of a mosaic into which various texts have been inserted little by little and it is integrally connected with the representatives of the whole canonical works.

SECOND SECTION

Inter-relation of the BhS to other canonical works :—

It is at once observable in regard to the growth of all the canonical works that none of them attained the development up to the present extent, quite independently of one another, as there are found in them well marked individual and combined groups, the principles of which show their inter-relation.

These groups have been brought into relation with the other groups of similar characters in course of time in later age. It appears that an author has played a part to bear especially upon the *Aṅgas* and the *Upāṅgas* with the aim at the unification and order of the canonical texts, as it is evidently clear from the study of many statements in reference to the redaction which contains partly the parallel references[1] of one text to

[1] *BhS*, 1, 2, 22.

another and partially the *Kārikās* which are placed at the beginning[1] to serve as a general introduction or incorporated in the middle or subadded at the end.[2]

The linguistic characteristics of these redactory statements can easily be distinguished from that of the text. Many additions of secondary stories may have been incorporated into the *Kārikās*, while some passages or sections which were extant at the time of the older commentaries may have been lost, but large interpolations have also been made into the texts. It is clear from the study of all the canonical works that they have undergone a great transformation most likely, as it is evidenced by the fact that the *BhS* had not yet attained the half of its present size containing 1,84,000 padas, at the time of the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* which records only 84,000 *padas* of the fifth *Aṅga* instead of the above number of its *padas*.

The allusions to certain stereotyped descriptions, '*the epithet ornantia*' and the so-called *Vaṇṇao* (Varṇaka) are to be assigned without doubt to the period of redaction of all the canonical texts at the *Vallabhī* Council. So the fifth *Aṅga* itself has suffered some losses in all probability in course of time and its form of words has equally undergone transformation to some extent.

The *BhS* holds a separate position in its relation to the other canonical works and commences in a characterized way. It bears one point of similarity with the *Nāyādhammakahāo* in regard to the *Kārikās* which state the contents of what is to follow in each larger section, e. g. *Gāhā* "Usāsa khaṁdae vi ya 1 samugghāya 2 puḍhaviṁ 3 diya 4 anna-utthi-bhāsā ya 5 Devā ya 6 Camaracaṁcā 7 Samaya 8 khitta 9 atthikāya 10 bīyasae".

In the *BhS* the sections have the title *saya* (śataka) instead of *Ajjhayaṇa* as it is found in the cases of the other *Aṅgas*. The title '*Paṇṇatti*' of *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* attributed to this canonical work, bearing some resemblance with those of the

[1] *BhS*, 2nd Śataka. [2] *Ib*, 1, 1, 11 ; 1, 1, 14.

Sūriyapaṇṇatti, the *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti* and the *Caṁdapaṇṇatti* clearly shows an inter-relation to one another. The name of the fifth *Aṅga* appears in the Samavāyāṅga along with the other *Aṅgas* as "Vivāhapaṇṇattīe ṇaṁ Bhagavatīe caurāsiṁ payasahassa padaggeṇaṁ paṇṇattā."

This adjective '*Bhagavatī*' as exclusively associated with this work is recorded only in the fourth *Aṅga* in this manner.

As regards the other textual differences between the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* and the *BhS* it is noticeable that the fifth *Aṅga* is arranged into *Saya* (śataka not 100, but 41 or including sub-saya-138) instead of *Ajjhayaṇa* of the fourth *Aṅga* and *Uddeśakas* (1925) and *Sūtras* (868).

The *BhS*[1] once refers to the *Samavāyāṅga* in connection with the legends of Kulakaras, Tīrthaṅkaras, Baladevas, and Vāsudevas for their detailed treatment as made in the fourth *Aṅga*.

Besides these, there occur frequent references in the fifth *Aṅga* to the *Upāṅga* groups of the texts, viz. *Aupapātika Sūtra Rājapraśnīya Sūtra*, *Jīvābhigama Sūtra*, *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*, *Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti*, *Āyāradasāo*,[2] *Nandī Sūtra*, *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* and *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*.

The *BhS* holds an isolated position in respect of the introductory formula of the first four *Aṅgas* the *Ācārāṅga* the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, the *Sthānāṅga* and the *Samavāyāṅga* e.g. '*Suyammi*' and their concluding word '*tummi*' bearing a point of similarity in them.

The last part of the *Aupapātika Sūtra* appears to be like a more detailed treatment of the fifth *Aṅga* in regard to its topic--births and rebirths, while Ammaḍa, a Parivrājaka is referred to in both the works. In the *Bhagavatī Sūtra* there occurs an enumeration of female attendants belonging to some Indian tribes and foreign nations whose names are generally identical with those mentioned in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* and

[1] *BhS*, 5,5,203.

[2] *Vide*, A History of Indian Literature, Vol II, p. 443, Winternitz.

the *Aupapātika Sūtra*, e. g. many hunch-backed, *Cilātikās*, *Barbarikās*, upto *Pārasīs*. The *BhS* makes references to other *Tīrthikas* (*annautthiyā*) and the first schism led by Jamālī in the *Nirgrantha* order as they are also found in the first *Upāṅga*.

It is to be observed in the *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra* that there occurs an exclamation of reverence addressed to 'Suya devayā Bhagavatī,......to Paṇṇatti.' "Namo suya devayāe Bhagavatīe namo paṇṇattīe Bhagavaīe."[1]

The *Jīvābhigama Sūtra*, the third *Upāṅga* appears to be a detailed treatment of the *BhS* in reference to the astronomical topics dealing with the number of the suns, moons, stars in each of the *dvīpas* (continent-islands) In the fifth *Aṅga* there are found many references to the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* in regard to various subjects for their detailed treatment.

As regards the questions and answers couched in the style and manner of the dialogues there lies a line of difference between the *BhS* and the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* that there is no connecting link in the former, where as it is found in the latter.

Parallel references as found in the Bhagavatī Sūtra and in other Aṅgas and Upāṅgas :—

The reference to the other canonical works for the detailed treatment of the subjects of the *BhS* shows that this fifth *Aṅga* was not completed before they were done, as it is evidenced by the fact of the language of allusion to them, e.g. 'Jambuddīve ṇaṁ bhaṁte Bhārahevāse imīseosappiṇīe kai kulagarā hotthā..... eesiṁ paḍisattū jahā Samavāe parivāḍī tahā ṇeyavvā."[2]

A monotony in the conventional phrases of conversation is found in all the canonical works, e. g. Teṇa Kāleṇaṁ teṇa samayeṇaṁ. They echo the same words almost everywhere to convey thoughts and ideas. The general descriptive epithets and phrases expressing the effect of sorrow and joy, affection and anger or depicting the picture of a city are used in all of them

[1] *Rāyapaseniya Sutta*, 8. 5.
[2] *BhS*, 5,5,203 ; see *Samavāyaṅga*, 157, 58.

in the same words. Besides these, identical familiar similies, metaphors, and analogies drawn from gods, men, animals, physical phenomena and the daily incidents of life are found in them. The general character of the language (*Ardha-Māgadhī*, *Brāhmī lipi*) and phraseology used by the authors of all the canonical works are the same, for they are written on the same foundations of phrases and proverbs and the same ground of literary allusions and laid on the same plan. Thus it is found that a caitya where the holy teachings of Lord Mahāvīra took place was followed by a city-scene from where the people came forth to the caitya to attend the religious discourse of the Master, e. g a stream of peoples of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma* made pilgrimage to Lord Mahāvīra during his stay at the *Bahuśālaka* caitya.

All the canonical works refer to similar social conditions, customs and manners, dresses and ornaments, etc.

Examples of parallel statements as found in the BhS and other canonical works :—

The *BhS* once makes reference to the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* in connection with the number of Kulakaras, that of Tīrthaṅkaras, etc. in the *Avasarpiṇī kāla* as already mentioned. "Jaṁbuddive.........kai kulagaıā.........jahā Samavāe......tahā ṇeyavva."[1]

There occur references in this canonical work to the *Aupapātika Sūtra* in regard to the following topics for their detailed treatment.

(1) *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* and preparation of king Kuṇika for this war.

> "Tae ṇaṁ se Kūṇie rāyā......maṅgalajayasaddakayaloe evaṁ jahā Uvavāie jāva uvāgacchittā Udāyiṁ hatthirāyaṁ duruḍhe".
>
> "Tae ṇaṁ se Kūṇie rāyā......hārotthayasukayaraiyavacche jahā Uvavāie jāva seyavaracāmarāhiṁ, etc."[2]

[1] *BhS* 5, 5, 203. [2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.

(2) The pilgrimage of the people of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma* to Lord Mahāvīra during his stay at the *Bahuśālaka caitya.*

"Uggā, Bhogā......jāva ṇhāyā jahā Uvavāie jāva niggacchaṁti."[1]

(3) Bath and decoration of Jamālī for pilgrimage to the Master.

"Tae ṇaṁ se Jamālī......kayabalikamme jahā Uvavāie parisā vaṇṇao tahā bhāṇiyavvaṁ jāva caṁdaṇākinnagāyasarīre..........................pajjuvāsai."[2]

(4) Preparatory ceremony of Jamālī before the leaving of the worldly life.

"Khattiyakuṇḍaggāmaṁ nagaraṁ sabbhiṁtara-bāhiriyaṁ ....ovālittaṁ jahā Uvavāie jāva paccappiṇaṁti."[3]

"Ime aṭṭhaṭṭhamaṅgalagā purao ...... puṇṇakalasabhiṁgāraṁ jahā Uvavāie jāva gaganatalamaṇulihaṁti".

"Purao ahāṇupuvvīe saṁpaṭṭhiyā evaṁ jahā Uvavāie taheva bhāṇiyavvaṁ jāva saṁpaṭṭhiyā."[4]

(5) The pilgrimage of the prince to Lord Mahāvīra for initiation.

"Tadanaṁtaraṁ ca ṇaṁ bahave Uggā ....jahā Uvavāie jāva saṁpaṭṭhiyā."

"Pahesu bahave atthatthiyā jahā Uvavāie jāva abhinaṁdaṁtā, etc."

"Tae se ṇaṁ se Jamālī nayaṇamālāsahassehiṁ picchijjamāṇe..................................evaṁ jahā Uvavāie Kūṇio jāva ṇiggacchati etc."[5]

(6) The undertaking of asceticism by king Śiva of *Hastināpura* and the *Vānapraṣtha Tāpasas*, "Je ime Gaṅgākūle vāṇapatthā Tāvasā bhavaṁti taṁ hottiyā .....viharaṁti jahā Uvavāie jāva...viharaṁti."[6]

(7) Coronation ceremony of prince Śivabhadra performed by his father, king Śiva of *Hastināpura*.

[1] *BhS*. 9, 33, 383. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. [3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. [5] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. [6] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

"Sivabhaddaṁ Kumāraṁ Jaeṇaṁ vijaeṇaṁ baddhāveṁti ....jahā Uvavāie Koṇiyassa ,Jāva Paramāuṁ Pālayāhi."[1]

(8) The deliberation of the people of *Hastināpura* and the royal sage, Śiva on the presence of Lord Mahāvīra at the *Sahasrāmravana* of this city.[2]

"Taṁ mahāphalaṁ khalu......nāmagoyassa jahā Uvavāie jāva gahaṇayāe."

(9) The state of liberation of beings.

"Goyamā vayarosabha-nārāyasaṁghayaṇe sijjhaṁti evaṁ jaheva Uvavāie taheva... .....parivasaṇā"[3]

(10) Ammaḍa, the *Parivrājaka* and his seven hundred disciples.

"Teṇaṁ kāleṇaṁ.........Ammaḍassa parivvāyagassa satta aṁtevāsīsayā Gimhakāla-samayaṁsi evaṁ jahā Uvavāie jāva ārāhagā."[4]

"Bahujaṇe ṇaṁ bhaṁte annamannassa......... ....
Gharasae jahā Uvavāie Ammaḍassa vattavvayā jāva daḍhappaiṇṇo aṁtaṁ kāhiti"[5]

The *BhS* makes mention of the *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra* several times in connection with the following subjects for their detailed discussion in the latter, viz. the description of *Īśānavataṁsaka-vimāna*,[6] equality of the soul of an elephant and that of a *Kunthu*[7] (insect), division of knowledge,[8] consecration ceremony of Jamālī,[9] description of the palanquin to carry Jamālī to the *Bahuśālaka* caitya for his initiation to be conducted by Lord Mahāvīra,[10] Saudharma-council of Śakra,[11] the accounts of Śivabhadra, the son of king Śiva and queen Dhāriṇī of *Hastināpura*,[12] the initiation of prince Mahābala like Keśiswāmī,[13] the description of the residence of Camara-

[1] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417. [2] *Ib*, 11, 9, 418. [3] *Ib*, 11, 9, 419.
[4] *Ib*, 14, 8, 529 [5] *Ib*. 14, 8, 530 [6] *Ib*, 3, 1, 144.
[7] *Ib*, 7, 8, 294. [8] *Ib*, 8, 2, 318. [9] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[10] *BhS*, 9, 33, 385. [11] *Ib*, 10, 6, 407, [12] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
[13] *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.

cañcā of Asurarāja Camara as compared to a rest house[1] and the account of the social position of Kārttikadatta of *Hastināpura*.[2]

The *BhS* makes reference to the *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* in relation to the topics on the number of infernal worlds,[3] *pratiṣṭhāna* (establishment) and *Saṁsthāna* (figure)[4] of *Kalpaloka*, *Samayakṣetra*[5] (human world), description of *Lavaṇasamudra* upto *Lokasthiti*[6] (order of the universe), *Jyotiṣka*,[7] *Cakravāla* of *Lavaṇa-Samudra*.[8] *Vikurvaṇa* (transformation) of infernal beings,[9] six kinds of *Saṁsāra-samāpannaka-jīvas* (worldly beings),[10] *Yoni-Saṁgraha* (place of birth),[11] duration of the state (or mode) of knowledge of all *Jñānīs* and *Ajñānīs* (knowers' right knowledge and wrong knowledge),[12] the number of the moons upto stars in *Jambūdvīpa*,[13] in *Lavaṇa-Samudra*,[14] in *Dhātakīkhaṇḍa*, *Kālodadhi-Puṣkaravaradvīpa*, *Abhyantara-Puṣkarārddha*,[15] thus in all islands and seas upto *Sayambhūramaṇa*,[16] *Antardvīpa* upto those human beings as stated to be *devaloka-parigrahitas*[17], the number of chief queens of the moon[18] (namely, *Candraprabhā*, *Jyotsnāprabhā*, *Arcimālī*, *Prabhaṁkarā*), *Ekarukadvīpa* and its location upto *Suddhadantadvipa*[19], the account of *Jambūdvīpa* island, *Lavaṇa-Samudra* etc., seas and their respective shapes extent upto that of *Sayambhūramaṇa*[20] the number of infernal worlds[21] and their respective sizes[22], existence of beings in these hells[23], living conditions and experience of infernal beings in hells[24], the account of the shape of island-seas except *Jyotiṣka-maṇḍala* upto transformation in *Jīva-upapāta* (birth of beings) upto infinite times[25] and *Nigoda*[26] (minutest living beings); all these subjects are referred to in the *Jīvābhiguma Sūtra* for their detailed treatment.

1 *BhS*, 13, 6, 490.
2 *Ib*, 18, 2, 618.
3 *Ib*, 2, 3, 98.
4 *Ib*, 2, 7, 115.
5 *Ib*, 2, 9, 117.
6 *Ib*, 3, 3, 153.
7 *Ib*, 3, 9, 179.
8 *Ib*, 16th P. 5, 2, 183.
9 *Ib*, 5, 6, 209.
10 *Ib*, 7, 4, 281.
11 *Ib*, 7, 5, 282.
12 *Ib*, 8, 2, 323.
13 *Ib*, 9, 2, 363.
14 *Ib*, 9, 2, 363 (4).
15 *Ib*, 9, 2, 363(4).
16 *Ib*, 9, 2, 363 (4).
17 *Ib*, 9, (30-ff)-369.
18 *Ib*, 10, 5, 406.
19 *Ib*, 10. 34, 408.
20 *Ib*, 11, 9, 418.
21 *Ib*, 12, 3, 444.
22 *Ib*, 13, 4, 476.
23 *Ib*, 13, 4, 478.
24 *Ib*, 14, 3, 509,
25 *Ib*, 19, 6, 651.
26 *Ib*, 25, 5, 749,

The *BhS* once makes mention of the *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti* in reference to the account of the globe for its detailed description.

"Evaṁ Jaṁbuddīvapaṇṇattī bhāṇiyavvā jāva evameva .. .. coddasa-salilā sayasahassā-bhavaṁtīti makkhāyā' [1].

There occurs the maximum number of allusions in this canonical work to the *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta* than to any other *Upāṅgas* in regard to the following subjects for their treatment in details, viz. the breathing and food of infernal beings[2], the particles of matter of *Asurakumāra*, *Leśyā*[4], *Antakriyāpada*[5], eight *Karma-prakṛtis*[6], *Utpāda-viraha* of infernal beings in hells[7], *Samudghāta-Samudghāta* (expansion of soul)[8], *Indriyas* (sense-organs)[9], *Bhāṣāpada* (speech or language)[10], *Sthāna* (section) of gods[11], dwelling places of enjoyment of *Asurakumāras*[12], *leśyāpada* upto knowledge[13], *Leśyānāṁ anya-anyaṁ-pariṇāmaṁ* (Transformation of condition of soul)[14].

Next the *BhS* makes reference to the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* in regard to the following topics on food of beings[15], *Jñānī*, *Ajñānī* and *Jñānyajñānī* and their comparative numbers[16], many kinds of *Saṅkhyāta-jīvita* plants (having numberable germs of life) and many kinds of one-seeded and many-seeded plants[17], seven infernal worlds and *Iṣatprāgbhāra* and *caramādi*[18], (last or not last), *Kriyās* (actions)[19], *Prayogagati* (movement of action) upto *Vihāyagati*[20], *Avagāhanā* (extension), *Saṁsthāna* (figure) and *Audarika-śarīra-prayogabandha* (binding of *karma* by physical action) of beings[21], *Avagāhanā* (extension) upto *manuṣya-āhāraka-śarīra-prayogabandha*[22], *Ekendriya-taijasa-śarīra-prayogabandha*, such

[1] *BhS*, 9, 1, 362. [2] *Ib*, 1, 1, 9. [3] *Ib*, 1, 1, 15.
[4] *Ib*, 1, 2, 22. [5] *Ib*, 1, 2, 24.
[6] *Ib*, (23 pada of *pannā*), 1,4,58.
[7] *Ib*, 1, 10, 82; see *Paṇṇā vyutkrāṁtikapada*.
[8] *Ib*, 2, 2, 97; see *paṇṇavanā*, *Samudghātapada*.
[9] *Ib*, 2, 4, 99 (sec 1st *uddeśaka of paṇṇavaṇā*).
[10] *Ib*, 2, 6, 114 (see *Bhāṣāpada of paṇṇavaṇā*).
[11] *Ib*, 2, 7, 115 (see *Sthānapada of paṇṇavaṇā*). [12] *Ib*, 3, 2, 142.
[13] *Ib*, 4, 9, 174 (see 3rd *uddeśaka of pannavaṇā*).
[14] *Ib*, 4, 10, 175 (see 4th *uddeśaka of Paṇṇavaṇā*).
[15] *Ib*, 6, 2, 232. [16] *Ib*, 8, 2, 323. [17] *Ib*, 8, 3, 324.
[18] *Ib*, 8, 3, 326. [19] *Ib*, 8, 4, 327. [20] *Ib*, 8, 7, 338,
[21] *Ib*, 8, 9, 348. [22] *Ib*, 8. 9, 349.

as, *Avagāhanā-Saṁsthāna* (extension and figure) upto *Anuttaropapātika* upto *bandha*[1] (bondage), kinds of *Audārikaśarīra* (gross physical body)[2], *Yoni* (birth-place)[3], *Vedanā* (feeling) and its kinds upto the experience of pain or pleasure or pain-cum-pleasure by infernal beings[4], *Bhikṣupratimā*[5] (a kind of vow), birth of plant-bodied beings upto *Īśān*[6], food of beings born in *Utpala*[7], food of plant-bodied beings, *udvarttan* (death) of *Utpala* (water-lily) and its rebirth[8], the duration of gods[9], *Bhāvadevas* upto the death of *Asurakumāras*[10], birth of *Bhavyadravyadeva* from the different states of existence upto the *Anuttaropapātika*[11], the birth of *Bhavanavāsī* gods[12], *Paricāraṇā* (movement), *Anantarāhārā* and *Nirvartana* (binding of *karma*) of infernal beings[13], six *chādmasthika-samudghātas*-upto *Āhārakasamudghāta*[14], and eight *Karma-prakṛtis*[15].

Then the *BhS* alludes to the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* in reference to the following subjects for their detailed treatment, viz. food of infernal beings[16], *Jīvapariṇāma* and *Ajīvapariṇāma* (transformation of beings and non-beings)[17], such as, (1) *Indriyapariṇāma*, etc. (2) *Bandhapariṇāma*, (3) *Gatipariṇāma*, etc., rebirth of Gośāla as Godhā-Nakula (allegator and mongoose) upto four footed animal[18], upto insect of cow-dung many times[19], feeling (experience) of eight *Karma-prakṛtis*[20], *Upayoga* (consciousness)[21]

1 *BhS*, 8, 9, 350.
2 *Ib*, 10, 1, 395 See the whole *Avagāhana saṁsthāna*).
3 *Ib*, 10, 2, 397 (see the whole *Yonipada of Paṇṇavaṇā*).
4 *Ib*, 10, 2, 398. (See the whole *vedanāpada of Paṇṇavaṇā*).
5 *Ib*, 10, 2, 399. (See *Bhikṣu pratimā*).
6 *BhS*, 11, 1, 409 (See *Vyutkrāntika pada* of *Paṇṇavaṇa*).
7 *Ib*, 11, 1, 409. (*Āhāraka uddeśaka* of *Paṇṇavaṇa*).
8 *Ib*, 11, 1, 409. (See *Vyutkrāntika pada* of *Paṇṇavaṇā*).
9 *Ib*, 11, 11, 427 (*Sthitipada* of *Paṇṇavaṇā*).
10 *Ib*, 12, 9, 495 (See *Vytkrāntika-pada* of *Paṇṇavaṇā*).
11 *Ib*, 12, 9, 462 („).
12 *Ib*, 13, 3, 473 (do).
13 *Ib*, 13, 3, 474 (*Paṇṇavaṇā*—34.)
14 *Ib*, 13, 10, 499.
15 *Ib*, 13, 8, 497 (*Bandhasthiti uddeśaka of paṇṇavaṇā*).
16 *Ib*, 13, 5, 488 (*Panna*, 28, 1).
17 *Ib*, 14, 4, 514 (*Panna*, 13).
18 *Ib*, 15, 1, 560.
19 *Ib*, 15, 1, 566.
20 *Ib*, 16, 3, 571 (*Panna*).
21 *Ib*, 16, 7, 583 (*Panna*).

Avadhi (transcendental knowledge)[1], the power of a *chadmastha* to perceive the division of dissociated *karma*-matters,[2] *Kaṣāyas* (passions)[3], six *leśyās* (conditions of soul),[4] *leśyās*[5], the absorption of food by the earth-bodied beings having infinite parts[6], birth of the earth-bodied beings and others[7], the death of earth-bodied beings[8], and the birth, duration and death of the fire-bodied beings[9].

The *BhS* next deals with the plant's life with reference to the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* in regard to the birth of different species of plants, such as, *śāli*, *brīhi* (a kind of rice), wheat, barley etc[10]., *Vṛntaki* (brinjal), etc.[11]. *pūsaphali Kāliṅgī*, *tumbi*, *trapuri*, etc. and *bāluṅki*, etc.[12], receiving of food-matter by beings upto sometimes five directions[13], substance having one and two parts received by beings upto asthita (non-constant) substances without succession[14], the account of smallness and muchness of infernal beings upto gods and the perfect ones (*siddhas*) with *pañcagati-samāsa*[15], five kinds of body—*Audārika* upto *Kārmaṇa*[16], *paryāya* (modes)[17], the birth of *Kṣudraka-kṛtayugma* infernal beings from the different states of existence[18], that of *Kṣudraka-tryoja*-infernal beings[19]. that of *Kṛṣṇaleśyā-kṣudraka-kṛtayugma*-infernal beings[20], that of *Dhūmra*-upto-*Adhaḥsaptamā-kṛṣṇa-leśyā-kṣudraka-kṛtayugma*-infernal beings[21], the *udvarttana* (death) of *Kṣudraka-Kṛtayugma*-infernal beings[22]. *Svasthāna* (own place or section) of the gross-earth bodied beings in eight *pṛthivīs* upto that of fine plant-bodied beings[23], the former place of birth of one sensed

1 *BhS*, 16, 10, 589. 2 *Ib*, 18, 3, 620 (*Paṇṇa*).
3 *Ib*, 18, 4, 625. 4 *Ib*, 19, 1, 649.
5 *Ib*, 1, 650 (*Garbhoddeśaka* of *Paṇṇavaṇa*).
6 *BhS*, 19, 1, 651 ; (*Āhāroddeśaka-Paṇṇavaṇā*—1).
7 *Ib*, 19, 1, 651 ; (*Vyutkrāntikapada-Paṇṇavaṇā*).
8 *Ib*, " do
9 *Ib*, " do
10 *Ib*, 21, 1, 688. do
11 *Ib*, 22, 4, 692 12 *Ib*, 22, 6, 692.
13 *Ib*, 25, 2, 723 ; (*Āharaka-uddeśaka* of *Paṇṇavaṇā*).
14 *Ib*, 25, 2, 723 ; (*Bhāṣāpada* of *Paṇṇavaṇā*).
15 *Ib*, 25, 2, 733 ; "
16 *Ib*, 25, 4, 738 ; (the whole *śarīrapada* of *Paṇṇavaṇā*).
17 *Ib*, 25, 5, 746 ; (*Paryāyapada* of *Paṇṇavaṇā*).
18,19 *Ib*, 31, (1-8) 829. 20 *Ib*, 31, 2, 830.
21 *Ib*, 31, 2, 830. 22 *Ib*, 32, 1, 842. 23 *Ib*, 34, 1, 851.

beings, that of the earth bodied beings[1], the existence of the life, *samudghāta*, (expansion of soul), *Svasthāna* (own place or state) of those developed gross, and undeveloped and fine earth-bodied beings[2], the former place of birth (or state of existence), of *kṛtayugma*-two-sensed beings[3], the birth of *Kṛtayugma* beings[4], that of *Rāśiyugma-kṛtayugma*-beings upto the *Vaimānikas.*[5]

The *BhS* thrice makes mention of the *Nandī Sūtra* in connection with the following topics for their detailed treatment, viz. theory of knowledge and the knowing power of the *Jñānīs* (knowers of right knowledge) thus :

> "Jaṁ imaṁ annāṇiehiṁ micchadiṭṭhiehiṁ jahā Naṁdīe Jāva cattāri Vedā Saṁgovaṁgā"[6] se samāsao cauvvihe paṇṇatte, taṁjahā-davvao 4 .... jāva bhāvao davvao ṇaṁ ohiṇāṇī rūvīdavvāiṁ jāṇai pāsai jahā Naṁdīe jāva bhāvao."[7]

> "Se samāsao cauvvihe paṇṇatte, taṁjahā-davvao 4, davvao ṇaṁ ujjumatı aṇaṁte aṇaṁtapadesie jahā Naṁdīe jāva bhāvao."[8]

In this fifth *Aṅga* there occur two references to the *Anuyogadvāra* in regard to the subjects—*Pramāṇa* (valid knowledge) and its classification, the state of soul and its divisions for their further discussion.

> "Pamāṇe cauvvihe paṇṇatte, taṁ jahā-paccakkhe aṇumāṇe ovamme āgame, jahā Aṇuyogadāre tahā ṇeyavvaṁ pamāṇaṁ jāva teṇa paraṁ no attāgame no aṇaṁtarāgame paraṁparāgame."[9]

> "Chavvihe bhāve paṇṇatte-Udaie uvasamie jāva sannivāie, udaie bhāve duvihe paṇṇatte, taṃjahā, udaie udayanipphanne ya evaṁ eeṇaṁ abhilāveṇaṁ jahā Aṇuyogadāre

1 *BhS*, 34, 1, 851.
2 *Ib*, 34, 2, 852 (*Sthāna-pada* of *paṇṇavaṇā*).
3 *Ib*, 40, (1), 866 (*Vyutkrāntika pada* of *paṇṇavaṇā*).
4 *Ib*, 41, 1, 867 (Do).
5 *Ib*, 41, (2), 867 (*Vyat. kr. pada*).
6 *Ib*, 8, 2, 318.
7 *Ib*, 8, 2, 322.
8 *Ib*, 8, 2, 322.
9 *Ib*, 5, 4, 193.

channāmaṁ taheva niravasesaṁ bhāṇiyavvaṁ jāva se taṁ sanuivāie bhāve."[1]

The *BhS* only once makes mention of the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* in connection with the request of Jamālī for permission of his parents to undertake the state of houselessness.

"Khalu jāyā Niggaṁṭhe pāvayaṇe sacce anuttare kevale jahā Āvassae jāva savvadukkhāṇamaṁtaṁ kareṁti."[2]

All these evidences clearly show that the fifth *Aṅga* is closely inter-related to the other *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas* in regard to its varied contents, such as, political, social and economic conditions, education, different systems of religion, contemporary history, Cosmology, Cosmography, Geography evolution of Jaina Philosophical Thought, Language, style, etc , as they are laid on a common plan.

[1] *BhS*, 17, 1. 594. [2] *Ib*, 9. 33, 384.

SECOND CHAPTER

Authorship and date of the BhS. Examination of its internal and external evidences, such as, linguistic and literary as well as historical.

FIRST SECTION

Authorship and date of the BhS :—

As already discussed in the first section of the first chapter, the *BhS*, stands as the fifth *Aṅga* in the list of the twelve *Gaṇipiṭakas* (*Aṅgas*) which form the oldest part of the seven divisions of the Āgamas as settled in the Vallabhī Council (*Vallabhī-vācana*).

In regard to their authorship and date, the Jain tradition says that after the demise of Lord Mahāvīra, Gautama Indrabhūti and Sudharman Swāmin became the heads of the *Nirgrantha* order in succession and continued the line without disturbance in the organization. It was Sudharman Swāmin who transmitted the sacred instructions of the Āgamas to Jambū Swāmin, as it is learnt from the fact of the mention of his name in the beginning of this canonical work as its author.[1]

The tradition as recorded in the *Sthavirāvalī Carita*[2] avers that some two centuries after the demise of the Master a terrible famine lasting for twelve years took place in *Magadha* at the time of Candragupta Maurya and consequently half the community accompanied by the king under the headship of Bhadrabāhu moved off near the sea in between 299-296 B C., while the other portion remained in *Magadha*.

The *Magadhan* community under the presidency of Sthūlabhadra called a council of monks in *Pāṭaliputra* early in the third century B. C. This council collected and fixed the canon of the Jaina sacred literature comprising eleven *Aṅgas*

[1] *BhS*, See the beginning Gāthā of invocation. In regard to the succession the *Svetāmbara* tradition does not include the name of Gautama Indrabhūti as the Pontiff.

[2] *Sthavirāvalī Carita*, Ninth Sarga 55, 59,

and fourteen *Pūrvas* (which were included in *Diṭṭhivāo*) in the absence of Bhadrabāhu. They were not committed to writing but were still preserved in the memories of the monks till eight centuries later in the year 980 or 993 A. V. they were reduced to writing. On his return with his followers Bhadrabāhu found the change in the *Nirgrantha* order that the *Magadhan* monks put on clothes, so the difference of opinions about the religious rules arose between the two groups of ascetics. But there was no immediate schism at once till the final separation took place in 79 or 82 A.D. according to the *Digambaras* and the *Śwetāmbaras*[1] respectively.

The canons collected and fixed by the council of *Pāṭaliputra* were in an unsatisfactory state. So the redaction of them was made in the council of *Valabhī* under the presidency of Devarddhi Gaṇin—the Kṣamāśramaṇa in 980 A.V (or 993) corresponding to 454 A. D. (or 467 A. D.), as the date is incorporated in the *Kalpa Sūtra.*[2] The council seems to have been connected in some way with a public recitation of the *Jina-carita*—the life of Lord Mahāvīra before Dhruvasena of *Ānandapura* It is known that Dhruvasena of *Valabhī* succeeded to the throne in 526 A.D., so the date of the council of *Valabhī* was the beginning of the sixth century A .D. when the canon was written down; since then there was no interpolation in the sacred texts.

According to other tradition the redaction of the canon was effected thirteen years after in 993 A.V. at the hands of a council in *Mathurā* under the presidency of Skandilācārya.[3]

The *Digambara* tradition says that the only surviving pieces of the original Jaina Canon of the twelve *Aṅgas* are preserved in the works—*Kamma-Pāhuḍa* and *Kasāya-Pāhuḍa* popularly known as *Dhavala* and *Jayadhavala Siddhāntas* from the names of their commentaries respectively. It is stated in

[1] *Uvāsaga-dasāo*—Dr. Hœrnle, p. ix.
[2] *Kalpa Sūtra* (Jacobi) S. B. E. 5th Lec., p. 269,
[3] *Comm.* on *Yogaśāstra*, p. 207.

the introductory part of *Dhavalā*[1] that the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra were arranged into twelve *Aṅgas* by his disciple Gautama Indrabhūti and they were transmitted from preceptor to disciple by the verbal recitation till gradually they fell successively into oblivion. Only some portions of them were known to Dharasena who passed time by practising austerities in the *Chandra Guphā* of *Girinagara* in the land of *Saurāṣṭra* (modern *Kāthiawār*). Having felt the necessity of preserving the knowledge, he taught to two sages, who later become celebrated as Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabalī, portions of the fifth *Aṅga-Viāhapaṇṇatti* and of the twelfth *Aṅga Diṭṭhivāda*. These fragmentary works were subsequently committed to writing in *Sūtra* form by these two famous disciples of Dharasena ; the former composed the first 177 *Sūtras* and the latter reduced the rest to writing, the total number of śūtras being 6000. This was done soon after Lohācārya, who was the last of the *Sruta-jñānīs* and lived upto 683 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Lord Mahāvīra, which took place according to the statement of the commentator, Vīrasena, 605 years before the beginning of the *Śaka* era.[2]

To continue the *Svetāmbara* tradition Devarddhi Gaṇin arranged the canons in order with the help of scholars after a collection of available MSS.[3] and took down from the mouth of the theologicians such texts as had no MSS. Many copies were made to supply the seminaries. So his edition of the *Siddhāntas* is only a redaction of the sacred texts which existed before his time in nearly the same form, although there might have been some interpolations made by the redactors. But much of it is genuinely old, even though a disparity is found in it, as it has undergone change with the march of time.

From this tradition it may be said with a tolerable certainty that the *Viyāhapaṇṇatti*, as it now exists, was also committed to writing in the same council along with the other canonical works.

[1] Introduction to *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, p.1, Dr. H.L.Jain, M.A.,LL.B., D. Litt.
[2] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. 1 Introduction, p. 13 ff.
[3] Cf. Jacobi. *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 30

Thus there are found three stages of the development of the *BhS* and the other canonical works, first, they were derived from the teachings of Lord Mahāvīra and given a shape of *Grantha* by the composition of Sudharman Swāmin and then they were transmitted by him to Jambū Swāmin ; in the second stage they were collected and fixed in the *Pāṭaliputra* Council and in the third stage they were codified by the *Vallabhī* council under the presidency of Devarddhi Gaṇin as the tradition says.

Origin and development of the BhS :-

It appears from the traditions as embodied in the *BhS* itself that the core of its ideas of philosophy and thoughts of the previous Tīrthaṅkaras existed long before the time of Lord Mahāvīra in association with the other *Aṅgas*, but they generally refer to the *Pūrvas* as the original scriptures. As regards the tradition there may be the truth that the core of its contents and subject-matter existed in the distant past and came down to the time of the Master, for its form is so much associated with the time and place, occasion, history and performance that the entire environment appears to be post-Mahāvīran. The mention of king Seṇiya and queen Cellanā of *Rājagṛha*,[1] king Kūṇiya of *Campā*[2], the president-king of *Vaiśālī*, king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī*[3], king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*[4] and king Śiva of *Hastināpura*[5], that of the Non-Aryans, foreign peoples, like the *Ārabīs*, *Singhalīs*, *Pārasīs*, etc.[6], the record of the first schism led by Jamālī[7] and the legend of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra[8]—all these facts support the above contention that they have been incorporated into this canonical work later on.

As already pointed out in the first chapter the evidence of the *Samavāyāṅga* shows that the *Viyāha-Paṇṇatti* had not yet attained half of its present size at the time of the former, as there is the mention of 84,000 *padas* in this work instead of 1,84,000 *padas* as recorded in the latter. Besides, the tradition expressly acknowledges the additions of certain portions called *Vivāha Cūlāh* (appendices) to the fifth *Aṅga*.

[1] *BhS*, 1, 1, 4. [2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. [3] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
[4] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. [5] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. [6] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
[7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 386-7. [8] *Ib*, 15, 1, 539-61.

It has been observed in the first and second sections of the first chapter that the *BhS* stands as the fifth *Aṅga* in original form. But so far as the text is concerned, the chronological order has not been maintained except in one case of the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*, for parallel references occur in the works of the *Upāṅga* group[1], viz. *Aupapātika Sūtra, Rājapraśnīya Sūtra, Jīvābhigama Sūtra, Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti* and *Prajñāpanā Sūtra* and even in the two miscellaneous texts—*Nandī Sūtra* and *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* and also in the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra.*

Thus it is apparently clear that the *BhS* was not completed before they were codified, as it is evidenced by the fact of the forms of the words and sentences of its reference to those texts.

The study of certain stereotyped descriptions, the *epithet ornantia*, the so-called '*Vaṇṇao*' (Varṇaka) as already mentioned in the first chapter reveals that the *BhS* had undergone a complete transformation till it attained its present size, having suffered loss of forms of words. but gained an additon of new contents to it with the march of time.

Date of the BhS :—

The internal evidences of the *BhS* as already mentioned show that the core of the contents of the subject-matter of this canonical work, according to the tradition recorded in it, existed along with the other *Aṅgas* during a period anterior to that of Lord Mahāvīra, but the entire environment of it is post-Mahāvīran. So a truly synthetic view should be formed to determine its date by taking into consideration all the internal and external evidences as far as possible.

The date of the complete *BhS* as it stands to-day, cannot be assigned to a period later than the beginning of the sixth century A. D. on the basis of the historical data. But one may look back to the period of the sixth century B. C. on the same

[1] *Vide Supra* Ch. I, Sec. 2.

ground of its internal historical evidences that with the exception of the portions incorporated later on, the parts of the records of the pilgrimage of king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra and queen Cellanā[1] to Lord Mahāvīra, king Kūṇika, two wars, viz. *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*[2] and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*[3], fought between the *Magadhan* king and the *Vaiśālian* confederation of nine *Mallakis*s, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and their eighteen *Gaṇarājas* (republican chiefs) led by the president-king Ceṭaka, king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī*[4]. king Udāyana of *Sindhu Sauvīra* and Mahāsena[5] (of *Avantī* ?) were definitely finished as early as by this time, i. e. the 6th century B. C.

Mahāvīra refers to the existence of the followers of Lord *Pārśvanātha's* order,[6] Munisuvrata[7] and Dharmaghoṣa, the disciple's disciple of Vimala,[8] the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara whose religious activities were known and remembered by him. But there is nothing to show from the historical events, time, place, etc. as recorded in the *BhS* except the specific statements that the date of this canonical work can be pushed back to a period before the sixth century B. C.

Further, the record of the corpus of the Brāhmaṇical literature in the *BhS* such as, the four *Vedas*, *Itihāsa*, etc.,[9] prescribed as the courses of study shows the delimitation of the date of its origin along with the other canonical texts.

It is also recorded in the *Kalpa Sūtra*[10] that even Lord Mahāvīra was taught these prescribed courses of study in his boyhood, but not the twelve *Aṅgas*, etc. of the *Nirgrantha* order.

The use of the title '*Aṅga*' to signify the oldest works of the canon suggests the same period of the *BhS* along with the other *Aṅgas* as that of the Vedic *Aṅgas* and *Upāṅgas* as evidenced in this canonical text.

1 *BhS*, 1, 1, 4.
2 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
3 *Ib*, 7, 9, 301.
4 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441
5 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
6 *Vide infra* Ch. VII, Sec. 8
7 *BhS*, 18, 2, 618.
8 *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
9 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
10 *Kalpa Sutra* 1st lecture, S.B.E., p. 221.

"Riuvveda......cauṇhaṁ vedāṇaṁ saṁgovaṁgāṇaṁ sarahassāṇaṃ sārae."[1]

Moreover, it should be taken into account that the title '*Upāṅga*' has been attributed to the second group of the Jaina canon as arranged in the *Vallabhi* Council.

The references occurring in the *BhS* to some Indian Non-Aryan peoples (tribes) and foreign nationals,[2] such as, *Cilātikas* (Kirātas), *Barbarikās* (Barbara), *Isigaṇikās*, *Drāvidīs* (Drāviḍa), *Lhāsiyās* (Lhāsikas), *Lausiyas* (Lausikās), *Pulindīs* (Pulinda), *Pukkhalīs* (Puṣkala), *Sabarīs* (Śabara), etc., and (foreign peoples), like *Jonhikās*, *Palhavikās*, *Arabīs*, *Siṅghalīs*, *Muruṇḍīs* and *Pārasīs* and others, leads one to assign the date of this canonical text with a tolerable certainty to a period extending from the sixth century B. C. up to the sixth century A. D. during which they might have been recorded in it as evidenced by the facts of their social relation and racial synthesis.

The mention of the Persian female attendants in this list clearly shows the synchronism of the *BhS* with the period of the *Achamenid* Persion rule in North-West-India and that of Lord Mahāvīra in the sixth century B.C., while the reference to the *Joṇhiyās* (Yavanas), *Vālhikās* (Bactrians), *Muruṇḍas* (Śakas), *Palhavikās* (Pārthians), reveals the marked stages of the development of this canoncial work, as the successive periods of the advents of the Greeks, Bactrian Greeks, Śakas and Pārthians fall in the fourth, second & 135 B.C.'s and the first century A.D. respectively.

The ancient Indo-Ceylonese relation goes back to the period of Vijaya Siṁha[3] and Aśoka[4] and the latest evidence of the epigraphic records of the *Allāhābād* Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[5] points to this relation again established during the Gupta rule.

[1] *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 2, 1, 91.
[2] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380.
[3] *Vide infra* Ch. VIII Sec. 4.
[4] *Ib.*
[5] Allāhābād Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.

The mention of the *Arabis* forms another sheet anchor which has not yet been found in any earliest literature of India except in the Greek topographical account '*the Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*'[1] and the *Nausāri* grant[2] of Avanījñāśraya, the governor of Pulakeśī II. This evidence of the *Periplus* indicates a period far anterior to that of the first century A. D. before their actual advent to India and establishment of their rule in *Sindhu* in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. respectively. The references to the *Arabs* thus point to an *ante-Islamic* period in which Arabia and India were closely related by commercial bonds, as it is fully justified by the mention of the *Arabian* female attendants with their national costumes for the first time in the *BhS*. The commercial relation of the *Arabs* with the Western coast of India in the first century A. D. is corroborated by the *periplus* of the Erythræan sea.

The reference to '*Jinamsuya*'[3] (Cīnāmśuka), Chinese silken cloth in this canonical text suggests the Indo-Chinese trade-relation which probably began in the first century A. D. or long before that time.

The evidences of the astronomical and astrological conception—the sun, the moon, the planets, etc , and the absence of any allusion to the zodiac, showing no trace of Greek Astronomy in the *BhS* should be taken into consideration to determine its date. The *Nakṣatras* and the Vedic quinquennial *Yuga* still were current during the period of this work. All these facts point to a date of this fifth *Anga* anterior to the Greek period at least for this part of the text.

All these historical data lead one to the conclusion that the core of the contents and subject-matter of the *BhS* existed long before the time of Lord Mahāvīra and it was developed with the passage of time till it attained the final shape of its present size in writing along with the other canonical works in the beginning of the sixth century A. D. at the *Vallabhī* Council under the presidency of Devarddhi Gaṇin, the Kṣamāśramaṇa.

[1] *Periplus of the Erythraean* Sea. Schoff L. No. 36, p. 36.
[2] See the section on tribes and races in the eighth chapter.
[3] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380.

SECOND SECTION

Analysis of the contents :—

The name of the fifth *Aṅga* is *Viyāhapaṇṇatti* and this work is variously designated by the titles—*Bhagavatī Viyāhapaṇṇatti, Bhagavatī, Viāhapaṇṇatti*[1], *Vivāhapaṇṇatti* and *Paṇṇatti*[2]. In each case was added to it the epithet '*Bhagavatī*' which indicated reverence for it (iyaṁ ca Bhagavatītyapi pūjyatvenābhidhīyate)[3] and later on it became the title[4] of the whole work.

Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri[5] has given ten different meanings of the title '*Viāhapaṇṇatti*' in his commentary and equated it with the following Skt. words, viz., *Vyākhyāprajñapti, Vyākhyāprajñāpti, Vivāhaprajñapti, Vivāhaprajñāpti, Virādhaprajñapti* and *Virādhaprajñāpti*.

Arrangement of the work :—

The fifth *Aṅga* is arranged into *Śatakas, Uddeśakas* and *Sūtras* successively. The word '*Sae*' (Śata or Śataka) used in the beginning of the second *Śataka* suggests 'hundred', but there are found no proprieties in the present arrangement of this work. One is not able to explain its exact meaning because the extant forms have lost their significance. According to Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri this word '*Sae*' denotes *Adhyayana* (chapter) (Śate granthāntaraparibhāṣayā adhyayane)[6]. In the commentary on the *Samavāyāṅg Sūtra* he, while interpreting the statement "Vivāhapaṇṇattīe ekāsītiṁ mahājuṁmasayā paṇṇattā"[7] makes it more clear that *Adhyayana* is called by the word '*Sata*'.

> "Vyākhyāprajñapatyāmekāśītirmahāyugmaśatāni prajñaptāni, iha ca 'Śata śabdenādhyayanānyucyante, tāni kṛtayugmādi lakṣmaṇarāśiviśeṣavicārarūpāṇi atrāntarādhyayanasvabhāvāni tadavagamāvagamyānīti"[8].

1 *Samavāyāṅga* S, 81.
2 *Antagaḍadasāo* (*vagga* VI para—2); *Vivāga Suya* (*Suyakkhandha*, 1, ajjhayaṇa 2).
3 *BhS*, (Comm.) p. 1 a.
4 *Vide* Schubring. *Die Lehre Der Jainas*, 1953, p. 63.
5 *BhS*, (*Comm.*), P. 1 a—2.
6 *BhS*., (Comm.), p. 5.
7 *Samavāyāṅga*, S. 81.
8 *Ib*, (Comm.) pp. 886-89 a.

Uddeśaka means division of chapter.

"Adhyayanārthadeśābhidhāyino adhyayanavibhāgāḥ, uddiśyante upadhānavidhinā śiṣyasyācāryeṇa yathā etāvantamadhyayanabhāgamadhīśvetyevamuddeśista evoddeśakāḥ."[1]

The word '*Sūtra*' (Sutta) means the abbreviated form of the original *Sūkta* of the Vedas, but here in the fifth *Aṅga* it has lost the old significance, because it contains the subject matter in an explanatory detailed form.

Extent of the work :—

According to Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri the *BhS*[2] consists of 10,000 *Uddeśakas*, 36,000 questions and 2,88,000 *Pramāṇa-padas*, while the *Samavāyāṅga*[3] and *Nandī Sūtra*[4] furnish the number of *padas* as 84,000 and 1,44,000 respectively.

At end of the MSS. of the *BhS* it is clearly mentioned that it contains 138 *Śatakas* including the sub-*Śatakas*, 1925 *Uddeśakas* 1,84,000 *Padas*.

"Succāe Bhagavatīe aṭṭhatīsaṁ satam (138) satāṇaṁ, Uddesagāṇaṁ culasīti-sayasahassā padāṇaṁ, Pavaravaraṇāṇadaṁsīhiṁ .. ..Paṇṇattā ettḥamaṁgaṁsi".[5]

As regards the number of *Padas* and *Uddeśakas* the statement of this canonical work fully agrees with the actual state of the extent of the text with the exception of a slight variation in the number of *Uddeśakas* as there are found only 1923 *Uddeśakas* instead of 1925 in their specific mention in the *Vidhiprapā*.[6] So the *BhS*, as it stands to-day in the published form after its arrangement, contains 41 *Śatakas*, 1923, *Uddeśakas* and 868 *Sūtras*.

The great difference in regard to the extent of the *BhS*, i. e. 1,84,000 *Padas* in contrast with the number of *padas* given by the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* and the *Nandī Sūtra* may be explained by the fact that this canonical work did not attain

[1] *BhS*, (Comm), p. 5.
[2] *Ib*, (Comm),1, 1, 2.
[3] *Samavāyāṅga*, 140.
[4] *Nandī Sūtra*, 49.
[5] *BhS*, End of MSS.
[6] *Vidhiprapā* (v) ; *Vide* Indian Antiquary vol. XIX.

its present extent at the time of these two texts when the fifth *Aṅga* had 84,000 and 1,44,000 *Padas* respectively.

Definition of Padas :—

It is not clenrly explained in the commentary on the *BhS* by Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri what is meant by '*Pada*.'[1] In this respect the Gommaṭasāra[2] gives an explicit definition of the term '*Pada*' that one letter (knowledge), getting increased upto numerable letters one by one letter forms the scriptural knowledge called '*Pada*' (foot).

"Eyakkharādu-uvariṁ egegeṇā-kkhareṇa vaḍḍhaṁto /
Saṁkhejje khalu uḍḍhe padaṇāmaṁ hodi sudaṇāṇaṁ //"[3]

The total number of letters (*Varṇa-Akṣara*) of a *Pada* (foot) is 1634, 83, 07, 888 (sixteen hundred thirty-four crores, eighty-three lakhs and seven thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight.

"Solasasayacautīsā Koḍī tiyasīdilakkhayaṁ ceva /
Sattasahassāṭṭhasayā aṭṭhāsīdī ya padavaṇṇā" //[4].

In the commentary on the *Gommaṭasāra* '*Pada*' has been divided into three kinds, viz., (1) *Arthapada* denoting foot, a union of letters which communicate some idea as "bring fire" (Agniṁ ānaya), (2) *Pramāṇa-pada* (measure-foot), a fixed number of letters or syllables used "for a particular kind of combination in prose or poetry, e. g. "I bow to Lord Mahāvīra" (Namaḥ-Śrī-Varddhamānāya). Here the foot comprises letters; constituting a fourth part of the verse of the metre called Anuṣṭupa and (3) *Maddhyama-pada* (middle foot) consisting of 1634, 63, 07, 888 letters as mentioned above. The contents of the different *Aṅgas* or parts of the scriptural knowledge in verse (*gāthā*) 350 and which follows"[5].

"Bāruttarasayakoḍi-tesīdī taha ya hoṁti lakkhāṇaṁ/
Aṭṭhāvaṇṇasahassā paṁceva padāṇi Aṅgāṇaṁ"[6]//.

[1] *BhS* (Comm.), 1, 1, 2.
[2] *Gommaṭasara* (*Jīvakāṇḍa*), p. 194, v. 335, J. L. Jaini.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] *Ib* v. 336, p. 195, J. L. Jaini.
[5] *Ib*, Comm. 336, p. 195.
[6] *Ib*, 350, p. 199.

"The total number of the middle feet in the *Aṅgas* is one hundred twelve crores, eighty-three lakhs, fifty-eight thousands and five (112,83,580.05)".

The *BhS*, was gradually developed and it attained its present extent of 15,750 *granthāgra*, 1,84,000 *Padas*, as it is evidenced by the fact of the reference to the *Mahāyugmas* just before the number of 84,000 (eighty four thousand) *Padas* of this canonical work as mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* and also evidenced by the different proportions of the single *Śatakas*. giving the impression of comprising later additions.

Thus it is found that the *Śatakas*—the first to eight, twelfth to fourteenth and eighteenth to twentieth consist of ten *Uddeśakas* each; the ninth and tenth of thirty-four *Uddeśakas* each, the eleventh of twelve *Uddeśakas*, the fifteenth without *Uddeśaka*, the sixteenth of fourteen *Uddeśakas*, the seventeenth of seventeen *Uddesakas*, the twenty-first of eighty *Uddeśakas* (i.e. 8 *vaggas* having ten *Uddeśakas* each), the twenty-second of sixty (i.e. 6 vaggas containing ten *Uddeśakas* each), the twenty-third of fifty (5 vaggas with ten *Uddeśakas* each), the twenty-fourth of twenty-four *Uddeśakas*, the twenty-fifth of twelve, the twenty-sixth to thirtieth of eleven each, the thirty-first and thirty-second of twenty-eight each, the thirty-third and thirty-fourth of one hundred and twenty-four each, the thirty-fifth to thirty-ninth of one hundred and thirty-two, the fortieth of two hundred and thirty-one and the forty-first of one hundred and ninety-six *Uddeśakas* respectively.

This canonical work gives a "detailed exposition of the doctrine of *Śramaṇa Dharma* leading to Beautitude and it is the most important of all the sacred religious texts of the Jainas containing 36,000 questions[1] in forty-one *Śatakas* most of which are put in the mouth of Gautama Indrabhūti and the rest in those of other followers of Lord Mahāvīra, like Agnibhūti, Vāyubhūti and others, those of the followers of Lord *Pārśvanātha's* order, like Gāṅgeya, Kālāsavesiyaputta, those of the other

[1] *BhS*, (Comm.) 1, 1, 2.

Tīrthikas, those of the *Parivrājakas*, like Skandaka, Poggala Ammaḍa, that of Śiva, the *Vānaprastha tāpasa* (forest recluse), those of the householders, like Sudarśana and Somila of *Vāṇijyagrāma*, the *Śramaṇopāsaka*, Pinglaka and the *Śramaṇopāsikā* Jayantī and those of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra and his followers.

The first twenty *Śatakas* constitute the essential part of the *BhS* and deal with the varied subjects in irregular order, having no trace of recognizable connecting link among these *Śatakas* in reference to the activity and teachings of Lord Mahāvīra in the form of conversations with his disciples, Gautama Indrabhūti and others on various occasions at different places.

In this connection the Master mentions a large number of legends in support of his doctrine to give a clear and concise exposition of his doctrine.

The rest consisting of the twenty-first *Śataka* and following up to the forty-first is a sort of supplementary to the first part containing one-twenty *Śatakas*. The second part consists of short treatises, independent of each other, in which the question of living beings, their species and their varied conditions are treated without reference to any legend. Each *Śataka* of this part bears harmonious contents, but many of the *Śatakas* are co-related with one another, as it is evidenced by the fact that the twenty-first to the twenty-third deal with the plant's life, the twenty-fourth to the thirtieth with different conditions of living beings,—the twenty-fourth with their origin (birth), the twenty-fifth with their *leśyā* (conditions of soul), etc., the twenty-sixth with the binding of *Karma* (*Karmabandha*), the twenty-seventh with their process of action *karmakaraṇa kriyā* etc., the twenty-eighth with their sinful acts (*pāpakarma*), the twenty-ninth with their *Karmaprasthāpanādi*, the thirtieth with the four *Samavasaraṇas* (assemblies or schools) and the thirty-first to the fortyfirst with their states during the four *Yugmas* (*rāśis* = numbers)[1], viz. *Kṛtayugma*, *Tryoja*, *Dvāparayugma* and *Kalyoja*.

[1] *Dhavalā-Ṭīkā-Samanvitaḥ* ; *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgamaḥ*. Pustak–16 *Pariśiṣṭa*, p. 43, (Index).

The *Samavayānga Sūtra* records the contents of the *BhS.* in brief as given below :—

"Viyāheṇaṁ sasamayā Viāhijjaṁti parasamayā-
sasamayā parasamayā-Jīvā viā 3 loge viāhijjai-
vivāheṇaṁ, nānā-vihasuranaraṁda-rāya-risi-vivihasaṁ-
saiapucchiyāṇaṁ, jiṇeṇaṁvittharеṇaṁ, bhāsiyāṇaṁ-
davva-guṇa-khetta-kāla pajjava-padesa-pariṇāma-
jahacchiṭṭhiyabhāva-aṇugamaṃkkhevaṇayā-ppamāṇasuniuṇo-
vakkama-vivihappagārapagaḍa-payāsiyāṇaṁ ; logāloga-
payāsiyāṇaṁ saṁsārasamudda-ruṁda-uttaraṇa-samatthāṇaṁ-
"Suravaisaṁpūjiyāṇaṁ, bhaviyajaṇa-payahiyayābhi-
naṁdiyāṇaṁ tamaraya-vidhaṁsaṇāṇaṁ, sudiṭṭha-
dīvabhūya-īhāmati-buddhi-vaddhaṇāṇaṁ,
Chattīsasahassa-maṇūṇayāṇaṁ vāgaraṇāṇaṁ
daṁsaṇāo suyattha-bahu-viha-ppagārā"[1]

The study of the contents of the *BhS* shows that the scenes of the religious discourses of Lord Mahāvīra and other leaders of thought are laid out in *Rājagṛha* (*Guṇaśilaka-caitya*), *Śrāvastī* (*Koṣṭhaka caitya*), *Kayaṅgalā* (*Chatrapalāśaka caitya*), *Tungikā* (*Puṣpavati caitya*), *Moyā* (*Nandana Caitya*), *Campā* (*Pūrṇabhadra Caitya*), *Mithilā* (*Mānabhadra Caitya*), *Vāṇijyagrāma* (*Dūtipalāśaka Caitya*), *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma* (*Bahuśālaka Caitya*), *Hastināpura* (*Sahasrāmravana* grove), *Ālabhikā* (*Saṅkhavana caitya*), *Kauśāmbī* (*Chandrāvataraṇa caitya*), *Vītībhaya* (*Mṛgavana*), *Kāmpilyapura*, *Meṇḍikagrāma Sālakoṣṭhaka-caitya*), *Ullukatīra* (*Ekajambuka-caitya*), and *Viśākhā* (*Bahuputrikacaitya*). Of these places *Rājagṛha* was the most important centre of the religious activities of the Master where he appeared more than sixty times and expounded the Law in the assembly of his followers on different religious and philosophical problems raised by Gautama Indrabhūti and others.

It is revealed that out of 868 *Sūtras*, one *sūtra* deals with the questions of Roha to Lord Mahāvīra, one with those of Kālāsavesiyaputta to the disciples of Lord Mahāvīra, one with

[1] *Samavāyānga Sūtra*—140.

those of Piṅgalaka to Skandaka, a *parivrājaka* of *Śrāvastī*, five with those of Skandaka to Lord Mahāvīra, one with those of the *Śramaṇopasakas* of *Tungikā* to the Kāliyaputta and other *Sthaviras* of Lord *Pārśvanātha's* order, two with those of Agnibhūti to the Master, one with those of Vāyubhūti to Lord Mahāvīra, two with the combined questions of Vāyubhūti and Agnibhūti to the Master, one with those of some *Sthaviras* to him about the liberation of Atimukta Kumāra-Śramaṇa, one with the questions of Nirgranthīputra to Nāradaputra and vice versa, and that of Nāradaputra to Lord Mahāvīra, one with those of the followers of Lord *Pārśvanātha's* order to the Master about the topic night and day, one with those of other *Tīrthikas* to Gautama Indrabhūti and Lord Mahāvīra respectively about the doctrine of *Pañcāstikāya*, two with those of other *Tīrthikas* to the *Sthaviras* of the Master about the observance of religious rules, nine with those of Gāṅgeya, a follower of Lord *Pārśvanātha's* order to Lord Mahāvīra on different topics, three with the question of initiation and undertaking of asceticism of Ṛṣabhadatta and Devānandā to the Master; three with that of Jamālī, one with that of Jamālī and his five hundred followers at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* on the new doctrine of *Karma* born in his mind, one with the debate between Jamālī and Lord Mahāvīra, one with the question of *Samahastin* to Gautama Indrabhūti and the Master respectively; two with those of many *Sthaviras* of *Rājagṛha* to Lord Mahāvīra about the number of queens of Camara, etc., two with the account of asceticism of the *Vānaprastha, tāpasa* Śiva and his conversion by the Master to *Śramaṇa Dharma*; nine with the questions of Sudarśana to Lord Mahāvīra on time, his former life, and his undertaking of asceticism, two with those of the *Śramaṇopāsakas* of *Ālabhikā* to Ṛṣibhadraputra and to the Master, one with the question of initiation of Poggala, a *Parivrājaka* of *Ālabhikā* to Lord Mahāvīra, two with the observance of *Pauṣadhavrata* as proposed by Śaṅkha Śreṣṭhī, a *Śrāvaka* of *Śrāvastī* to his fellow brethern and his question to the Master, etc., three with the pilgrimage of Jayantī of *Kauśāmbī* of her question to Lord Mahāvīra and initiation by him to asceticism

of king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* to the Master, one with the account of the leaving of his son, Abhijit Kumāra for *Campā* and his political refuge in the court of king Kūṇika, eighteen *Sūtras* of the 15th *Śataka* with the accounts of the life and teachings of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, his spiritual duel with Lord Mahāvīra, his defeat and death in *Śrāvastī*, one with that of the suffering of the Master from bilious fever in *Meṇḍhikagrāma* and his cure, three with the questions of *Mākandikaputra* to Lord Mahāvīra on the topic of bondage, etc., one with the questions of other *Tīrthikas* to Madruka of *Rājagṛha* a disciple of the Master on the doctrine of *Astikāya*, one with the dispute between other *Tīrthikas* of *Rājagṛha* and Gautama Indrabhūti over the question of observance of religious vows and rules and two with the questions of Somila, a proud *Brāhmaṇa* of *Vāṇijyagrāma* to Lord Mahāvīra on religious and philosophical problems. The remaining *Sūtras* of this canonical work treat of the questions raised by Gautama Indrabhūti, the first disciple of the Master on various subjects.

THIRD SECTION

Language of the BhS :—

Language of the *BhS*, is called *Arddha-Māgadhī* which is stated to be the language of the gods and human beings in this canonical work[1].

Lord Mahāvira preached his doctrines of religion and philosophy to the people in this language, as it is clearly mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*, so that the common men could follow the message of his holy teachings without any difficulty. "Bhagavaṁ ca ṇam Addha-Māgahie Bhāsāe dhammamāikkhai."[2]

The evidence of the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* is also corroborated by the *Aupapātika Sūtra* in which it is stated that the Master spoke to king Kūṇika in this language.

[1] *BhS*, 5. 4. 191.
[2] *Samavāyāṅga* p. 60.

"Tae ṇaṁ Samaṇe Bhagavaṁ Mahāvire Kūṇigassa raṇṇo Bimbhisāraputtassa Addha-Māgahāe Bhāsāe bhāsai sā vi ya ṇaṁ Addha-Māgahā Bhāsā tesiṁ savvesiṁ ariyamaṇāriyāṇaṁ appaṇo samāsāe pariṇāmeṇaṁ pariṇamai."[1]

According to this instruction his contemporary Gaṇadhara Śrī Sudharman Swāmin composed all the *Sūtra-Granthas* in *Ardha-Māgadhī.*

"Atthaṁ bhāsai ariha, suttaṁ gaṁthaṁti gaṇaharā niuṇaṁ".[2]

As already discussed in the first section of this chapter the *Siddhāntas* were not committed to writing at the time of Sudharman Swamin, but they were preserved in memory by the recital study from preceptor to pupil. At the *Pāṭaliputra* council under the headship of Sthūlabhadra they were collected and compiled but were not given the form in writing. It was at the *Vallabhī* Council under the presidency of Devarddhi Gaṇin-the Kṣamāśramaṇa they were again collected, redacted and reduced to writing in the beginning of the six century A. D.

So the language of the *BhS* and other canonical works is to be traced in *Magadha* in Eastern India. It is observable that the language of this fifth *Aṅga* is not uniform as the tendency of modernizing it was stopped by Devarddhi Gaṇin. There is the absence of self-persistent orthography of *Jain Prākṛta* probably due to the effect of gradual entrance of the *Vernacular* in which the canonical texts were recited mostly and the spellings represent the original stratum ; the most modern are representing the form immediately pending the redaction ; it is near *Pāli* than to *Prākṛta* of Hāla, etc., e.g. *bhūta*-bhūya ; *udaga*-udaya, *uaya* ; *lobha*-loha.

It was provided with a good deal of peculiarities which form the characteristics of *Māgadhī* dialect e. g. the ending of the nominative in *e. samaṇe*,[3] *nayare*,[4] etc.

[1] *Aupapātika Sūtra*; *vide Pāia Sadda Mahaṇṇavo*, p. 19.
[2] *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, *vide Pāia Sadda Mahaṇṇavo*, p. 19.
[3] *BhS*, 1, 1, 5.
[4] *Ib*, 1-1-5.

The core of the language of the *BhS* and other canonical works is old, having its birth in Eastesn India, although the texts were codified in that dialect in Western India after 800 years transmission by the word of mouth from preceptor to pupil.

This is that they were preserved still in memory from generation to generation in original form in correct pronunciation.

In this redaction a care was certainly taken by the *Vallabhī* Council to retain a part of the old grammatical form, as it is particularly evidenced in the ending of the Nom. Sing. Masc. of the 1st declension in *ĕ*, not *ŏ*. But a change in the original form of the language of the *BhS* and other sacred texts took place, as they were reduced to writing in that form which was taken by the language of the time and place of redaction for the comprehension and realization of the common people including the fools and knaves.

"Bālastrīmandamūrkhāṇām nṛṇāṁ cāritrakāṅkṣiṇāṁ".[1]

"Anugrahārthaṁ tattvajñaih siddhāntaḥ Prākṛtah kṛtah."

This influence of an inevitable change in the spoken dialect after a lapse of time on the language of the *BhS* and other canonical works existing in the form of recitation was possible, as their purpose was at least to make them understandable to the people of that period.

Besides, there can be the main reason of the change in the language that after about 200 years of the demise of Lord Mahāvīra during the reign of Candragupta Maurya, *Magadha* was visited by a terrible famine lasting for twelve years when some monks of the *Nirgrantha* order under the headship of Bhadrabāhu moved off to the part near the sea in the south.

"Itaśca tasmin duṣkāle karāle Kālarātrivat /
Nirvāhārthaṁ sādhu-saṁgha-stīraṁ nīraṁdheryayau"[2] (55).

Since that time the cause of inability of *Pariśīlana* (study) of the *Sūtra-Granthas* is attributed to the fact that they were forgotten.

[1] *Daśavaikālika Tīkā* of Haribhadra Sūri & *Kāvyānuśāsana* of Hemachandra. [2] *Sthavirāvalī-Carita*, Sarga, 9.

"Aguṇyamānaṁ tu tadā sādhūnāṁ vismṛtaṁ Śrutaṁ /
Anabhyāsanato naśyatyadhītaṁ dhīmatāmapi"[1] (56) //.

After the famine was over they were compiled to eleven *Aṅgas* but were not committed to writing at the *Pāṭaliputra* Council.

"Saṅgho-atha Pāṭalīputre duṣkālānte akhilo amilat/
Yadaṅgādhyayanoddeśādyāsīd yasya tadādade"(57)//
"Tataścaikādaśāṅgāni Śrī saṅgho amelayat tadā/
Dṛṣṭivādanimittaṁ ca tasthau kiñcid vicintayan[2](58)//

Owing to these causes there appears to be a change in the language of the *BhS* along with the other *Sūtra-Granthas*, which differs from that of the original *Arddha-Māgadhī* and agrees in some respect with that of the so-called *Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī*.

It is possible that those monks who went to the south during the famine returned and joined the *Pāṭaliputra* council in the compilation-work with the local influence of *Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛta*.

After about eight hundred years of this ecclesiastical assembly the *Vallabhī* Council made further collection, compilation and codification of the sacred texts and committed them to writing by the monks, having carried the influence of different local dialects of *Prākṛta* language due to their travellings in various parts of the country. So, there are found distinguishing marks of difference in the language of the *BhS*.

According to Jacobi[3] the language of the Āgamas is *Jain Mahārāṣṭrī*, while Dr. Pischel[4] holds by refuting his arguments with substantial evidences that it is *Arddha-Māgadhī* in prose and poetry coming down from generation to generation in later times. Dr. Woolner[5] is of opinion that there is found in the canonical works a little part of *Arddha-Māgadhī* and in

[1] *Sthaviravali-Carita*, Sarga, 9. v. (56).
[2] *Sthavirāvali Carita*, vv. 57-58.
[3] *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 17 Dr. Jacobi.
[4] Introduction to comparative Grammar of the Prākṛit language, Dr. Pischel., p. 16 ff.
[5] Introduction to Prākṛit Grammar, Dr. Woolner.

the major portion there occurs *Mahārāṣṭrī*; while Dr. Manmohan Ghosh[1] has tried to show in the introduction to his book '*Karpūramañjarī*' that the so-called *Mahārāṣṭrī* is at its foundation a later form of *Sauraseni* which was carried to the south where it gathered some words and forms of the local *Prākṛta* and thus it was used in literature there in course of time.

The language of the *BhS* shows that it cannot be that *Arddha-Māgadhī*, the language in which Lord Mahāvīra preached his Law to the people, for it bears the characteristics of the Middle Indo-Aryan stages of language. It may be called later *Arddha-Māgadhī*. It is influenced by the early Middle-Indo-Aryan stage of language (600 B. C.—200 A. D.) in which the intervocal consonants are not lost but assimilated, e. g. *appa* (1, 2, 21)=*alpa*, *sappa* (15, 1, 547)=sarpa and a simplification of the grammatical structure is noticeable. In the language of this canonical work there is found also a tendency to drop the intervocal consonants, e.g. *nayare* (1, 1, 4)=*nagara*, etc., which indicate the Middle-Middle (200-600 A. D) and later Middle-Indo-Aryan (600 1000 A.D.) stages. The grammatical structure of its language is old and simple and its phonetics are much influenced by the Middle-Indo-Aryan stages, particularly the Middle Middle-Indo-Aryan stage, for the language has undergone changes with the march of time. The analysis of all these facts leads to the conclusion that the language of the *BhS* represents the Middle-Middle-Indo-Aryan stage.

So the contents and language of the *BhS* lend support to the assignment of its date to the period beginning from the sixth century B. C. to the sixth Century A. D.

FOURTH SECTION

Style of the BhS :—

The style of a work is the voice of words uttered by its author, producing an effect on the feelings of the readers

[1] *Karpūramañjarī*—Dr. M. M. Ghosh, p. 48.

by its action working upon their conscious minds. It may be both personal and impersonal. According to the different subject-matters in writing the style of an author changes; it is descriptive when he tells something and describes a person or a thing; it is explanatory when he explains something or interprets the underlying causes of the occurrence of a thing or an event or studies and examines some subject or persuades one to think in the light of his own thought; and it is emotive when he rouses emotions in his readers' minds and makes them happy or sorrowful or angry, etc. It is this style of a work which evokes a corresponding mood in the readers' minds by presenting its contents and treating of its subject-matter in a clear and concise manner.

The Vedic literature begins with the metre of poetry in composing its verses, revealing prayers and hymns addressed to the powers of Nature deified thus:

"Risen in magestic blaze
Lo ! the universe's eye
Vast and wondrous host of rays
Shineth brightly in the sky." etc.[1]

The *BhS* as one of the *Aṅgas* of the Āgamic literature originates with prose containing thoughts and activities of various religious teachers. It is not the classical Sankrit prose, exhibiting its rich style, but it is the prose to convey the thoughts and ideas of the religious leaders through the language of the people among whom they moved. So the style of this canonical work is the style of the people, which distinguishes itself from that of the Vedic literature. Here the purpose is to teach religion to the general mass in a natural style but not in an artificial one of the Vedic verses where one is to memorize hymns of prayers.

The style of the *BhS* used by its author in presentation of its different contents and in dealing with its subject-matter is of varied character, as it appears from its massiveness and

[1] Hymns of the *Ṛgveda*, p. 12, Vide translation by C. Manning.

ponderosity manifested in the continual repititions and constantly stereotyped descriptions and forms of incorporations of materials into it, e g. "Namo Bambhīe Livīe"[1]. "Namo suyassa,"[2] "Vaṇṇao"[3]. "Samaṇe Bhagavaṁ Mahāvīre āigare titthagare purisuttame, etc."[4]

The precautions taken by Devarddhi Gaṇin could not save the text from insertions, interpolations, abbreviations, and omissions in spite of his best efforts by dividing this canonical work into *Satakas*, *Uddeśakas* and *Sūtras* successively. Its references to the parallel passages occurring in other sacred texts have frequently been made to abbreviate its volume by avoiding the continual repetitions of its contents with the connecting word '*Jāva*'. Thus it has lessened descriptions; besides there is a little variation in its forms made by alternating questions and answers without long continuation. The monotony of the sermons has thus been relieved by this deliberate interposition of dialogues and also by the presentation of its varied contents.

When the style of the *BhS* is judged with an objective view, it is found that it has served its purpose in full by embodying the holy teachings of Lord Mahāvira in the form of conversations in the spoken language, as it explains "speech is the carrier of thought" (Mannāmīti ohāriṇī bhāsā)[5]. It contains some literary flourishes in the form of numerous legends, parables, similes, metaphors, analogies, descriptions of persons and things, emotive prose, etc. faithfully transmitted from generation to generation and the manner of expression of the author to preach the holy teachings of Lord Mohāvira to the people. This method of explaining and interpreting the religious and philosophical doctrines made them easy, comprehensible and intelligible to the general mass for a clear conception and understanding and realization of the truth underlying them. The Master moved among all classes of people of the society, preaching his Law for their enlightenment,

[1] *BhS*. 1, 1, 2. [2] *Ib*. 1, 1, 3. [3] *Ib*. 1, 1, 4. [4] *Ib*, 1, 1, 5.
[5] *Ib*, 2, 6. 113.

so he took particular care to make his sermons understandable to them by drawing on the familiar incidents occurring in their day-to-day lives. For example, as a weak decrepit old man, being struck on the head with a blow received from a very strong young man feels pain, so an earthbodied being also getting struck experiences more pain than that[1].

As the glances of spectators cannot create any trouble nor cause disease nor dismemberment of the body of a dancer performing dance-drama in a theatre hall and vice versa, so the beings existing in the Universe do not create trouble to one another.

In one passage[2] the separate existence of individual beings in the space of the Universe has been brought to light according to the doctrine of plurality of souls.

Here the object of the explanatory style in prose is to explain and interpret the fundamental principles of life which govern the occurrence of things in a purest form of scientific impersonal voiceless description in order to bring out the truth.

The author makes study of truth and reality with the purpose of attaining the absolute truth with devotion according to his scheme. He searches out and gets a line of meaning in things as satisfying his inquisitive mind. Here the style of expression is scientific, but the topic of study is philosophic dealing with the concept of beings and space of the Universe. So the voice of words spoken by him is impersonally logical with a stress laid on the facts of reality.

Legends :—

The auther of the *BhS* has utilized many legends to present the account of the predecessors of Lord Mahāvīra and also of some contemporary monks who attained *Sramaṇahood* and liberation by practising the acts of severe austerities and meditation. In these legends the following come in the lime light—Munisuvrata[3], Dharmaghoṣa, the disciple's disciple of Vimala[4],

[1] *BhS*, 19. 3, 654.
[2] *Ib*, 18, 2, 618.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 10. 422.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.

the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara, the followers of Lord *Pārśvanāth's* order[1], those of *Jamāli*[2], the *Vānaprastha tāpasa* (forest recluse), Śiva, the royal sage of *Hastināpura*[3], the three *parivrājakas*, namely, Skandaka[4], Poggala[5], and Ammaḍa[6], and Gośāla Mankhaliputra,[7] the *Ājīvika* leader. The whole fifteenth *Śataka* has been devoted to the legend of Gośāla, his life and teachings, and the *Ājīvika* sect. This account is presented in the form of an epilogue emerged out of the conversations between Gautama Indrabhūti and the Master. These legends throw light upon the religious conditions of the period and give a graphic account of the life and activities of various sects and their systems of thought and reveal the existence of some obscure cults with unsympathetic criticism. The way of presentation of the picture of religious firmament has brought to light the half-known and unknown life of these sects with a historical background.

The author of the *BhS* has also used some fictitious narratives to deduce some specific moral, e. g. the story of some merchants of *Śrāvastī* and their fate as narrated by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra[8] to Ānanda, a disciple of Lord Mahāvīra to warn him against his (the Master) act of vilification of the *Ājīvika* leader by disclosing his life's account.

As one good merchant among them was spared of his life by a wounded poisonous snake for the act of his moral advice given to his fellow-traders not to break the last mound out of greediness for more wealth, so Ānanda also was allowed to return with safety from the attack of the spiritual power of wounded and wrathful Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, staying like that poisonous snake struck on the head by the other covetous merchants and to report this warning of destruction to the Master, if he indulged in the act of inciting the *Ājīvika* leader again in this manner[9].

In the story of the four merchants the aim of the author is to move or to instruct the readers by his narrative style backed by reason. He has told this story of adventure,

[1-6] *Vide infra* Ch. VIII, Section on other sects.
[7] *BhS*, 15, 1, 539. [8-9] *Ib*, 15, 1, 547.

furnished vividly with the details of incidents by bringing out speed, suspense and visibility in its cumualtive effect imposed by its own atmosphere. A distinct and separate impact is made by each sentence used by him. Here a continuity of the voice having up and down pitch is kept in an unbroken link of description of successive collective images or ideas each of which is made to merge into the next. The author creates a kind of sense-atmosphere in which he makes his readers appreciate his statement by shaking their attention with receptivity of mind. He uses clear-cut words with a voice very keen like a man, observing every thing caught up in his mind in the action of the moment and thus he makes the final impression on them with the last statement which still rings in the ear, though he has stopped talking.

Here the quality of style is simple narrative but the telling of the story is objective with regard to the description of things neatly arranged to make a cumulative effect in unslacking sentences. Because the author is treating of a great problem — the spiritual power and the way of life without using apostrophes and making any attempt to impress the effect of fact by explaining it with particulars or by uttering an even or a raised voice or by making a sudden halt or by shaking the readers' minds into attention.

Simile and Metaphor :—

The *BhS* makes frequent use of many similes and metaphors to expound the philosophical doctrines. simile and metaphor are almost identical, but metaphor is only a compressed simile; it makes a deeper impact on the mind by its vividness than simile does. Some examples of simile and metaphor are given below :—

The author explains non-eternality of human life by the familiar similes thus—it is non-eternal like the evening colour of the sky, like the water bubble, etc. upto like the sparkling of lightning, it is inconstant.[1]

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384.

It is explained by metaphor that "human body is the house of suffering, place of hundreds of diseases, the standing bones like wood covered with veins, nerves, etc, the house of oldness, flesh, decay and it has the nature of fall and destruction.[1]

In these examples of similes and metaphors the author keeps up the familiar voice by making precision in the words and forms of phrases in each nicely balanced sentence. Here he appeals to the intellect of the readers, working upon the feelings of their responsive minds completely merged in his personality.

Analogy :—

He has used many familiar analogies also to explain the abstruse doctrines of philosophy for their clear understanding and realization. For example, an enclosure of he—goats (ayāvaya)[2] compared to the Universe is applied to expound the principle of origination and decay of beings in the space. Just as in one large enclosure of 100 he-goats kept and reared by some person every point of space of it, having the size of an atom gets within six months touched with their excrement, urine upto hoofs, or nails, etc, so also in this extensive Universe there is no point of space having the size of an atom where this soul was not born or did not die.

Description of people :—

The inner reactions of man are closely related to his physical being. The author of the *BhS* professedly makes use of literary flourishes in the description of persons things, scenes and action, besides for explanatory or illustrative purposes.

The physical condition of a houseless monk named Skandaka as a result of his practice of severe austerities and meditation is compared with that of a bullock-cart loaded with wood, etc., so it, being hot and dry, if drawn by any body, moves or stops with a cracking sound, just like that Skandaka moves, and stops with sound. Like the fire covered with ashes, his body becomes very glowing by the beauty of his spiritual fire.[3]

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384. [2] *Ib*, 12, 7, 457. [3] *Ib*, 2, 1, 93.

Here the purpose of the author is to explore a complicated structure of human body without an attempt to present an image of man but at the same time to reveal the inner emotions without applying any psychological method. He aims at the truth by depicting the person with the psychological background of knowledge without using terms. Here his style is like that of a keen anatomist, displaying the physical structure of the man, with a creative mind of a discoverer of new things which give pleasure to both the readers and himself.

The author depicts youth and physical beauty of a young lady with a brilliant touch of a masterly hand of an artist, as she appears to be vivacious with the rhythm of her life. Thus it is described that during the pilgrimage of Jamālī to Lord Mahāvīra for undertaking asceticism there stood behind the prince in the palanquin one excellent young lady (courtesan) dressed in charming costumes, like the abode of sexual passion or expert in sexual union, endowed with beauty, youth, bud of luxury or loveliness, unblossmed flower of lustre, having beautiful breasts and holding a garland of *koraṇṭa* flowers, shining like silver, lotus, jasmine and the moon, and a white umbrella.[1]

Further, two pictures—one of youth and the other of old are presented by depicting the two stages of human life.

'As an old man is unable to cut a knotty trunk of wood with a blunt axe by making sound, just like that the effects of sinful acts of infernal beings do not come to an end', while as a strong young man fells a large straight trunk of a *Śāmali* tree with a sharp axe without making sound, so the gross *karma-matter* of the *Śramaṇa-Nirgranthas* quickly gets annihilated.[2]

In these passages the author creates the images of persons with great agility and carries the readers' minds with his, without allowing the images to disappear. He applies his mental faculty to paint the physical being out of fresh stuff with bold sentences and firm ending.

[1] *BhS.* 9, 33, 385. [2] *Ib*, 16, 4, 573.

Description of things :—

There are two classes of description of things, viz. scientific and imaginative, the first depends on the statement of facts to create human pleasure, while the aim of the other is to generate atmosphere in every physical object which is made the starting point of an idea with a springy rhythm. The following examples will throw some light upon the descriptive style on things used by the author of the *BhS*. In presenting a graphic account of the bed-chamber of queen Prabhāvatī of *Hastināpura*[1] it is depicted thus, that it was decorated with pictures from inside and having been whitened, rubbed, and smoothened from outside, variegated upper part (roof) and intensely shining lower part (floor), (having) darkness dispelled by jewels and pearls (studded there) and many equally divided parts. It was furnished with the presents of flowers, having five colours, juice, fragrance, and it was made beautiful by the production of fragrant smell of black *agaru*, best perfume, olibannum and incense endowed with pleasant odour and elegant smell.

In this passage the author has created an atmosphere by this way of description of things and produced an effect by bringing inanimate (or non-living) things to life and by presenting the objects to the readers with a rhythm.

Similarly a description of the vision of a lion in dream beheld by this queen Prabhāvatī is made in a very colourful style thus: She woke up from her sleep, having beheld the vision of a lion, having a beautiful and worth seeing breast, very white like a silver necklace, milk ocean, moonlight and particles of water and silver mountain, having firm charming fore-arms and round thick well-set excellent sharp teeth, smiling mouth like an adorned best lotus, delicate, measured splendid charming lips like the leaf of a red lotus and soft, and very tender palate tongue, having eyes like the heated best gold existing in a pot (for making liquid), rolling like the wheel to the right, round and pure like the lightning, (having) large thick

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 428.

thigh (or shank), a fully developed broad shoulder adorned with soft, shining, fine, auspicious-marking manes, a tail raised, well built and well grown flapping to and fro, a sportive gaping mouth having the shape of the moon, and open nails, descending from the sky and entering her own mouth.

This imaginative description of the lion releases the imagination of the readers by creating a state of mind to play over its physical being, from one side of the object, grasping all the while the connecting link outside it. Here this style of the author sketches the image of the lion out of his own experience to make the readers see it with their imaginative eyes.

Besides these specimens of the descriptive style, the art of depicting gods and goddesses endowed with their splendour and power and their celestial houses as revealed in the *BhS*[1] makes a union of heaven and earth with their respective inmates.

All these evidences clearly show the aesthetic sense of its author, as it is reflected in its literary flourishes explaining and interpreting the doctrines of life and Nature with a brilliant touch of an artistic hand, when occasions and incidents demanded it in this encyclopaedic work, mainly dealing with religion and philosophy.

The author of the *BhS* uses the emotive style, the purest form of which treats of ideas by applying words containing suggestions of moving events or things in rousing emotions of its readers.

He paints human traits, especially mother's heart, joy and sorrow with the softness of touch of Nature as manifested in and through his artistic hand thus : On the recognition of her former son in Mahāvīra at the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* Devānandā stood gazing steadfastly at him without winking her eyes out of overwhelming motherly affection and joy. Then milk from her breast gushed forth through her Jacket, with her eyes filled with tears, her arms swelled besides her bangles, jacket stretched, the hairs of her body stood erect as when a *Kadamba* flower

[1] *BhS*, 2, 8, 116.

unfolds itself in response to a shower of rain ; thus she gazed at the Master without averting her eyes.[1]

In one passage the author presents a specimen of pathos of human heart by expressing sorrow of the mother of Jamālī caused by the thoughts of the pangs of his separation with a brilliant touch of the style of climax and anticlimax, when the prince requested for the permission of his parents to undertake the state of houselessness. Having heard the undesirable, unpleasing and hitherto unheard words of her son that he desired to take to asceticism, she began to perspire (*svedāgatā*), became pale, swooned and at once fell down on the floor.[2]

Then she was quickly brought to consciousness by her female attendants, having sprinkled pure cold water on her face and fanned her body with a palm-leaf fan. Thus being consoled by them, she, crying and lamenting told Jamālī "You are son, our only one son, etc."

Here the aim of the author is to rouse emotions which are not at present in the readers' minds by the art of his style.

Humour :—

In the nature of the subject-matter of the *BhS*, dealing with the serious problems of religion and philosophy, the use of humour is not expected. Nevertheless, this sentiment is not totally absent, as it is evidenced in the following passage.

At the *Dūtipalāśaka Caitya* Somila,[3] a proud *Brāhmaṇa* of *Vāṇiyagrāma* asked Lord Mahāvīra an ambiguous question whether '*Kulatthas*' are eatable or uneatable to the *Śramaṇa-Nirgranthas*. The Master replied that there were two kinds of *Kulatthas*, viz. *Strī-kulatthas* and *Dhānya-kulatthas* (pulses, etc.). The *Strī-kulatthas* are of three classes, viz. *Kulakanyakā* (family-daughters), *Kulabadhūs* (family-daughters in-law) and *Kulamātās* (family-mothers) ; they are unfit for food of the *Śramaṇa-Nirgranthas* ; while the *Dhānyakulatthas* (pulses) may be taken by them on certain conditions.

[1] *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384. [3] *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.

All these examples of different styles used by the author of the *BhS* reveal that he presented the contents and dealt with the subject-matters of this encyclopaedic work in the language of the people in their own style by utilizing rich literary flourishes whenever demanded by the occasion to explain and interpret the doctrines of religion and philosophy so that they would be comprehensible, understandable and realizable to the common man.

THIRD CHAPTER

Political conditions as reflected in the BhS.

FIRST SECTION

Political Disunity

It appears from the *BhS* that there was no political unity of India under one paramount power during the period of Lord Mahāvīra. Then India (*Bhāratavarṣa*) was divided into a large number of independent monarchical and non-monarchical states, as this political condition is reflected in the list of sixteen great states (*Solasa Mahājanapadas*)[1] mentioned in the *BhS*.

They are as follows :—*Aṅga, Magadha, Malaya, Mālavaka, Accha* (*Ṛkṣa*), *Vaccha* (*Vatsa*), *Koccha* (*Kaccha* = *Kautsa*), *Pāḍha* (*Pāṇḍya*), *Lāḍha* (*Rāḍha* = West Bengal), *Vajja* (*Vajji* = *Videha*), *Moli* (*Malla* = *Pāvā* and *Kuśīnārā*), *Kāśī, Kośala, Avāha* (not yet correctly identified), and *Sumbhuttara* (*Sumhottara*)[2].

At the beginning of the 6th century B. C. the same political condition is reflected in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara Nikāya* in which the following sixteen great states (*Soḷasa Mahājanapadas*)[3] of considerable extent and power are mentioned, viz. *Kāsī, Kosala, Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji* (*Vṛjji*), *Malla, Cetiya* (Cedi), *Vaṁsa* (Vatsa), *Kuru, Pañcāla, Maccha* (Matsya = Jaipur), *Sūrasena* (Mathurā), *Assaka* (Aśmaka), *Avantī, Gandhāra* and *Kamboja*.

[1] *BhS*, 15. 1, 554 (Fifteenth *Śataka* First *Uddeśaka*). See also *Uvāsagadasāo*, Appendix II, Dr. Hoernle; refer also to '*Die Kosmographie Der Inder*', 225, W. Kirfel.

[2] *Sumbhuttara* is identified with the modern districts of *Midnāpore* and *Bānkurā* in West Bengal. See *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 357.

[3] P. T. S. I. 213; IV, 252, 256, 260. The *Mahāvastu* (1. 34) presents a similar list but drops *Gandhāra* and *Kamboja* and puts *Sibi* and *Daśārna* in their places in the *Panjab* (or *Rājputānā*) and Central India respectively. The *Jana-Vasabha-Suttanta* gives a less complete list of these sixteen great Janapadas.

These states flourished during the period between the rise of *Vajji* to power after the downfall of *Videha* and the annexation of *Kāśi* to the *Kośalan* empire by king Mahākośala in the later half of the 6th century B. C.

It is clear from the above evidences that *Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāśi* and *Kośala* are common to both the lists of sixteen great states given in the *BhS* and the Buddhist *Aṅguttara Nikāya*. *Mālavaka* and *Moli* of the *BhS* may probably be identical with *Avantī* and *Malla* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* respectively.

In addition to the above eight states, other new states mentioned in the list of the *BhS* clearly show the knowledge of the political geography of the far east and the extreme south of India, possessed by its author at that period. This wider geographical horizon of India as described here indicates the more lateness of its list of states than that of the one referred to in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.[1]

The *BhS* thus clearly reveals the political condition of India prevailing during the time of Lord Mahāvīra (i. e. the 6th century B. C. to the 5th century B. C.), which will fully be discussed in detail in the second section of this chapter.

SECOND SECTION

Factors of political condition.

Among those above mentioned sixteen great states (*Solas Mahājanapadas*) the most famous states of North-Eastern India were *Kāśī, Kośala*, Vajji (Vṛjji), and *Magadha* which flourished

[1] P. H. A. I., Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, p. 96. F.Note-1. "Mr. E. J. Thomas suggests (History of Buddhist Thought, p. 6) that the Jaina author who makes no mention of the northern *Kamboja* and *Gandhāra* but includes several South Indian peoples in his list", "wrote in South India and compiled his list from countries that he knew". Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri argues "If the writer was really ignorant of the northern peoples, his *Mālavas* could not have been in the Punjab and must be located in Central India. In that case his account can hardly be assigned to a very early date",

independently side by side during the time of Lord Mahāvīra with their respective political autonomy by following a policy of expansion.

The most important factor in the political condition of this period was the quadrangular struggle[1] among these four states for establishing their respective political suzerainty over North-Eastern India by their aggressive imperialism under their respective ambitious rulers.

The military power of the *Vrjji* confederation was growing in the north to a considerable extent under the leadership of king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī*, united together with his allies, nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśi*, *Kośala* and their eighteen republican chiefs (*gaṇarājas*).[2] On the other side the aggressive monarchy of *Magadha* under its ambitious ruler, Videhaputra king Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru)[3] was following a policy of expansion and self-aggrandizement from his base at *Rājagṛha*.

1–2 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 301.

3 'Videhaputta Kūṇiye' of the *BhS* was also named as *Asogavanacanda* or *Asogacanda* after the name of the garden, *Asogavaṇiya* where he was thrown immediately after his birth. (*Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* II, p. 166). According to *Ovāiya* (6, p. 20), Kūṇika was thrown on a dung-hill outside the city where his little finger was wounded by the tail of a cock. Thus he was named Kūṇika It is stated in the *Nirayāvaliyā sūtra* that Kūṇika was the son of queen Cellanā, the daughter of king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī*, which was a part of *Videha*. So this epithet 'Videhaputta' was attributed to him. The Buddhist *Nikāyas* also attribute this epithet to Ajātaśatru Buddhaghoṣa however resolves "Vedehi into Veda iha. Vedanā ihati or intellectual effort (i.e. the son of an accomplished princess)." (The commentary on the *Digha Nikāya* I, p. 139), (*BKS*, Vol. I, 109n). See foot note No 3 of P.H.A I, Dr. H C. Ray Chaudhuri *Jātaka*, Nos. 239, 283, 492. According to the evidences of *Thusa Jātaka* (338) and the *Musika Jātaka* (373) Kośaladevī (i e *Kośalan* princess) was the mother of Ajātaśatru who is called the nephew of king Pasenadi of *Kośala* in the *Saṁyukta Nikāya* (Book of Kindred Sayings 110). But Maddā (Madrā) is, however, mentioned as the mother of Ajātaśatru in Vol. I of the Book of the Kindred Sayings (p. 38n), while a "Tibetan writer calls her Vāsavī (DPPN, I. 34). Now the Jain tradition and the *Nikāyas* agree in attributing the epithet 'Videhaputta' to Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. So one may identify Kūṇika of the Jain texts with Ajātaśatru

So the *Magadhan* king, "the symbol of aggressive imperialism stood face to face"[1] with the upholders of republicanism. But ultimately republicanism of the *Vṛjjians* had to submit to the aggressive imperialism of *Magadha* which pushed up its frontiers to all directions.

Thus the foreign policy of expansion followed by king Kūṇika launched this rising state to the career of conquest and self-aggrandizement which went a long way to bring about the political unification of India under the vigorous rulers of the *Nandas* and the *Mauryas* in future and only ended with the conclusion of the *Kaliṅga* war of the emperor, Aśoka.

Political events :—Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma and Rathamusala Saṅgrām.

In connection with the results of the participation by soldiers in two great wars viz. *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka*[2] and *Rathamusala*[3], which took place between Videhaputra Kūṇika,[4] the king of *Magadha* and king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī*, united together with his allies, nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and their eighteen republican chiefs (*gaṇarājas*). Two scenes of the *BhS*[5] depict a vivid picture of these two terrible wars as known and remembered by Lord Mahāvīra.[6] They throw a welcome light upon the political condition and relation existing among the four states, viz. *Magadha*, *Vaiśālī*, *Kāśī*, and *Kośala* and give an idea of the nature and form of war during the time of the Master.

One scene relates that king Kūṇika, having known the impending *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* (the war of big stone) with the *Vṛjjian* confederacy, immediately ordered his staff-members

on this ground of the common epithet 'Videhaputta' and identical political activities of both and the relation with the *Vajjis*, because fresh evidences are coming out to throw light upon this identification of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. The *Vinaya* Texts of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins* recently discovered, mention Ajātaśatru as the son of Cellanā (named here Celā). See Age of Imperial Unity, foot note no. 2, p. 20.

1 Potilical History of Ancient India, Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, p. 189.

2 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300. 3 *Ib*, 7, 9, 301. 4,5 *Ib*. 7, 9, 300.

to harness the chief elephant, (called) Udāyin and to equip his army consisting of four parts furnished with cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry. At his command all the forces were very quickly mobilized by his officials according to varieties of very skilful designs and actions of forming ideas of intelligence derived from the instruction of technical experts of war, and then the total mobilization was at once reported back by them to the king.[1]

After having performed the auspicious ceremoney, king Kūṇika, being surrounded by his well-equipped army consisting of four parts furnished with cavalry, elephants, best chariots and infantry and followed by a large body of his officers, such as *Bhaṭa*, *Caṭakara*, etc , went to the war *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka*.

King Kūṇika fought this battle with his terrific war-engine and drove away the united forces of nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and their eighteen republican chiefs from one direction to another. Their best heroes were killed, trampled down and struck, so their war-flags marked with wheel, etc., fell down in the thick of fighting.

In that '*Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*' whoever was there, whether a horse or an elephant or a soldier or a charioteer was killed by a grass or a leaf or a wood or a stone, knew thus "I am killed by *Mahāśilā* (big stone)". For that reason this war was called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*.[2] It was a terrible war in which eighty-four lakhs of people were killed. But the victory of king Kūṇika does not appear to be a decisive one in the first phase of this struggle between the two contending parties.

So another scene of the *BhS* describes the second great war called '*Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*', as known and remembered by Lord Mahāvīra, which also took place between king Kūṇika and the confederacy of nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis* under the leadership of Ceṭaka, the *Vaiśālian* king. But this time *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and their eighteen republican chiefs do not appear on the scene of the theatre of this second struggle.

1.2 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300. 3 *Ib*, 7, 9, 301.

the approaching *'Rathamusala Saṅgrāma'*,
Having known ve battle to the combined forces of the
king Kūṇika went to g *Licchavis* with his well equipped army as
nine *Mallakis* and nine L ght this war also with another new
described before. He fou *'Rathamusala'*[1] and drove away the
destructive weapon called *vis* together with their confederate
nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licch* another as he did in the *'Mahā-*
army from one direction to
śilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma'.
āma "one chariot having no horse,
In the *Rathamusala Saṅg* t having one *Musala* (club or mace)
no charioteer, no soldier, bi ctions, causing a great destruction
attached to it, ran to all dire and a *Kalpa* (a fabulous period of
of a large number of peoples peoples and made the mud of blood
time) of total annihilation c a
in the battlefield."[2]
e this war was called *'Rathamusala*
So for that reason nber of casualties of death amounting
Saṅgrāma'. A large nur les took place in this devastating war.
to ninety-six lakhs peop lly inflicted a crushing defeat on the
Thus king Kūṇika final *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala*
combined forces of nine an chiefs led by king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī*
and their eighteen republic two new war engines called *'Mahāśilā-*
with the use of these a' respectively.
kaṇṭaka' and *'Rathamusa*
the holy teachings of explanation on the
While imparting t were killed in these two wars, Lord
rebirth of those who indirect reference to the system of cons-
Mahāvīra made an introduced and enforced by the ancient
cription of soldiers in times of war. Here is given an instance
republic of V the state law in connection with the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*.

The *Śramaṇopāsaka*, Nāgaputra Varuṇa,[3] a prominent citizen of *Vaiśālī* was perforce ordered by the king, the assembly (or republic) and the army of this state respectively to join the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* in order to fight against the forces of

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 301.
[2] *Ib*, do. (At the end of a *Kalpa* it is stated that the world is annihilated).
[3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 303.

Videhaputra king Kūṇika of *Magadha*. He had to submit to the mandate of his state and went to war with his well-equipped army, being surrounded and followed by many leaders of the republic, ambassadors, and frontier guards. But he fought this battle according to the principle of not-striking the enemy first. Having seriously been smitten with an arrow of one rival soldier, he at once left the battlefield and passed his last breath in a lonely place by fully observing the holy teachings of the *Nirgrantha* Order.[1]

But what was the real cause of these two great wars between king Kūṇika and the confederation of nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and their eighteen republican chiefs? What was the common interest which led the members of this confederation to form a military alliance under the leadership of king Ceṭaka in order to fight their common enemy, the *Magadhan* king? The *BhS* does not throw any light upon these two aspects of this political struggle going on between the two sides at the time of Lord Mahāvīra. So one should turn his attention to the other literary sources for ascertaining the real cause of these two political events between the two warring camps and finding out also the reason of the military alliance formed by the confederate powers.

In this respect some Jaina works furnish most valuable informations regarding the causes of these two political struggles between *Magadha* and the *Vṛjjian* confederacy as reflected in the *BhS*.

It is said in the *Nirayāvaliyā Sūtra*[2] that the cause of this great conflict was the gift of one famous state elephant, '*Seyaṇaga*' (secanaka) i e., sprinkler and a huge necklace of eighteen strings of Jewels, made by king Seṇiya (Bimbisāra)[3]

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 303.
[2] *Nirayāvaliyā Sūtra* 1; See *Uvāsagadasāo*., Appendix II, p. 7, Dr. Hoernle; cf. Tawny, *Kathākośa*, pp. 176 ff.
[3] According to *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* (II., p. 158), king Seṇiya was known as *Bhambhasāra*, because once he took a drum (*Bhambha*) at the time when the palace of *Kusaggapura* caught fire due to the carelessness of a cook.

of *Magadha* to his younger sons, Halla and Behalla by his wife, queen Cellanā, the daughter of king, Ceṭaka.

On his ascendency to the royal power after the usurpation of his father's throne by him, king Kūṇika, the eldest son of king Seṇiya, being instigated by his wife, Paumāvaī, demanded the surrender of those two gifts from his two younger brothers. But they refused to give them up to king Kūṇika and they immediately carried them off to their maternal grandfather, king Ceṭaka, by their secret flight to *Vaiśālī* in order to escape the forcible surrender of these two precious gifts.

On his failure to obtain the peaceful extradition of the two fugitives, together with those presents, king Kūṇika waged war against king Ceṭaka.[1]

The Buddhist text however reveals that the economic interest between *Magadha* and *Vaiśālī* was the real cause of this political struggle which led these two states to war to settle their issues in the battlefield. It is stated in the *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*[2], a commentary of Buddhaghoṣa that the violation of the economic agreement on the part of the *Licchavis*, regarding the condominium exercised by them and king Kūṇika, over a mine of precious gems or some fragrant article in the vicinity of a port situated on the bank of the *Ganges*, led to the war between these two powers.

Thus it is found that there is a difference between the evidences furnished by the Jain and Buddhist texts respectively.

A close study of the above facts shows that the real cause of the struggle between the two powers was both political and economic. It is apparently clear that the rising state of *Magadha* followed a policy of expansion and self-aggrandizement at the cost of its powerful northern neighbouring state of *Vaiśālī* to establish its hegemony over the lower Gangetic region

[1] *Nirayāvaliyā Sūtra* I, See *Uvāsagadasāo* II, Appendix, p. 7, Dr. Hoernle; cf. Tawney, *Kathākośa*, pp. 176 ff.
[2] Burmese Edition, part II, p. 99. See also B. C. Law's Buddhist Studies, p. 199; DPPN. II 781.

by ousting the *Vaiśālian* political and economic interests from the field of commerce and trade which were of vital importance to its prosperity[1]. As it wanted to buy commodities which flowed from North Bihar to the port on the *Ganges*, so it followed a policy of expansion which is evidenced in the construction of a fort by king Kūṇika at *Pāṭligrāma* against the possible attack of *Vaiśālī*[2].

Preparation for war :—

According to the description of several Pāli texts[3] full preparations for a long-drawn war were made by both the states, *Magadha* and *Vaiśālī* to strike a deadly blow at each other for establishing their respective political suzerainty over the north-eastern regions of India.

The *Mahāvagga*[4] gives an account of the construction of a fort at *Pāṭaligrāma* by Sunidha and Vassakāra, two ministers of king Kūṇika with the object of repelling the attack of the *Vajjis* from this most important strategic position used as a new forward war base of operation.

It is said in the *Mahāparinivvāṇa Suttanta*[5] "The Blessed one was once dwelling in Rājagṛha on the hill, called the 'Vulture's Peak'. Now at that time Ajātasattu Videhaputta, was desirous of attacking the *Vajjians* ; and he said to himself, "I will root out these *Vajjians*, mighty and powerful though they

[1] *Digha-Nikāya (Mahāparinivvāṇa Suttanta)*, *Aṭṭhakathā*. It is said in this text that there was a small estate of half a yojana of king Ajātśatru near the landing port (*ghāṭa*) of a river where there was another estate of the same area belonging to the *Licchavis*. There, from a hill a very precious fragrant article (mineral substance) was coming down. The *Licchavis* of *Vaiśālī* were active enough to take away the whole quantity of that substance, depriving king Ajātaśatru of it who was slow to move to that place in order to take his share. In the second year of the discovery of that mine also, such thing happened. So Ajātaśatru planned to punish the *Licchavis*.

[2] The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 24 ; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, III, 7.

[3] S. B. E. XI, pp. 1-5 ; XVII, 101 ; Gradual Sayings, IV, 11, etc.

[4] *Mahāvagga Vide* P.H A I., p. 212, Dr. H C. Ray Chaudhuri.

[5] *Mahāparinivvāṇa Suttanta.*

be, I will destroy these *Vajjians*, I will bring these *Vajjians* to utter ruin".

"So he spake to the *Brāhmaṇa*, Vassakāra, the prime minister of *Magadha* and said ; come now, *Brāhmaṇa*, do you go to the Blessed one and tell him that Ajātasattu has resolved "I will root out these *Vajjians*, etc." "Vassakāra hearkened to the words of the king saying 'Be it as you say'," (and delivered the message even as the king had commended)[1].

Although Lord Buddha was unattached to all worldly affairs, he felt much for the *Licchavi* Republic of *Vaiśālī*, a great centre of his religious activities, as a champion of republican interests. He thought it his duty to assure the *Licchavis* that they could not be conquered by the powerful king like Ajātaśatru, provided they maintained their national unity, solidarity and efficiency by "holding full and frequent assemblies, maintaining internal concord in assembly and administration, avoiding revolutionary laws and measures, following old traditions, honouring the elders of the community, old institutions and shrines, saints and women[2]".

Kūṇika fully realised that it was impossible for him to conquer the *Licchavis* in a straight fight without disrupting and destroying the strength of their inner unity. So he charged his prime minister, Vassakāra with the secret mission to sow the seeds of dissensions and disunion among the *Vaisālians*.[3] This mission was crowned with success after three years. Infected by the poison of hatred and jealousy spread by Vassakāra among them, the *Licchavis* of *Vaiśālī* lost their social and national unity, solidarity and efficiency. King Kūṇika-availed

[1] *Mahāparinivvāṇa Suttanta*—(S. B. E. of the Buddha Vol. III—Dialogues of the Buddha, part II. (translated by Rhys Davids—Chapter 1).

[2] *Mohāparinivvāṇa Suttanta* —XV—4.

[3] *Aṭṭhakathā* : See, P. H. A. I., p 214, Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri "Diplomacy (*upatapana*) and disunion (*mithubheda*). DPPN. II, 846 ; J.R.A.S. 1931, cf. Gradual Sayings IV. 12. "The *Vajjians* cannot be overcome in battle, but only by cunning, by breaking up their alliance."

himself of this opportunity arisen from this national disruption and disunity of the *Licchavis* to wage war against them.

But Ceṭaka, was not unaware and silent spectator of all these war designs and full scale war preparations of king Kūṇika. It is stated in the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*[1] that on the apprehension of the impending danger of war to be waged by king, Kūṇika against *Vaiśālī*, king Ceṭaka summoned the assembly of nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, rulers of *Kāśī* and *Kośala* and their eighteen republican chiefs also.

The *Majjhima Nikāya*[2] refers to the good relation subsisting between *Kośala* and *Vaiśālī* which was more strengthened by the matrimonial alliances with the kings of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, *Vatsa* and *Avantī* who married the daughters[3] of king Ceṭaka respectively.

It appears that a great confederacy was formed by the *Licchavis* of *Vaiśālī*, the *Mallakis* of *Pāvā* and *Kuśīnārā*, and the rulers of *Kāśī* and *Kośala* together with their eighteen republican chiefs under the leadership of king Ceṭaka due to the exigencies of war to offer a combined resistance to their common enemy, the *Magadhan* king, Kūṇika.

There was probably another genuine cause of political rivalry of *Kāśī-Kośala* with *Magadha* which led them to make an united front of military alliance with *Vaiśālī* and to cement the political relation among them by forming a confederation.

The Buddhist texts[4] refer to the protracted war of Kūṇika with the *Kośalan* king, Prasenadi (Prasenjit), centring round the possession of *Kāśī* which was a bone of contention between the two states.

1 *Nirayavaliyā Sūtra*, p 25.
2 *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol II, p. 101.
3 HC 235, 236 ; *BhS* (12, 2, 441) tells that queen Mṛgāvatī of *Kauśāmbī* was the daughter of king Ceṭaka.
4 The Book of Kindred Sayings I, pp. 109 110 The *Samyutta-Nikāya* and the *Haritamāta*, *Vaḍḍhaki-Sukara*, *Kummāsa-piṇḍa*, *Tachchha Sūkara* and the *Bhaddasāla Jātakas*.

As a result of the matrimonial alliance[1] of king Seṇiya with king Prasenjit, a *Kāśī* village producing a revenue of one hundred thousand was given by the Kośalan king as dowry to to his sister, Kośalā-Devī, the wife of Seṇiya for her bath and perfume money.[2]

It is stated that Kośalā Devī died of grief for her husband, king Seṇiya, on his murder committed by his son, the crown prince, Kūṇika, the then viceroy of *Campā*[3] with a view to usurping his father's throne. The revenues of the *Kāśī* village were still going to the state coffer of the *Magadhan* king even after the death of Kośalā Devī.

The friendly relations of *Magadha* with *Kośala* were seriously affected by this ghastly act of crime of king Kūṇika for capturing the throne of his father.[4]

The *Kośalan* king, Prasenjit was determined not to allow the parricide, king Kūṇika any more the enjoyment of the revenue of the *Kāśī* village which belonged to him by right of inheritance.

So on this revocation of the gift of the said village made to King Seṇiya as a dowry on (account of) his marriage with

[1] *Dhammapada* commentary (Harvard, 20, 60 ; 30, 225)·
[2] *Jātaka*, Nos. 239, 283, 492.
[3] *BhS* ; *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* ; *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* IV 1-9 ; VI. 22. and the *Kathākośā*, p. 178.
[4] *Vinaya* II, 190 ; *Dīgha*, N. I, 86 ; *Sumaṅgala*, VII, 133-6, *Peta*. comm. 105.

The Jaina text, *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* (pp. 682-3, etc.) also admits the imprisonment of king Seṇiya by Kūṇika, but does not brand him (Kūṇika) as a parricide. It is said that Seṇiya committed suicide by swallowing poison in prison, having feared the advance of his son with an iron club to do harm to him. But king Seṇiya was mistaken out of fear, because Kūṇika dashed off there "To break his father's fetters" with the iron club due to his repentence for his cruel treatment to his father. Dr. Smith thinks that the account of murder of king Seṇiya is "a product of Odium theologicum" and he is sceptic about the credibility of the evidences of the Buddhist "canon and chronicles", though it is accepted by the eminent scholars, like Rhys Davids and Geiger. In this controversial case See Jacobi's reference to the *Nirayāvaliyā Sūtra* in his *Kalpa-Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, 1879, p. 5.

Kośalā Devī, a protracted war between king Prasenjit and king Kūṇika began and lasted for a long period with alternate results of victory and defeat on both the sides.

At first king Prasenjit was defeated and driven back by king Kūṇika to the wall of the capital city of *Śrāvastī*. On another occasion the tide of war flowed in favour of the *Kośalan* king. This time the *Magadhan* king was besieged and taken prisoner together with his whole army by king Prasenjit in an encounter, but his life was spared owing to his near relationship with the *Kośalan* king.[1]

After this signal victory over king Kūṇika, king Prasenjit concluded a peace with the captive king by releasing him and offering him the hands of his own daughter, the princess *Vājirā*, and by restoring the contended village of *Kāśī* to him as a dowry for her bath money.[2]

But the relation between these two states became strained again after the death of king Prasenjit from exposure outside the gates of *Rājagṛha* where he went as a result of the palace revolution to seek the military help of king Kūṇika in order to capture his rebel son, Viḍūḍābha, who was placed on the *Kośalan* throne by the commander-in-chief, Dīgha-Cārāyana, during his absence from his capital, *Śrāvastī* in a country town.[3]

Therefore "the *Kośalan* war and the *Vajjian* war were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of *Magadha*"[4] over North Eastern India.

The evidences furnished by the Jaina texts clearly show that the political struggle between king Kūṇika and king Ceṭaka, united together with his allies, the rulers of *Kāśī* and *Kośala* and their eighteen republican chiefs, nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis*, dragged on for more than sixteen years, because

[1] The Book of the Kindred Sayings, I, pp. 109-110.

[2] *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, 1, 84-6, *Jātaka*, IV, 1342, *Dhammapada* comm. III, 259

[3] *Bhaddasāla Jātaka.*

[4] P. H. A. I.—Dr. H.C. Ray Chaudhuri p. 213,

Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, the *Ājīvika* leader refers to the *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* as one of the eight finals[1] which was still in progress, before his followers assembled at or about the time of his death in circa 500 B. C. So the death of the *Ājīvika* leader synchronised with the *Mahaśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* between the two contending powers.

Even after sixteen years from the date of death of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, at the time of the great demise of Lord Mahāvīra in circa eighties of the 5th century B.C., there was still the existence of the anti-*Magadhan* confederation of the Republics of the *Mallakis* and the *Licchavis*. It is said in the *Kalpa Sūtra*[2] that the confederate rulers celebrated the great demise of Lord Mahāvīra by illumination of lights to mark the memory of the disappearance of the spiritual light from their midst.

Effect of the two wars, viz. Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma and Rathamusala Saṅgrāma

These two wars set the seal of final victory on the fore-head of king Kūṇika who inflicated a crushing defeat on the confederate army led by king Ceṭaka and paved the way for the future expansion of *Magadhan* imperialism to all directions[3] to bring about the political unification of India under the leadership of the vigorous rulers of the *Nandas* and the *Mauryas*.

THIRD SECTION.

Polity and Administration.

Origin of State and its nature

The *BhS* gives an idea of political theory and administration of both monarchical and non-monarchical-states[4] of ancient

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 554 "Carime Mahāsilākantae".
[2] *Kalpa Sutra*–(S. B. E. xxii 266–para 128).
[3] Cf Modern Review, July, 1919, pp. 55-56. According to the *Ārya Mañjuśri-Mūlakalpa* (Vol. 1, ed Gaṇapati Śāstri, pp. 603 f) the empire of Ajātaśatru comprised *Magadha*, *Aṅga*, *Vārāṇasī* (Benaras), and *Vaiśālī* in the north. So it is clear that the result of two great wars—*Mahāśilākaṇṭaka* and *Rathamusala* was the final annexation of *Vaiśālī* and *Kāśī* by king Kūṇika to his state. [4] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 301, 303.

India flourishing side by side during the time of Lord Mahāvīra. India was politically divided into sixteen great states (*Soḷasa-Mahājanapadas*) at that time. The etymological meaning of the term '*Jaṇavaya*' as used in the *BhS*[1] and other texts signifies the very early stage of land-occupation by the *Jana* (community or clan) for a permanent settlement from a nomadic life, long before the period of Lord Mahāvīra.

This process of settlement on land went on till a *Janapada* (state) came into existence as territorial unit which was called after the name of the community (or clan) settled there. Their former community-significance was left out with the march of time. In most cases the political power of these states was exercised by the original *Kṣatriya* settlers who held the reins of the government in their hands. These ruling *Kṣatriya* communities governed the different states according to two-fold constitutions, viz. monarchical and republican.

In the *BhS*[2] there is found an idea of the theory of divine kingship[3] and some sort of social contract theory[4] as reflected in the governments of monarchical and non-monarchical states respectively.

"Mātsyanyāyaṁ-apahituṁ prakṛtibhiḥ. Lakṣmyāḥ Karaṁ grāhitaḥ".[5]

Sovereignty of State

With reference to the judicial administration, the *BhS*[6] refers to the term '*Daṇḍa*' which generally denotes the power of punishment or punishment, vested in the ruler. This word '*Daṇḍa*' is also used to signify army[7] and sceptre, while the Brāhmaṇical texts give a quite different interpretation to it.

The *Manusmṛti*[8] explains that the *Daṇḍa* "governs all created beings, protects and watches over them, while they sleep and the wise declare it to be the law of the state".

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 554 ; 13, 6, 491.
2 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. 301, 303.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 13, 6, 491.
4 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301, 303.
5 *Khālimpur* Inscription of Dharmapāla. Ep. Ind. IV, p. 218, *Vide* Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal ; Dr. B. C. Sen, p. 292, f. N. 2
6 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.
7 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303.
8 *Manusmṛti*, VII, 18,

"Daṇḍaḥ śāsti prajāḥ sarvā daṇḍa evābhirakṣati /
Daṇḍaḥ supteṣu jāgarti daṇḍaṁ dharmaṁ vidur-budhāḥ".//

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[1] interprets the *Daṇḍa* "as the sceptre on which depend the well-being and progress of the sciences of *Ānvīkṣakī*, the triple Vedas and *Vārtā* (Agriculture, cattle breeding and trade constitute *Vārtā*). That which treats of *Daṇḍa* is the law of punishment or Science of government (*Daṇḍanīti*)". It is found that *Daṇḍanīti* has become later on a synonym for political science.

The Sanskrit Dictionary of Monier-Williams defines '*Daṇḍa*' as 'application of the rod of administration of justice and judicature' (as a science).

It is further explained that the *Daṇḍa* is one of the four political means "to make acquisition (of any object demanded by the state), to keep them secure, to improve them and to distribute among the deserved the profits of improvement. It is on this science of government the course of the progress of the world depends.[2]"

Judicial exercise of Daṇḍa

The *BhS* and the two Brāhmaṇical texts, viz. *Manusmṛti* and *Arthaśāstra* agree in one point that the '*Daṇḍa*' must judicially and impartially be exercised by the sovereign ruler. It is already pointed out that according to Manu "If the king did not without tiring inflict punishment (*daṇḍa*) on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker like fish on a spit."

"Yadi na praṇayet rājā daṇḍaṁ daṇḍeṣu atandritaḥ /
Śūle matsyānivāpakṣyandurbalān-balavattarāḥ"[3] //20//

A similar view of the *Manusmṛti* on the judicial exercise of the '*Daṇḍa*' is also expressed by the *Arthaśāstra* in which it is stated "When the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes ("*Mātsyanyāyamudbhāvayati*"), for the absence of a magistrate

[1] *Arthaśāstra*—9 (End of Science-*Vārtā* and *Daṇḍanīti*).
[2] *Arthaśāstra*, 9. [3] *Manusmṛti*, VII, 20.

(*daṇḍadharābhāve*) the strong will swallow the weak but under his protection the weak resist the strong."[1]

It is stated in the *BhS* that king Bala of *Hastināpura* promulgated his order with a warning to his officers that the birth ceremony of his new born son, Mahābala must not be marked with impunity and unjust punishment (*Adaṁḍa-Koḍaṁḍima*)[2].

The same view on the Daṇḍa is expressed by the *Arthaśāstra* which says "whoever imposes severe punishment becomes repulsive to the people, while he who awards mild punishment (he) becomes contemptible.[3]"

This voice of Kauṭilya is also echoed by *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra* in which it is said that "the king intimidates the people by severe punishment, (he) becomes contemptible by light punishment, so the just punishment is admired.

"Udvejayati tīkṣṇena mṛdunā paribhūyate/
Daṇḍena nṛpatiḥ tasmāt yuktadaṇḍaḥ praśasyate."[4]//

Thus it is clear that the *Daṇḍa* is the symbol of punishment and justice, army, sceptre of power, and paramountcy.

Idea of kingdom and power of kingship

The word '*Cāuraṁtaoakkavaṭṭi*[5]' as used in the *BhS* carries the conception of an empire governed by a powerful monarch, while the term '*Rajja*'[6] mentioned in this canonical work denotes the monarchical state (kingdom) as distinguished from the '*Gaṇa*'[7] (republic) referred to in it.

The political situation probably demanded a strong monarchy, but the unbridled authority of the sovereign king was not vested in kingship. Thus it is laid down in the *Manusmṛti* "While a just king prospers, one who is voluptuous, partial and deceitful will be destroyed". The very *Daṇḍa*, the symbol of

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, 9 [2] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. [3] *Arthaśāstra*, 9.
[4] *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra*, Sarga II, 37. [5] *BhS*, 1. 1.
[6] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417., 13, 6, 491. [7] *Ib*, 7, 9, 303.

paramountcy "Strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives."[1]

"Taṁ rājā praṇayan-samyak trivargeṇābhivardhate/
Kāmātmā viṣamah kṣudro daṇḍenaiva nihanyate//27//
Daṇḍo hi sumahattejo durdharṣaścākṛtātmabhiḥ/
Dharmād-vicalitaṁ hanti nṛpameva sabāndhavam"//28//

It was fully admitted that the *Daṇḍa* did not spare any one in the state from its sway.

Education of Kingship :—

The political thinkers of ancient India fully realised that the *Daṇḍa* (Justice) must be administered by properly educated and trained men endowed with impartial and elevated mind, as the place of punishment had become that of *Daṇḍanīti* (Science of government).

Thus it is found that the *BhS*[2] lays stress upon the principles of equitable justice and warns the kingship against impunity and unjust punishment. So in this regard this canonical work refers to the proper education and training of all the kings, crown princes and heir-apparents mentioned here.[3]

This idea of all qualifications of royalty is also reflected in *Ovavāiya Sutta*[4] in which king Kūṇika is said to have been endowed with many virtues, qualifications, and attributes.

The same view on the proper education of kingship is expressed by the *Manusmṛti* and the *Arthaśāstra*, which have made an elaborate discussion on the education and training of a king.[5]

This theory of kingship is summed up by Kāmandaka[6]

1 *Manusmṛti*, VII, 27-28.
2 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. (Educational qualification of Jamāli), 11,11,429, (that of king Bala and Mahābala), 13, 6, 491 (that of king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvira*, of his son and nephew, Abhicikumāra, and Keśī Kumāra respectively), 7, 9, 300 301 (that of King Kūṇika), 11, 9, 417, (that of king Śiva), etc.
4 *Ovāiya Sū*-6.
5 *Arthaśāstra*, 35.
6 *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*.

who says "the king who is virtuous is a part of the gods. He who is otherwise is a part of the demons".

Principle of Kingship (Rājadharma)

Though there is no evidence of direct constitutional rights of the people to check the unbriddled autocracy of the king in the *BhS*, still it enjoins upon the king the duty of following the eternal principle of *Dharma*[1] (law) propounded by the ancient political thinkers of India.

The study of the *BhS* clearly shows that the state was an organic whole consisting of different constituent parts, viz. a territory, a king, an organised government, economic self-sufficiency, adequate defence and recognition by other states as essential elements, in other words, the king, minister, country, fort, treasury and friend.

Sphere of State Activity

The *BhS* presents a conception of an ancient state with a wider scope of various activities which covered the whole of individual and social life. The state machinery was organised for the sustenance of social order, realisation of spiritual life, executive and judicial function and defence of the country, and it took up a positive stand for the development and progress of family, society, economics, religion, ethics, and culture. The function of the state as mentioned in the *BhS* may be summed up by the word *Pālayāhi* (protect)[2]. Here this term '*Pālayāhi*' generally denotes that it is the duty of the king and the state to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty from all possible external enemies and to protect life, property, and honour of its people from internal disruptive forces of lawlessness, disorder, encroachment by the royal officers[3] and injustice[4], and the effects of natural calamities, such as, flood, famine, earthquake, locusts, folly and ignorance, poverty, illiteracy, and

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 383; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 429, 13, 6, 491 etc.
2 *BhS*, 11, 9, 417; 13, 6, 491.
3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429 (*abhaḍappavesa*).
4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429 (*adaṁḍa-kodaṁḍima*).

disease which are the obstacles on the way to progress of a good, healthy, wealthy and happy life of the citizens.

Thus the proper sphere of the state activity is also widened enough to cover the whole spiritual, cultural, economic and social development of the people.

The evidences of the scope of the state as revealed in the *BhS* are corroborated by the *Arthaśāstra*[1] which has made a comparative study of the sphere of state activity.

It is learnt from the *BhS* that the state was totalitarian in character as it exercised its power and influence over an individual citizen[2] and his activities, other institutions and associations for transforming the whole individual and social life. The state and the king were the pivots round which rotated the wheel of the social forces, intellectual life and activities, economic development and enterprise, and spiritual tradition of the people.

Form of Government

The government is the limb of the organic body of the state through which it functions for the welfare of the people, as the good government is the ideal of state-polity.

The states, mentioned in the *BhS* were country-states (*Janapadas*) as distinct from the city states of Greece, having monarchical[3] or non-monarchical[4] forms of government. In the truest sense there was not a single democratic state at the time of Lord Mahāvīra. Because the direct democracy implies a government of the people, by the people and for the people. No doubt,

[1] *Arthaśāstra.*
[2] *BhS.* 7, 9, 303 Nāgaputra Varuṇa, a prominent citizen of *Vaiśāli* had to submit to the mandate of the state to join the '*Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*' against his will and to discharge his duties to the state and its people. He died due to a serious wound inflicted by a rival soldier. This fact suggests a system of conscription introduced by the state of *Vaiśāli* in times of war.
[3] *BhS.* 7, 9, 300; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 429; 12, 2, 441; 13, 6, 491,
[4] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300–301; 7, 9, 303,

the states of the *Mallakis* and the *Licchavis*[1] of *Vaiśālī*, referred to in the *BhS* throw some light upon the republican form of government, but they were not democratic in a real sense but oligarchic in character.

A detailed discussion will be made on this republican (*gaṇa*) form of government in the last section of this chapter. Here an attempt will be devoted to the study of monarchical form of government as revealed in the *BhS*.

Monarchical form of Government

The *BhS* clearly reveals that the king was the paramount power of his highly centralised state based on his sovereignty over his feudal kings (*Sāmantarājas*), cities, country-states[2] etc. Naturally he was the head of the government who was assisted by a large body of royal officials of different grades in running the administration.

The political theory tinged with the ethical principle as advocated in the text[3] lays heavy moral, temporal and spiritual responsibilities on the king. This view on the three aspects of monarchical form of government is clearly expressed in the *Bṛhat.k. Bhāṣya*[4] in which it is stated that "Women, dice, hunting and drink, the four sins are reprehensible in a king" with regard to the state function. The same ideal of kingship is reflected and echoed in the *Mahābhārata*[5] which warns the king thus "Women, dice, hunting and drink—these are said to be the four sorrows by which a man loses his fortunes."

The same idea on the moral side of kingship is clearly reflected in the political theory advocated in the *Manusmṛti*[6], the *Arthaśāstra*[7], the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*[8] and other works

1 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300-301.
2 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
3 *Ib* 11, 9, 417; 18, 6, 491.
4 *Bṛhat. K. Bhāṣya*, 1, 940.
5 *Mahābhārata*, III, 13, 7.
6 *Manusmṛti*, VIII, 50, "Pānamakṣāh striyaścaiva mṛgayā ca yathākramaṁ/Etatkaṣṭatamaṁ vidyāccatuṣkaṁ kāmaje/ gaṇe."
7 *Arthaśāstra*, Book I, chapter VI, (Restraint of the organs of sense), p. 10.
8 *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, 1st *Sarga*–V. 54. "Mṛgayā-akṣa pānaṁ· garhitāni mahībhujaṁ Dṛṣṭāstevyastu vipadaḥ· Pāṇḍunaiṣadha-Vṛṣṇiṣu."

according to the institution of kingship emerged out of the people's desire to be saved from the anarchical condition created by the '*Mātsyanyāya*' (rule of fish) which brought immense miseries to them in its train. "Mātsyanyāyaṁ apahituṁ prakṛtibhiḥ Lakṣmyāḥ karaṁ grāhitaḥ."[1]

Although a great emphasis has been put on the moral aspect of the king's character to discharge his sacred duties to the people and the state, yet in some cases as described in the *BhS* there is found a glimpse of pompous royal life of luxury and vice, led generally by the crown prince like Jamālī who spent his time in the upper palace "by playing *Mṛdaṅga* (a kind of drum) together with thirty-two kinds of dramatic representation in the association of best young ladies (courtesans), dancing and dancing in front, singing and singing in front, by fondling them with tenderness again and again throughout the nights of the six seasons, viz. *Prāvṛt* (*Śrāvaṇādiḥ*) *Varṣārātra* (*Aśvayujādiḥ*), *Śarat* (*Mārgaśirṣādiḥ*), *Hemanta* (*Māghādiḥ*), *Vasanta* (*Caitrādiḥ*) and *Grīṣma* (*Jyeṣṭhādiḥ*) and by enjoying singly the five kinds of human sensual gratification of desires, i.e. desired sound, touch, taste, object of beauty and smell"[2] at the expense of private and public wealth.

Therefore the virtue of personal character and training in a disciplined life of a king and his officials are most essential for the successful working of government in a monarchical state.

The king was the chief executive head of both civil and military departments of the government, who carried on both the executive and judicial functions and led the army in the battlefield[3] with the assistance of a large body of his high officials[4].

In a word he kept a vigilent eye over all the departments, such as, jail, criminal, revenue, judicial, public works, social

[1] *Khālimpur* Inscription of Dharmapāla of Bengal. Ep. Ind. *IV*, p 218 *Vide* Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal, Dr. B. C. Sen. p. 292 f. N. 2.
[2] BhS, 9, 33, 383. [3] *Ib*, 7. 9, 300, 301.
[4] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301; 9, 33, 385; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 429; 13, 6, 491.

entertainment, and other internal departments[1] and external affairs[2], etc.

It appears from the character of administration that there was no separation of power of the executive from that of the judicial. Thus the *BhS* presents an account of a well organised centralized government under the lordship of the king assisted by a host of high officials and minor functionaries.

The political theory as reflected in the *BhS* lays a great emphasis on justice,[3] as in theory and practice alike judicature was one of the most important aspects of governance.

Federal character of Government

It is known from the *BhS* that a great deal of autonomy was granted to feudal chiefs (*Samantarājas*)[4] and sub-feudatories, who enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom in their internal administrative affairs and organised a regular system of local administration,[5] the last unit of which was the village (*gāma*).[6]

Elements of federalism and local autonomy were incorporated into the system of the state organisation, but it did not embrace the whole subjects of the social rules and customs. So parallel organisations on functional ground ran side by side in the form of guilds (*Negama*) of merchants[7] and bankers[8] who were free in respect of their managerial affairs to carry on their trade and commerce and industry according to their own business rules and customs recognized by the law of the state.

The *BhS* clearly reveals that the principle of function was filled together into that of kingship and habitancy. So it was the foundation of an essential component part of the machinery of social check and balance of unbriddled autocratic power. Thus the form of government which was both horizontal and vertical as found in this work, consisted of a number of local and functional bodies and intermediate organizations having somewhat undemarcated and ill-defined lines of relations with the state.

[1] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. [2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301. [3] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. [5] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. [6] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
[7] *Ib*, 18, 2, 618.
[8] *Ib*, 2, 5, 107. (The merchants of the town of *Tuṅgikā* amassed abundant wealth by banking business (*Aogapaoga*).

FOURTH SECTION

System of Administration

Crown-Prince

A crown-prince[1] (e.g. Jamālī, Śivabhadra, etc.) who is a heir-apparent stands second in rank to the king in the government as revealed in the *BhS*. But no specific duties have been assigned to him. It is learnt from other Jaina texts[2] that he had to attend the assembly and carry on administrative functions after completing his daily duties.

The *BhS* indirectly mentions some qualifications of the crown-prince, requisite for running the administration of the government. But other Jain works refer to his virtues and necessary qualifications in details. Thus it is stated in the *Anuyoga Cūrṇi* that he possessed eight virtues, such as, *aṇimā*, *mahimā*, etc.[3], and he was to learn "seventy-two arts, eighteen provincial languages (*deśībhāṣā*), music, dancing and the art of fighting on horse-back, elephant, and chariot"[4] in order to equip himself with knowledge and experience in different branches of learning with a view to shouldering the heavy burden of the state duties.

Viceroyalty and Succession

The study of the *BhS*[5] clearly shows that the principle of hereditary kingship was generally followed by the ruling kings in the matter of succession to the throne. Naturally the sceptre

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 13, 6, 491.
[2] *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 1, p. 129. [3] *Anuyoga Cūrṇi*, p. 11,
[4] *Ovāiya Sūtra*, 44, pp. 185 ff. ; The crown-prince is referred to in the Brāhmaṇical works as one of the eighteen Tīrthas. "He was the right hand, right eye and ear to the king", Dikṣitar, H. A. I. pp. 106, 109 f ; also Cf. the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (11. No. 276, p. 374) "where it is said that the crown-prince was to attend upon the king every morning and receive the greetings of the people". Life in Ancient India, p. 58. f. 3 by Dr. J. C. Jain.
[5] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417 (King Śiva of *Hastināpura* abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son, Śivabhadra before renouncing the world.)

of kingship passed to the eldest son, the crown-prince, after the death of his father according to the law of primogeniture. Even during the life-time of the ruling king the throne was abdicated by him in favour of his eldest son in accordance with this law.

But sometimes, under special circumstances the nephew (sister's son) of the ruling monarch was selected and anointed by him as his successor in place of his own eldest son, the rightful heir to the throne. Thus an instance is come across in the *BhS* in regard to the case of the succession of prince Keśīkumāra[1], the nephew of king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* (*bhāiṇejja*) to the throne which was abdicated by his uncle in his favour, having put aside the rightful claim of his eldest son, prince Abhīcī, on the ground that if the kingship was conferred on him, he might intensely be infatuated, attached and tied to it and consequently to the realm, state, pleasures and enjoyments. As a result of these attachments and enjoyments, "he would travel again and again on the beginningless and endless long path in the forest of four-bordered world"[2]. So king Udāyana selected and installed his nephew, Keśīkumāra, on the throne of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* to govern his kingdom before renouncing the world for undertaking the state of houselessness, after getting initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma*.

There is another instance of succession of a nephew (sister's son) revealed in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[3] in which it is stated that Gaggali, the nephew of Sāla and Mahāsāla of *Pitthī-Campā* was anointed king by his uncle Sāla in the absence of a son before his renouncing the world for undertaking the ascetic life.

The *BhS* does not give any idea about the succession to the throne after the death of a heirless king or after joining the ascetic order by only one son[4] of a king leaving the wordly life.

[1] *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. [2] *Ib*. 13, 6, 491.
[3] The *Śiṣyahita* commentary on *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 10, p. 153 f.
[4] Cf. *Nāyādhammakahāo*-14., p. 153 f.

In this regard some Jaina texts throw a welcome light upon the solution of the problem of succession arising out of heirless kingship.[1] In such cases the ministers gave counsel to the king to beget sons through levirate by bringing the monks to the palace on the pretext of listening to their religious sermons and performing the worship of holy images. On their refusal to the royal proposal they were compelled to cohabit with the queens of the harem under the threat of penalty of death. Sometimes the unwilling ones of those monks were executed.[2]

One does not come across any example in the *BhS* that a woman has succeeded to the throne in the absence of a male heir to the kingdom. In this regard only one Jaina text—the *Mahānisīha*[3] refers to the succession to the throne by a widowed daughter of a heirless king after his death.

In some Jaina texts there are references to the system of selecting a successor to the vacant throne by the divine will manifested through the horse, elephant, pitcher, chowrie and royal parasol.[4]

It is said in the commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana* that on the death of the heirless king of Beṇṇāyaḍa, a procession of five divine articles, viz. an elephant, horse, a consecration-pitcher, chowries, and a parasol, was organized and led by the

[1] *Bṛhat. K. Bhāsya*-4. 4948; also cf. *Kusa Jātaka* (No. 531. V. 278ff); also Cf. *Aṅguttara Nikāya* V, p. 81 ff; *Vide* Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons-Dr. J. C. Jain (p. 51. 18 f).

[2] *Bṛhat. K. Bhāsya*-4. 4948.

[3] *Mahānisīha*-p. 30; It is stated in the *Kuṇḍina Jātaka* I (No. 13, p. 156) "infamous is the land which owns a woman's sway and rule, and infamous are the men who yield themselves to women's dominion", but sometimes one comes across examples when women wielded the actual sovereignty.

"On Udaya's death no king was set up and it is told that the commands of his widow Udayabhaddā were promulgated" (*Udaya Jātaka*, No. 458 IV, p. 105), *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 82, 22f.

[4] (In the *Kathākośa* translated by Tawney, p. 4; f. note, it is said "an elephant with a pitcher of water roams about for seven days and chooses a person as king".); *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J C. Jain, p. 52, 23 f.

royal officers to find out the future king, till they halted at some place and recognized their future king in the prince, Mūladeva sitting under the shade of a tree there, by the divine will revealed through the self-trumpeting of the elephant, the self-neighing of the horse, the self-sprinkling of water of the pitcher, the self-fanning of the chowries and the holding of the royal parasol by itself over his head. To the great joy of the people Mūladeva was simultaneously accepted and proclaimed king by the ministers and tributary kings (*mantisāmanta*) in the town with the cries of victory.[1]

Similar accounts of choosing king by the divine will manifested itself through the horse are given in other Jaina texts.

It is related in the *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*[2] that the divine horse let loose by the citizens of *Kañcanapura* halted in front of the prince, Karakaṇḍu who was immediately recognized as their king with his specific auspicious marks on his body and was declared king with the cries of victory and joy.

Almost the same royal tradition of selecting king is found in the *Karakaṇḍu Cariu*[3] in which it is related that Karakaṇḍu, manifestly a *Cāṇḍāla*, was chosen as the king of *Dantīpura* by the divine will revealed through the elephant, let loose by the royal officials and citizens to search out their future king on the death of their former heirless king.[4]

In the same manner Nhāviyadāsa Nanda[5] referred to in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* was consecrated as the king of *Pāḍaliputta* by the people.

The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*[6] relates a similar story of succession of the robber, Mūladeva to the throne. While he was being

[1] The *Śiṣyahitā* commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*-3, p. 63 a. The *Ovāiya Sutta* II. pp. 44, refers to "sword (*Khagga*), umbrella (*chatta*), crown (*upphesa*), shoes (*vāhaṇa*) and chowries (*vālavījaṇa*) as the five royal insignia, *Vide* Life in Ancient India, by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 53, 24 f; Cf. *Milindapaṇha*, p. 330.
[2] *Uttarādhyayana-Ṭīkā*–9., p. 134.
[3,4] *Karakaṇḍu Cariu*, v. 219–21, edited by Dr. H. L. Jain.
[5] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* II; p. 180. [6] *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 4, 169

taken for execution, he was chosen as king by the divine will manifested through the horse, released by the royal officials and citizens to find out their future king on the sudden death of the former heirless monarch.

A similar custom of choosing king on the death of a heirless king is mentioned in the Buddhist works[1] in which it is stated that a festal car (*phussaratha*) drawn by horses was let by the priest (*purohita*) be driven to find out the future king in the same manner till it stopped and chose a man endowed with auspicious marks on his body, who was destined to be the king.

Abdication

In the *BhS* it is found that the whole issue of succession was inter-related with the event of renunciation of the world by the kings. It is found that King Śiva of *Hastināpura* abdicated his throne in favour of his eldest son, prince Śivabhadra.[2] In one case only, this problem of selecting a successor led to a strained relation between the father and the son.[3]

The event of succession of Keśīkumāra, the nephew of king Udāyana in place of Abhīcī Kumāra, the rightful heir to the throne of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* appears to be an extra-ordinary one. This act of king Udāyana in choosing his nephew as his successor generated a feeling of life-long uninterrupted hostility in the heart of his son, Abhīcīkumāra towards him. So the prince, being aggrieved by this kind of arrangement made by his father left Vītībhaya, the capital city of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* with all his belongings for ever and came to the court of king Kūṇika, the lord of *Campā* (i. e. *Magadha*) where he lived, having attained wealth, prosperity, abundant enjoyments and honour.[4]

[1] The *Darīmukha Jātaka* (III, No. 378, p. 239) calls this ceremony '*Phussaratha*' on the festal car ceremony. After the passing of seven days from the date of death of a heirless king the *Purohita* let a festal car be driven being followed by a traditional four-fold army with the beating of many hundred drums to search out the future king in the said manner. See *Mahānaka Jātaka* (No. 534, VI. p. 39), also see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. V, Ch IXX, pp. 175-7, note on *Pañcadivyādhivāsa*; J.A.O.S., Vol. 33, pp. 158-66.

[2] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417. [3] *Ib*, 13, 6, 492. [4] *Ib*, 13, 6, 492.

Consecration Ceremony

The *BhS*[1] presents a graphic account of colourful consecration ceremony of a new king celebrated and attended by the retiring king and all the high dignitaries of his state. This august function of coronation was presided over and conducted by the retiring king himself with great pomp, grandeur and dignity.

The king, being surrounded by many leaders of corporation ((*gaṇanāyakas*), judge (*daṇḍanāyaka*),[2] chief police officer (*talavara*), frontier guard-officer (*sandhipāla*), ambassador (*dūta*), etc., made the heir-apparent seated on the best throne and then consecrated him with royal unction (*rājyābhiṣeka*) of 800 golden and 800 earthen jars, hailing him with the great cry of 'victory'. Having caused the heir-apparent to bathe, the king wiped off and made his limbs (the former's) dry with a very soft hairy cloth (towel) dyed with fragrant saffron (*pamhasukṣmagandhakāṣāyika*), besmeared his body with the juicy essence of *Gośīrṣa* sandal, adorned and decorated him with best clothes, precious ornaments and garlands, and then congratulated him with the cry of 'victory'. After the consecration and decoration were over, the retiring king declared the crown-prince 'king', holding before him the lofty ideals of kingship thus "protect the kingdom, being surrounded by well-wishers of cities, towns and villages".[3]

Then the coronation ceremony was concluded with the cry "victory, victory".

This kind of pompous and colourful consecration ceremony of king as revealed in the *BhS* is also described in the *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti*[4], the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[5] and the *Mahāpurāṇa*[6] in a vivid manner.

In the *Jambūddīvapaṇṇatti*[7] the coronation of Bharata, the universal monarch is depicted in a colourful style.

[1] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417 ; 13, 6, 491.
[2] Sanskrit English Dictionary, Monier-Williams, p. 466. Col. 3.
[3] *BhS*. 11, 9, 417 ; 13, 6, 491.
[4] *Jambuddīvapaṇṇati*, 3. 68, pp. 267a-280.
[5] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1., p. 28f.
[6] *Mahāpurāṇa*, (see the following pages).
[7] *Jambu. Sū*, 3, 68., pp. 267a-270.

On his entering the coronation hall, Bharata was welcomed by many kings, the general, the priest, the eighteen guilds (*seṇippaseṇi*), the merchants and others with ovation of their auspicious sprinkling fragrant water and congratulated by them with the cry of 'victory'. He was crowned by the people who made his body dry with a very soft hairy red-brown coloured fragrant cloth (towel) and adorned him with a garland and many kinds of ornaments. This consecration ceremony was marked with the remission of taxes and provided with the celebration of a festival continuing for a long time.

The *Nāyādhammakahāo*[1] refers to the consecration ceremony of Mehakumāra who was made king for only one day by his parents on his request before his renouncing the world like Mahābala, the son of king Bala of *Hastināpura*[2]. It was performed exactly in the same manner with great pomp and grandeur amidst the beating of drum (*dundubhī*) as depicted in the *BhS*.

In the *Mahāpurāṇa*[3] it is stated that the coronation ceremony of Ṛṣabhadeva was performed by the gods, kings, and peoples in a divine style on the consent of Nābhi, the father of Ṛṣabhadeva, who himself, having lifted his crown with his own hand, placed it on the head of Ṛṣabhadeva.

Similar colourful pictures of coronation ceremony of king are depicted in the Buddhist *Jātakas*[4], the *Mahābhārata*[5] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*[6].

Thus it is described in the *Ayoghara Jātaka*[7] that "the subjects headed by the priest came to see the prince with many kinds of auspicious articles; the whole city was decorated;

1 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1., p. 28 f. 2 *BhS*, 11, 11, 431.
3 Skt. *Mahāpurāṇa*, *parva*, 16, LL. 193-234
See *Apabh. Mahāpurāṇa*, V 21, (11-12) "Puvvahuṁ vīsa lakkha gaya jaiyahuṁ baddhu paṭṭu jagaṇāhahu taiyahuṁ / Nāhiṇariṁdāmarasaṁghāyahiṁ Kacchamahākacchāhivarāyahiṁ" /.
4 The *Jātakas*-*Pañcagaru Jātaka* I No. 132, p. 470 ; Ayoghara *Jātaka* IV, No. 510, p. 492.
5 The *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti parva* IXL.
6 The *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 3 ; 6 ; 14, 15, IV, 26, 20 ff.
7 *Ayoghara Jātaka* IV, No. 510, p. 492.

courtesans played and danced all round ; priests, generals, merchants and citizens, provincials—all thronged at the palace and made a holiday ; the town was decorated on a heavenly style, the prince was placed on a pile of jewels, he was sprinkled from the couches and an umbrella with its festoons of gold was held over him"[1].

Priest (Purohita)

In the *BhS* the priest (*purohita*) does not appear as the king's adviser in secular matters and occupy a position in the administration of the government like other high royal officials. But here a reference is made to the term "*Balikārī*"[2] which denotes a propitiator employed in the service of a royal family along with other palace staff-members, such as, *Bhaṇḍāgāriṇī Ajjhādhāriṇī* etc.

But one comes across the evidences in other Jaina texts that the priest held an important position as king's counsel in the royal court along with other high dignitaries of the state and was regarded as one of the jewels.[3]

In the *Vivāga Suya*[4] it is stated that a sacrifice was performed by Mahesaradatta, the priest of king Jiyasattu with a view to averting his misfortunes. Sometimes he was also employed as witch-doctor by the king to win victory in the war for which a sacrifice was performed by the said priest with the flesh of hearts of eight hundred captured boys belonging to the four classes, viz. *Bambhaṇa*, *Khattiya*, *Vaissa* and *Sudda*.

[1] *Vide* Life in Ancient India, by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 54, 29 f.

[2] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430. There is the mention of *Asura Purohita* (*BhS* 3, 1, 135).

[3] *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*—7, 558 ; Cf. *Milindapaṇha*, p. 114, which refers to "*Senāpati*, *purohita*, *akkhadassa*, *bhaṇḍagārika*, *chattagāhaka*, *khaggagāhaka* as six important officers of the king." See Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain., p. 58 4f.

[4] *Vivāga Suya* 5, p. 33 ; The *Dhonasākha Jātaka* (III No. 353. p. 159) "refers to an ambitious priest who helped the king with sacrificial ceremony to acquire a city which was difficult to conquer." So he proposed to his master "to pluck out the eyes of thousand captured kings, to rip up their bellies, and take out the entrails and offer an offering (*bali*) to a god." Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 56 5f. See also Fick, op. cit. Ch. VII, "The House priest of the king."

In *Pāṇini*[1] a reference is made to the duties of *purohita* as '*Paurohitya*'. The position of the priest is indicated by the word '*purohitādigaṇa*' which implies the king, the general and other royal officers including the priest.

According to the *Arthaśāstra*[2] the priest stood next to the chief minister in official rank, while the general (*senāpati*) and the crown prince (*yuvarāja*) occupied next position in successive order.

As regards qualifications a priest was supposed to be well-versed in the Vedas and political science (*Daṇḍanīti*).

FIFTH SECTION

Structure of Government

In the *BhS* it is revealed that the king was assisted by a large body of officials of different grades in his running the heavy administrative machinery of the government, as it was an impossible task for a ruler to govern a state without the active co-operation of honest and loyal officers. That is why Manu emphatically states that the '*Daṇḍa*' cannot justly be administered by a helpless, foolish, greedy king, not well-versed in the *Śāstra* according to the law without the assistance of the ministers, the general, the priest, etc.

"So asahāyena mūḍhena lubdhenākṛtabuddhinā /
Na śakyo nyāyato netuṁ saktena viṣayeṣu ca'[3] //30//.

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya also echoes the same sentiment of Manu, when it declares "sovereignty is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move"[4].

The *BhS* mentions many government officials of several grades, who appear to have been organized into a regular civil service which consisted of the following staff-members, viz.

[1] *Pāṇini*, VI, 128.
[2] *Arthaśāstra*, V, 3, 247, p. 276.
[3] *Manusmṛti*, VII, 30.
[4] *Arthaśāstra*, 13 (Ch. VII).

chieftain[1] (*gaṇanāyaka*), judge[2] (*daṇḍanāyaka*), princes[3] (*rāīsara*), chief police officer[4] of the city (*talavara*), royal household staff[5] (*koḍumbiya puruṣa*), chief merchant[6] (*satthavāha*), general[7] (*senāvai*), military technical expert[8] (*cheyāyariya*), frontier guard-officer[9] (*saṁdhivāla*), ambassador[10] (*dūya*), administrative officers[11] (*Bhaṭa* and *Caṭakara*), and others.

They formed the retinue of king's officers who assisted him in his heavy administrative work with their respective duties.

The evidences of the maintenance of such a large contingent of government officials as revealed in the *BhS*[11] are also corroborated by other Jaina texts[12] which furnish a long list of royal staff of the same categories mentioned above.

Besides these officers, the text refers to minor functionaries of the state, such as, bearers of sticks (*laṭṭhi, lauḍa*), sword (*asi*), lance (*kuṁta*), books (*putthaya*), stringed musical instrument (*vīṇā*),[13] charioteer[14] (*sārathī*), marshal[15] (or ancient *pahakara*), foot-soldiers[16] and others who formed the royal retinue during the journey of a king or a prince to any place.

Personal and Palace Staff

The *BhS*[17] gives a long list of personal and palace staff maintained by the king in keeping with his majestic dignity. This contingent of household personnels employed in the service of the royal family consisted of chamberlain (*kaṁcuijje*)[18], enuch (*varisadhare*), courtier (*mahattare*), female inner door-keepers (*abbhiṁtariyāo paḍihārīo*), female outer door keepers

1 *BhS*,7, 9, 300 ; 11, 9, 417.
2 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385, 13, 6, 491.
4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 13, 6, 491 ; Talavara may mean also Knight.
5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
6 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 13, 6, 491.
7 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300 ; 7, 9, 301 ; also see *Ovāiya Sutta*.
8 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
9 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303, 11, 9, 417.
10 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303, 11, 9, 417.
11 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 9, 33, 383.
12 *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta Ṭīkā*., p. 313 ; 148, p. 285 ; Niśi. cū, 9, p. 506 ; *Bṛh. Bhā. vṛtti*, 3.3757 ; *Kalpa Ṭī*. 4. 62
13 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385
14 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385, 7, 9, 301.
15 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
16 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 7, 9, 300 (Pāyatta, Yoha).
17 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430
18 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 11, 430.

(*bāhiriyāo paḍihārīo*), female treasurers (*bhaṁḍāgāriṇīo*) store-keepers (*koṭṭhāgārīo*), propitiators (*balikārīo*), actresses (*nāḍaijjāo*) (or female dancers) and other menials, such as, female dwarfs (*vāmanā*), hunch-backed women (*khujjāo*), clowns (*davakārīo*), bearers of new brides (or carriers of babes) (*ajjhādhāriṇīo*), female attendants (*pārisīo*), female bearers of umbrella, chowries, palm-leaf-fans, box for betel, (*chattadhārīo ceḍīo, cāmaradhārīo ceḍīo, tāliyaṁṭadhārīo ceḍīo, karoḍiyādhārīo ceḍīo*), five classes of nurses (*khīradhāīo*, etc., upto *aṁkadhāīo*), female massagers of body (*aṅgamaddiyāo*) and rubbers of body (*ummaddiyāo*), bath-makers (*ṇhāviyāo*), decorators (*pasāhiyāo*), sandal-grinders (*vannagapesīo*), grinders of fragrant powders (*cunnagapesīo*), waitresses (*uvatthāṇiyāo*), female attendants (*koḍuṁviṇīo*), female cooks (*mahāṇasiṇīo*), bearers of flowers, water, female despatchers of message (*pesaṇakārīo*),[1] courtesans of different categories for dancing and singing,[2] holding umbrella, water-pitcher, golden stick and fanning chowries, and foster-mother[3] who accompanied the prince on his journey.

It is interesting to note that a separate large establishment of palace-staff for an individual queen had to be supported by the king on heavy expenditure, because polygamy was prevalent among the ruling *Kṣatriya* castes, particularly in the royal families.

It is to be observed that the *BhS* refers to the marriage of the *Kṣatriya* prince Mahābala of *Hastināpura* with eight princesses at a time on the same day. So it was thought wise by the ruling king, Bala, the father of the prince to provide all those eight princesses with their respective necessaries of life, lest the internal quarrel of the co-wives might arise and break the peace of the palace. It was a great problem for the king to keep the royal dignity in the state with his paraphernalia.

Council of Ministers

As it was an impossible task for the king to perform his heavy administrative duties of the state without the assistance

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. [3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.

of honest, sincere and loyal officers of all grades, so it was an imperative necessity that he should have ministers and a cabinet consisting of them for consultation before deciding upon a course of action regarding the state policy.

The *BhS*[1] only mentions '*Maṁtī* and *Mahāmaṁtī*', along with other high dignitaries of the government who formed the royal retinue, but there is no indication of the council of ministers (*Mantripariṣad*) and its functions anywhere in this work.

The *BhS* is acquainted with two kinds of '*Parisā*'[2], viz. the religious *Parisā* (assembly) and the royal retinue as recognized institutions.

But it is not clear whether the royal retinue mentioned here denotes the political *pariṣad* as revealed in the *Manu-smṛti*[3], the *Pāṇini*[4], the *Arthaśāstra*,[5] the Buddhist texts[6] and the Aśokan Inscriptions.[7]

The character of administration as reflected here clearly shows that the absolute monarch presided over all functions of the state by exercising his autocratic sovereign authority over every branch[8] of the administration of the government, the people and the state. So it was not probably thought necessary by him to form a council of ministers, who would advise and assist him in his deliberation on important state affairs with their wise counsel based on knowledge and experience. The council of ministers (*Mantripariṣad*) which is referred to in some Jaina, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical works as one of the most important limbs of the state was perhaps a later phase of administrative evolution.

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9 300. See the Commentary of Śrī Abhayadeva Sūrī.
[2] *Ib*, 1, 1, 6. (Parisā niggayā parisā paḍigayā).
[3] *Manu-Smṛti*, VII, 146 [4] *Pāṇini*, V, 2, 112.
[5] *Arthaśāstra*, 13,—I, Ch. XV, p. 26-29.
[6] *Mahāsīlava Jātaka*, 1, 264.
[7] Aśoka's Inscription, Rock Edicts III and VI.
[8] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429; 7, 9, 300; 11, 9, 417; 13, 6, 491.

So there is no evidence of any idea of the nature, constitution and functions of this political institution in the *BhS.* In this respect some Jaina texts give a graphic account of this council of ministers which was an important factor[1] of monarchical form of government.

In the *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya-Piṭhikā*[2] it is stated that there are five kinds of royal council, viz. *Püranti, Chattanti, Buddhi, Mantri,* and *Rahassiyā.*

The first one is called *Püranti,* as its officials formed the retinue of the king on his journey till his return to the capital, while the *Chattanti* council was composed of royal officers who held the royal parasol over the head of the king and had the privilege to accompany him up to the outer assembly hall.

The *Buddhi* council was constituted of very learned members in general customs (*loka*), the *Vedas* and the Scriptures (*samaya*) and it was entrusted with the task of gathering current informations about diverse reports and running comments among the people and bringing them to its intelligence.

The *Mantriparisad,* the fourth council consisted of ministers, who were well-read in the political science (*Rāyasattha*), born of non-royal family (*atakkuliya*), sincere, aged, loyal and courageous in the state affairs. They were the great sources of strength to the king who consulted them on important matters of the state policy in a secluded place before taking any administrative measure.

The *Rahassiyā* council constituted of secret emissaries was entrusted with the task of appeasing the angry queen, conveying the message of the dates of purificatory bath of different queens after their monthly menstruation to the king, telling him of the names of his grown up daughters fit for marriage, informing him of love affairs of the queen, if there

[1] *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra,* Sarga—IV. 1 (Svāmyamātyaśca rāṣṭrañca durgaṁ koṣa balaṁ suhṛt/parasparopakārīdaṁ saptāṅgaṁ rājya-mucyate.

[2] *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya Piṭhika* (378–383).

be any and conversing with him privately on different subjects of sexual life.

The ministers as mentioned in the Jaina texts were entrusted with the duty of carrying on political affairs of the state with undivided loyalty to their country, city and the king, their lord, by dint of their capibility, knowledge and experience in law and administration.[1]

Power of the Council of Ministers

Some Jaina texts refer to the power of ministers to dismiss a king and install another in his place under special circumstances which led to the negligence of state business.

It is stated in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[2] that the king, Jiyasattu of *Vasantapura* was dethroned and banished by his ministers on his negligence to state affairs due to his excessive love for his wife, queen Sukumāliyā, and his own son, the crown-prince was anointed king in his place[3].

Duties of Ministers

According to one Jaina text[4] the minister was charged with the duty to organize a strong system of spies belonging to both the sexes, designated as *Sūcakas*, *Anusūcakas*, *Pratisūcakas* and *Sarvasūcakas*, for the safety and security of the state from internal disorders and foreign invasions.

The duty of the *Sūcakas* was to collect internal secrets of the harem by making friendship with the harem-officers, while that of the *Anusūcakas* was to detect the presence of the foreign spies in the city.

The *Pratisūcakas* were entrusted with the task of watching the movement of enemy spies, while standing at the city gate

1 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, I, pp. 129 f.
2 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 534 ; See *Saccaṁkira Jātaka* (1 No. 73) p. 326.
3 See *Saccaṁkira Jātaka* (1. No. 73), p. 326 for similar cases.
4 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* 1, p. 13 a f; see The *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti*, p LXVIII, 8-12), and the Aśokan Inscription, R.E. VI, where it is found that the king himself directed the spy-organization. See also *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, pp. 17-22.

in the guise of a menial worker doing some petty job. And it was the duty of the *Sarvaśūcakas* to report the secret informations, gathered through their assistant spies, to the minister concerned. Thus a net of spies was spread over the neighbouring states, own kingdom, cities and the royal harem by him to watch their activities for the safety and security of the state.

The *Mantripariṣad* (Council of ministers) and its functions as revealed in the Jaina texts are also referred to in the *Pāṇini Sūtra*,[1] Buddhist work,[2] *Manu-Smṛti*,[3] *Arthaśāstra*,[4] Aśokan Inscriptions[5] and other texts[6] in details.

Assembly Hall

In the *BhS* references are made to the assembly hall (*Uvaṭṭhāṇasālā*)[7] where he held his council, received his officials and peoples and transacted his state business.

SIXTH SECTION.

Functions of the Government

The *BhS* throws some light upon multifarious functions of different departments of the government of its period, such as, revenue, trade and commerce, banking, judiciary, executive, public works, social entertainment, defence, external affairs, etc., as alluded to in its stray references, but they are not systematically dealt with in one chapter.

Here will first be discussed the following departmental functions, viz. revenue, land settlement (recording, measuring and sale or purchase of land), trade and commerce, banking, judiciary

1 *Pāṇini*, V, 2, 112.
2 *Mahāsīlava Jātaka*, I. 264.
3 *Manu-Smṛti*, VII, 146.
4 *Arthaśāstra Book 1*, Ch. XV, pp. 26-29.
5 Aśoka's Inscriptions—R. E. III & VI.
6 *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, Sarga, IV.
7 *BhS*, 11, 11, 428.

as suggested by a number of terms, such as, "*ussukkaṁ, ukkaraṁ, ukkiṭṭaṁ, ummāṇaṁ, adharimaṁ adaṁḍaṁ, koḍaḍimaṁ*",[1] etc.

The words, '*Ussukkaṁ Ukkaraṁ, Ukkiṭṭam, Ummāṇaṁ* and *Adharimaṁ*' clearly imply the existence of well-organized revenue and commerce departments with their various activities connected with the finance of the state.

Fiscal Administration

Finance is the main support of the state on which stands the whole structure of the government for the successful working of the administration in the interests of the people.

A stable financial condition of the monarchical states appears to be reflected in the *BhS* which gives an idea of a regular system of land settlement and taxation organized by the state to collect revenue from land, commerce, etc.

These evidences clearly show that the government also took administrative measures to raise the standard of weight and to control money-lending business (banking) in order to give an impetus to commerce for the material prosperity of the state and the people at large.

Land Settlement

It is clearly suggested by the terms "*A-mijjaṁ* and *A-dijjam*" (not to be measured, not to be given) that the land was measured, recorded and registered by the government officers of the land-settlement department at the time of transfer from one owner to another in the case of sale and purchase except on certain occasion, e. g. the birth-day ceremony of a new born prince (*amijjaṁ* and *adijjam*)[2].

The terms '*U-ssukkaṁ* and *U-kkaraṁ*[3]' suggest that a regular system of taxation was organized by the government for collecting revenues from trade and commerce, land and other sources in order to defray the heavy expenditures of the state, because the assessment and collection of revenue based on sound

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. [2,3] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.

financial policy were the main fountains of state income and prosperity.

The study of the above evidences clearly suggests that the revenue was collected by the government officials concerned with the work from land-tax in cash and kind (in the form of cattle) and customs on trade and commerce, fines and other sources.

On certain occasion, particularly the birth-day ceremony of a new born prince, the king ordered the remission of taxes and customs (*ukkaraṁ* and *ussukkaṁ*) and the closing down of all land transactions of the state by a royal proclamation that the land was not to be cultivated (*ukkiṭṭaṁ*), donated (*adijjaṁ*) and measured (*amijjaṁ*), but he promulgated his order to the effect of raising the standard of weight (*māṇummāṇavaddhaṇaṁ*).[1]

The study of these evidences reveals that the state paid much attention to the land, trade and commerce which brought material prosperity to the people, the royal exchequer and the society as a whole.

The *BhS*[2] refers to many kinds of trade and commerce, such as, charcoal business (*iṅgālakamme*), cutting and selling of forest trees (*vaṇakamme*), making and selling of carts (*sāḍīkamme*), earning of fare by transport-business (*bhāḍīkamme*), cultivation (ploughing and spading, *phoḍīkamme*), ivory-business (*daṁta-vāṇijje*), lac-business (*lakkha-vāṇijje*), traffic in hair e. g. wool (*kesavāṇijje*), liquor-business (*rasavāṇijje*), poison-business (*visavā-ṇijje*), crushing of sesame, sugarcane etc. by machinery (*jaṁta-pīlaṇakamme*), castrating of animals, bulls, etc. (*nillaṁchaṇa-kamme*), setting fire to woods (*davaggidāvaṇayā*), draining lakes and ponds (*saradahatalāyaparisosaṇayā*), and running of brothels (*asatī-posaṇayā*)[3] and economic and industrial guilds[4] organized and carried on by private merchants and industrialists. They were certainly the largest sources of the state revenue, only next to that of land-tax.

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. [2,3] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.
[4] *Ib*, 2, 5, 107 ; 12, 1, 437 ; 18, 2, 618.

The state derived its revenue also from the receipts[1] of rich presents offered by individual subjects to the king and fines imposed on criminals found guilty by the judicial court (*Daṇḍigrāhya*)[2].

In this connection one important matter should be observed that a rich merchant (*satthavāha*)[3] was always associated by the king with the administration probably as economic adviser to the government. It appears that his financial knowledge and experience were indispensible to the state for formulating the fiscal policy.

Fiscal administration as revealed in the *BhS* is also referred to in other Jain texts in a systematic manner. There it is found that the structure of land-tax was based on the principle of some specified factors, such as, the amount of production, cost of cultivation, condition of market and nature of soil.[4]

According to the *Vyavahāra Bhaṣya* the legal land-tax was generally fixed at the rate of one-sixth of the land produce on the basis of the above principle, while the commercial and industrial tax was imposed by the state after taking into consideration the volume of trade carried on by the merchants, their living standard, incidental charges or intermediaries, labour, etc.[5]

A house tax of two *drammas* is also referred to in the commentary on the *Piṇḍa-Niryukti*[6], while the *Niśītha Cūrṇi*[7] mentions one case where it is found that a merchant pays one vessel out of twenty as tax to the state.

The study of some Jaina texts reveals that sometimes the king remitted commercial taxes in lieu of rich presents offered by the foreign merchants to him.

[1] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. [2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. (See comm.) [3] *Ib*, 7,9,300.
[4] *Gautama* (X-24) mentions three different rates of land tax. viz. one-tenth, one-eighth and one-sixth. See also *Manu-Smṛti*, VII, 130 ff.
[5] *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya*, 1, p. 128a.
[6] *Piṇḍa Niryukti*, 87. p. 329. [7] *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 20, p. 1281.

In the *Nāyādhammakahāo* a reference is made to the exemption of customs granted by the king of *Mithilā* to a seafairing merchant of *Campā* on receipt of precious gift of a pair of earrings from him.[1] In the *Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā* there is found a similar account of the merchant, Ayala by name, who was exempted from commercial tax on his presentation of a plate (*thāla*) full of silver, gold and pearls to the king of *Beṇṇāyaḍa*[2].

Besides these sources, the Jaina texts provide a long list of state revenue derived from eighteen kinds of income, viz. "taxes from cows (*go*), buffaloes (*mahisa*), camels (*uṭṭi*), cattle (*pasu*), goats (*chagalī*), grass (*taṇa*), palāla grass (*puvāla* in Hindi), chaff (*busa*), wood (*kaṭṭha*), coal (*aṅgāra*), plough (*sīyā*), threshold (*umbara*, com. *dehalī*)[3], pasture-ground (*jaṅghā* or *jaṅgā*), bullocks (*balivadda*), earthen pot (*ghaya*), hides and skins (*camma*), food (*culliga*), and any other taxes levied by will (*uppatti*, com. *svecchayākalpita*)[4] and collected by tax collectors (*suṅkapāla*)[5]".

The state coffer was also replenished with revenue derived from other sources, such as, precious gifts on the occasion of constructing a lake in the city[6], passport granted by the king to an artisan who was desirous to go to a foreign country[7], unclaimed property, treasure-trove belonging to the deceased,[8]

[1] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8, p. 102.
[2] *Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā*, 3, p. 64.
[3] It is also referred to in the *Bṛhat kalpa Bhāṣya*, 3, 4770.
[4] *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 1071 f. (Hari): Comm. by Malayagiri, p. 596.

Various kinds of taxes are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇical texts, such as, taxes derived "from the office of state goldsmith, the institution of prostitutes, building sites, guilds of artisans, handicrafts, religious and charitable endowments water tax, income tax, flowers, fruits and vegetable gardens, game-forests, timber and elephant forests, heads of cattle, asses, camels, horses, hides and skins etc". Dikṣitar, op. cit., p. 176.

Vide Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain, pp. 61-62. See the discussion on them in the last part of the fiscal administration.

[5] *Uttarādhyayana Ṭika*, 3, p. 71.
[6] *Nāyādhamakahāo*, 13, p. 142.
[7] *Uttarādhyna Ṭika*, 18., p. 251 a.
[8] *Kalpa Ṭikā*, 1, p. 7 Cf; *Vinya* III, 11, 21; *Avadāna Śataka*, 1, 3, p. 13; III, p. 299 f.

confiscation of treasure-trove[1] fines and forfeitures of property and other fines imposed on the charge of attempt to murder and a serious quarrel according to the law of the land and the gravity of crimes.[2]

Assessment and Collection of Tax

The evidences of the land revenue and customs as mentioned here imply that there were royal officers (revenue-officers) to assess and collect taxes from all possible sources of the state income. But they do not provide much information regarding the fiscal administration and the officers of several grades associated with the work of land-settlement, assessment and collection of revenue.

In this respect some idea of fiscal administration is given in the *Kalpasūtra* in which a reference is made to a *Rajjuyasabhā* of Hatthivāla of *Pāvā*, the place of salvation of Lord Mahāvīra. The term '*rajjuya*' denotes a settlement officer (or a survey minister) who measured land and he may be identical with *rajjugāhaka—amacca* of *Jātakas* and the *Rājuka* of Aśokan Inscriptions.[3]

The *BhS* does not throw any light upon the method of collecting revenue but it tells that the king warns the *Bhaṭa*, his officer concerned with the work, not to enter the house of a subject on the auspicious day of birth ceremony of a new born prince in his family (*abhaḍappavesaṁ*)[4].

In this regard some other Jaina texts refer to the oppressive method of revenue collection resorted to by the king and his officers. In the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[5] it is stated that one king was attacked by his suzerain lord for his failure to pay taxes (*Kappaka*) in due time.

1 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 20 ; p. 1281. Cf. *Gautama* X. 44 ; *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* II-2. 34 f.) Manu. VII, 133.
2 *Bṛhat-Kalpa Bhāṣya*. 4 5104. See Life in Ancient India, p. 62.
3 *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (II, No 276). See R.E. III (*Kālasī* text) for *Rajjuka*.
4 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.
5 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* 11, p. 190,

The *Vivāga Suya*[1] gives an account of tyrannical method of collecting revenue applied by a district officer (*Raṭṭhakūḍa*), named *Ikkāi* who was in charge of five hundred villages.

He resorted to all sorts of oppression to trouble the people of those villages, such as, levying of different kinds of taxes (*kara*) custom-duties (*bhara*), interest, bribe, insult, compulsory donation (*dejja*), punitive taxes (*bhejja*), forcible extraction of money (i.e. illegal exaction) by violence, affording shelter to thieves, setting fire to the houses of the people, and attacking travellers.[2]

SEVENTH SECTION—A

Administration of Justice and Judicial Procedure

A great emphasis is put by the political theory advocated in all the ancient Indian literatures on the administration of law and justice which is a most essential condition of liberty and protection of the people in the state.

The *BhS* throws some light upon the judicial administration of its period as revealed in its stray references. The text lays a stress on the equitable justice and proper punishment to be administered to the people involved in any case, as it is advocated by its author thus that there must not be any impunity and unjust punishment awarded to anybody in the state and the encroachment upon the liberty of citizens. The king warns the Bhaṭas (a class of civil royal administrative officers) not to enter the house of a house-holder (*abhaḍappavesaṁ*)[3] and orders the release of prisoners (*cāragasohaṇa*) on the auspicious occasion of the birth-ceremony of a new born prince in the royal family.

The term '*pālayāhi*' (protect) used in the *BhS*[4] in connection with the coronation ceremony of the crown prince, Śivabhadra denotes that the king should protect the people from both the

[1] *Vivāga Suya* 1, p. 6 f.
[2] *Ib*, 1, p. 6 f.
[3] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

internal and external dangers, injustice, calamities, and encroachment upon the liberty made by any body in the state. This ideal of equitable justice and equality in the eyes of law preached in the *BhS* is also reflected in some Jaina texts[1], the Buddhist *Jātakas*, the *Manu-Smṛti*[2], the *Arthaśāstra*[3] and other Brāhmaṇical works.[4]

In the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* a reference is made to an honest and impartial incorruptible judge, *Rūpajakkha* (*Rūpadakkha* in *Pāli*) by name who was well-read in *Bhambhīya*, *Āsurukkha*[5], *Nītisāra* of *Māṭhara* and *Daṇḍanīti* of *Kauṇḍinya* and was famous for equitable justice.[6]

The same view on the administration of justice is expressed by the *Mṛcchakaṭika* in which it is advocated that a judge should pronounce his unbiased, dispassionate and impartial judgement on any case of law-suit coming up to his court.[7]

The Buddhist *Jātakas*[8] also reflect the same ideal of justice by laying down the principle that the judgement in a criminal case should be delivered with 'careful measure' according to the gravity and seriousness of the crime committed by the culprit.

But one should be cautious against drawing a hasty conclusion about sound judiciary from the above principles of justice laid down in the *BhS* and other ancient literatures mentioned here, because the kings, generally suspicious by nature awarded

1 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*; *Mṛcchakaṭika* (Act, IX, pp. 256 f.). See 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr J C. Jain., p. 64. 1f.
2 *Manu-Smṛti* VII-25; 14 ff; IX 288; VIII-12, 16, 17.
3 *Arthaśāstra*, 9.
4 *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, *Sarga* II, 37.
5 *Lalitavistara* refers to *Āmbhīrya* and *Āsurya* (p. 156)
6 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* 1, p. 132. Cf. *Rūpadakkha* in *Milinda-panha*, p. 344. *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 64, 4f.
7 Cf. *Mṛcchakaṭika* Act IX pp. 256 f.
8 Cf. *Ratha'atthi Jātaka* (No. 332) III, p. 105; See also the commentary on the *Digha-Nikāya* II. p. 519, for the administration of justice in Vesālī according to the laws laid down in the '*Paveṇipotthaka*', the 'Book of Customs'. The trial went through a long process—till the final judgement was passed by the king. See Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 64, 2 f.

severe punishment out of anger to those against whom he harboured a mistrust in his mind due to some causes. So sometimes innocent person was charged with the case of theft, or robbery, or murder and awarded punishment, while the real culprit was acquitted of all charges and set free.[1]

Cases

In the *BhS* there is not found any reference to civil or criminal cases which gave rise to law-suits and came before the royal court for adjudication, although it furnishes some evidence of theft[2], robbery[3], murder[4] and adultery[5] in its stray statements in connection with the fruit (of binding) of *Karmas* (actions). But its acquaintance with the following official terms '*talavara*'[6] (chief city police officer), *daṇḍanāyaga*[7] (judge) and *cāragasohaṇa*[8] (release of prisoners) implies that various crimes were committed by individuals in the kingdom at that period.

Relativity of Crime and Punishment

It is not possible for one to form a correct view on the relativity of crime and punishment of that period from the scanty evidences furnished by this text regarding the judicial procedure adopted in matters of justice for awarding punishment to the criminals.

In the *BhS* there is no reference to various factors, such as, the nature of crime, the motive, time, place, circumstances, mental evolution of the individual, etc, which are generally taken into consideration of the judicial procedure by the judge before delivering unprejudiced, dispassionate and impartial judgement according to the laws laid down by the state. The

1 Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*-9.30; also refers to the *Jātaka* (IV. p. 286), which states that an innocent ascetic, being suspected of robbery at night was abused and beaten by one householder and taken to the king for trial. He was impaled.
There is another case of Cārudatta who was 'charged with the murder of a courtesan and theft of her jewels and consequently punished, though no confession was made by him nor any proof was established.

2 *BhS*, 9, 33, 384; 15, 1, 551.
3 *Ib*, 15, 1, 560.
4 *Ib*, 15, 1, 560; 12, 7, 458.
5 *Ib*, 8, 5, 328.
6 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
7 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
8 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.

BhS does not mention any civil or criminal cases which came up before the court, nor does it show causes of imprisonment of culprits. So one should turn his attention to other sources which may throw light upon this subject.

The idea on the relativity of crime and punishment as embodied in the text is fully revealed in some Jaina texts which provide a list of various types of civil and criminal cases giving rise to law-suits, such as theft, robbery, murder, adultery, cheating,[1] case over an umbrella of a *Mahārāṣṭrian* taken away by a man of *Lāṭa*,[2] dispute between a *Brāhmaṇa* and a *Caṇḍāla*, karakaṇḍu by name over a bamboo-staff grown in his cemetry,[3] claim over an ascetic boy named Vaira by his mother and some Jaina monks respectively,[4] seduction of Jaina monks by prostitutes,[5] false testimony (*kūḍasakkha*) and falsification of documents (*kūḍalehakaraṇa*).[6]

1 *Daśā Cūrni*, p. 58 ; *Vasu*—p. 55 ; See also *Āvaśyaka Cūrni*-p. 119. A simple villager was cheated of his bullock cart together with his corn and patridge cage (*Sagaḍa-tittiri*) by some perfumers who took forcible possession of those articles on purchase for one Kārṣāpaṇa by using ambiguous words in the bargain which meant the cart as well as patridge. The villager went to the court but unfortunately lost the case. But he finally succeeded in recovering his bullock cart by kidnapping the mother of those purfumers under the pretext of selling 'sattu' according to his strategem. He released that woman only on the return of his bullock cart by those perfumers.

2 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 3, 345 f., p 69.

3 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 9, p. 134.

4 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 391 f. (A child of six months old named Vaira was taken by the Jaina monks for ordination. After few years the mother of that ascetic boy lodged a complaint with the court against those Jaina monks amongst whom one was the father of the boy. Unfortunately she lost her case, because the ascetic boy did not respond to the call of his mother who tried to tempt him with toys, but he immediately went to the side of the monks at the call of his ascetic father with a *rajoharaṇa*).

5 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 4, 4923-25. Refer also to Uttarā. *Sū*, 3, p. 72 a.
(A complaint of seduction of Jaina monks by prostitutes was made by Jaina monks against prostitutes).

6 *Uvāsagadasāo*, p. 10 ; also notes, p. 215;
Āvaśyaka. See (*Hari*), p 820. *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J.C. Jain, p. 64-66 for all these references.

Robbery

Of the various types of crime enumerated in the Jaina texts robbery was regarded as a systematic art (*vijjā*) practised in ancient India.[1]

In some Jaina texts references are made to a number of notorious robbers expert in the art of fighting, viz. Vijaya[2] of *Sālāḍavī*, his body-guard, *Cilāya*, *Maṇḍiya*[3] of *Beṇṇāyaḍa*, *Abhaggasena*[4] of *Purimatāla*, etc., who resided in their respective well-protected robber-infested areas in the jungles. They committed different types of crime and created terror in the hearts of the people by their nefarious activities. But they were ultimately rounded up and arrested by the forces of their respective governments and executed by the order of their kings after inflicting various kinds of tortures on them.

The *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[5] refers to different classes of

[1] Science of lacerny (theft) is attributed to Skanda, Kanakaśakti, Bhāskarānandi, Yogācārya and others, and thieves also used to be addressed as Skandaputras. Refer to Grecian Mercury and St. Nicholas of England, the patron-god of thieves; See. 1. H. Q., 1929, pp. 312 ff; *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol. II, pp 183-4), discussion 'Stealing'. Mūladeva appears as the chief-thief in Hindu fiction who is identified by Bloomfield with Karṇisuta, Gaṇiputraka or Gaṇikāputra or Gaṇikāsuta. 'Steyaśāstrapravartaka or Steyasūtrapravartaka' a famous handbook of thieving is ascribed to him. He is also referred to in the com. on *Dīgha* (1. 89); also see '*Dhūrtākhyāna* of Dr. A. N. Upādhye, A critical study, p. 23 and note. Refer to 'Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 66, 14 f.

[2] *Vivāga Suya*, 3, p. 20; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 18, p. 208 f.

[3] *Śiṣyahitā Commentary on Uttarādhyayana* 4, p. 94a f.; also Cf. *Bhuyangama Cora* (Uttarā. Ṭī. 4, pp. 87 ff); Rauhiṇeya Cora (*Vya. Bhā*, 2 304); also *Yogaśāstra*, Com. pp. 116 ff by Hemacandra., J. A. O. S. Vol. 44, 1-10, H. M. Johnson; also Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, II, 23, 273.

[4] *Vivāga Suya*, 3, pp. 24 f.
Refer to Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, pp. 67-68; 26, 29, 31 ff. for details.

[5] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 9, 28; see also *Paṇha Ṭīkā*, 3, p. 58., for seven types of robbers and eighteen ways of encouraging robbery, Cf. Law, India described, pp. 172 f. for the types of *Coras* in the Buddhist works. Refer to Life in Ancient India—by Dr. J. C. Jain.

thieves–viz. thieves (*āmosa*), robbers (*lomahara*), cut-purses (*gaṇṭhibheya*), and burglars (*takkara*).

The robbers committed various crimes, such as, the lifting of cows[1] and other domestic animals, kidnapping of maid-servants, children[2] and even nuns,[3] setting fire to villages, towns, houses and forests, destroying of ships, extraction of money from the people by threatening them with the sword, forcible entry into the residence of monks to terrify and threaten them with death[4].

According to the evidences furnished by the Jaina texts the crime of robbery was punished with imprisonment[5], mutilation and death-penalty and various kinds of tortures[6] inflicted on the robbers.

Adultery

The *BhS* refers to only one case of adultery[7] in connection with the religious teachings on the fruit of *karmas* (actions), but it does not furnish any evidence of a case of adultery which gave rise to the law-suit. In this respect there are found some evidences in several Jaina texts[8] that the adultery was considered

1 *Paṇha*, 3, pp. 43a ff., Cf. *Mbh.* 1. 233, 5 ff.

2 *Uttarādhyana Cūrṇi*, p. 174; Cf. *Mrcchakaṭika*, IV, 6. For the reference to the robbing of children from the lap of nurses.

3 Cf. *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* 7·71 a; *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* 6. 6275.

4 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 3. 3903 f; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, p. 339 Cf. *Cora* Sutta.

"*Nāyādhammakahāo*, 2, pp. 53 f. The death of the robber, Vijaya in jail without food.

5 Commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 4, p. 94a f: (Maṇḍiya was impaled); *Vivāga Suya* 3, pp. 24 f.

6 *Acārāṅga Cūrṇi* 2, p. 65.

For the crime of robbing the purse of a merchant, a *Brāhmaṇa* was given lashes, and forced to take excreta and his whole property was confiscated.

7 *BhS*, 8, 5, 328.

8 *Vivāga Suya* 2, p. 18 f. (see *Kāmvira Jātaka* III, No. 318, Sulasā Jātaka III No. 419 for a similar description; see also *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* III, 5, 232f, *Manu* VIII, 372 f) (A merchant's son of *Vaṇiyāgrāma* was executed for his crime of adultery with Kāmajjhayā, a keep of the king); *Vivāga Suya*-4, p. 31. (Sagada's adultery with Sudaṃsaṇā, a keep of the king's minister is referred to; both of them were put to

a serious crime and severely punished with the penalty of death, imprisonment[1], mutilation of limbs[2] and banishment[3].

Murder

The *BhS* contains references to a few cases of murder in connection with the religious teaching on the consequences of *Karmas*[4] (actions) done by an individual man. But there is no evidence to show that these crimes gave rise to law-suits in the court.

In this regard some other Jaina texts reveal that the case of murder or an attempt to murder was severely dealt by the court with capital punishment[5] or public execution and imposition of fines[6] on the culprits involved and found guilty in such a crime according to the law of the land.

Non-Execution

There occur evidences in some Jaina texts that non-execution of royal order was considered a serious offence which was

death ; *Vivāga Suya* p. 35 ; (The adultery of Bassaidatta, the minister of king Udayana, with the queen was punished with death. *Piṇḍa Nirukti* 127 (a merchant of *Śrinilaya nagara* met the same fate along with his friends and admirers for his adultery with the queen.

1 *Niśi Cūrṇi* 15, p. 1002 Cf. Manu VIII, 374.

2 Commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*–23, p. 285 f ; Cf. *Gāhāpati Jātaka* (II, No 199, p. 134 f. (The adultery of Kamaṭha with the wife of his brother Marubhūi was punished with the banishment from *Poyaṇapura*.

3 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā* 17, p. 10 ; (Cf. *Gautama*, XII–1 for the intentional reviling twice born men by criminal abuse or criminally attacking them with blows a *Śūdra* will be punished with mutilation of the limb with which he assaulted); See also M. VIII, 12 f. (A *Brāhmaṇa* is expiated from his sin for the adultery with his daughter-in-law only by touching the four Vedas).

4 *BhS*, 15, 1, 560.

5 *Vivāga Suya*, 6, pp, 36–39. (Maṇḍivaddhaṇa of *Mathurā* was publicly executed for his conspiracy to murder his father by a barbar who disclosed this evil design of the prince to the king.

Vivāga Suya, pp, 49-55 (*Devadattā*, the queen of king Pūsanandī was also awarded death punishment by him for murdering her mother-in-law. (i. e. King's mother) out of jealousy.

6 Vide Life in Ancient India, p, 70 by Dr. J. C. Jain.

dealt with various kinds of punishment, such as, throwing the offender into salt[1], beheading with one stroke of sword, burning alive, taunting in disgraceful terms and branding with a mark of a pot or a dog (*kuṇḍiya or suṇaga*) or banishment[2], mild admonition in the case of members belonging to the *Kṣatriya* the *Gāhāvai*, the *Māhaṇa* castes and the *Isi* assembly respectively.

A slightest suspicion caused by any one in the minds of kings was followed by the death-penalty.[3] So they, who were generally suspicious by nature, inflicted severe punishments on their ministers[4] and ordinary subjects in various ways on the slightest suspicion according to their whims.

It is said in the *Daśā Cūrṇi*[5] that even Cāṇakya, the great minister of king Candragupta *Maurya* had to resign his ministership under the ruling king *Bindusāra*, the son of king Chandragupta due to the cold reception accorded to the said minister who was responsible for the death of his mother, queen Durdharā[6]. Being thus disinterested in worldly affairs, Cāṇakya renounced

1 *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*, p. 38. 2 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 250.
3 *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta*, 184. 4 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 182; *Ib*, p 184 (Kappaya the minister of king Nanda was thrown by him into a well together with all the members of his family on suspicion created by his ex-minister (who was a rival of Kappaya) in his mind. ; Sagadāla, the minister of the Ninth Nanda embraced death to escape from the royal punishment together with his whole family due to the suspicion caused in the mind of the king by Vararuci another court member against him; Refer to Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain for details, p. 71, 48-49 ff.
5 *Daśā Cūrṇi*, p 81 f. See also *Mahābodhi Jātaka* (v 22, ff) for the royal treatment meted out to his minister.
6 *Sthavirāvalī Carita*, 8, 377-414 :
Cf. also Buddhist tradition about Bindusāra ; Malalasekara, op. ct. Vol. II under 'Bindusāra.'

(It is said in the *Sthavirāvalī Carita* that once Cāṇakya ordered royal servants to mix up a very minute doze of poison with the food of king Candragupta with a view to immune him from the action of poison in future.

Durdharā, the pregnant queen of Chandragupta also was taking the same together with her husband, but she could not stand the poisonous effect and died instantly. Cāṇakya, having observed this unfortunate incident, immediately operated her womb and extracted the child to save him,

the material life and went to the jungle where he embraced death by starving himself.

There are sufficient evidences to show that the culprits were subjected to great disgrace, together with their relatives who were even forced to live in the *Caṇḍāla* area.[1]

In addition to these penalties the following types of punishments are referred to in the Jaina texts, such as "putting in irons (*aduyabandhana*),[2] in stocks (*haḍibandhana*), into prison, screwing up hands and feet in a pair of shakles and breaking them, cutting off hands and feet, ears or nose or lips or head or throat-glands (*muravā*), piercing the organ (*veyagacchahiya ?*)[3] body (*aṅgacchahiya*), the sides, tearing out eyes, teeth, testicles, or tongue, hanging, brushing, whirling round, impaling, lacerating, pouring acids (in wounds), belabouring with a leather strap, twisting the organ like a lion's tail (*sīhapucchiya*),[4] like a bull's tail, burning in a wood fire and exposing the offender to be devoured by crows and vultures."[5]

Prison

The reference made in the *BhS* to the release of prisoners[6] by the promulgation of royal order as a general amnesty on account of the birth ceremony of a new born prince in the royal family implies that there was a regular system of jail administration. But the work does not throw any light upon the class of culprits put into prison, their terms of imprisonment, general conditions of prison and plight of prisoners.

In this respect some Jaina texts give us a graphic account of the jail administration and conditions of prisoners' life.

[1] *Uttarādhyayana Ṭikā*, p. 190a.
[2] The Commentary on the *Udāna*, p. 149.
[3] *Ovāiya Suya*, 38, p. 164. Abhayadeva gives a variant as '*Vāikacchachinnaga*' and renders as '*Uttarāsaṅganyāyena vidāritaḥ*', *Veyagacchahiya*' is referred to in the *Pāiyasaddamahaṇṇavo*.
[4] See the Commentary for explanation.
[5] *Sūya*. II, 2, 35 ; *Ovāiya Su.* 38, p. 162 f., *Paṇha*, 3. 52a-ff ; also *Milindapaṇha*, p. 197 ; *Majjhima Nikāya* 1-87. Refer to Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, 73, 60-64 ff.
[6] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429 ; Cf. *Nāyādhammakahāo* I, p. 20 and *Arthaśāstra* p. 165.

15

Both the Jaina texts, *Vivāga Suya*[1] and *Nāyādhammakahāo*[2] depict a vivid picture of the sad plight of the prisoners who were tortured by the jail authorities in many ways with various instruments of tortures, such as, iron jars filled with copper, tin, lead, limewater (*Kalakala*), boiling oil cooked with alkaline ingredients (*Khāratela*), urine of different animals, hand cuffs (*Hatthaṇḍuya*), fetters (*Pāyaṇḍuya*), wooden frames to tie the feet (*Haḍi*), iron chains, different kinds of whips, stones, sticks, clubs, ropes, traps, swords, saws, razors, iron-nails, leather-straps, needles, hatchets, nail-cutters and darbha-grass.[3]

Besides these inhuman tortures the prisoners suffered from other troubles, such as, hunger, thirst, heat, cold, cough and leprosy and had to live in their own excreta and urine passed by them, and died unattended and uncared ; on their miserable deaths their corpses were thrown away into ditches unceremoniously and were eaten up by wolves, dogs, jackels, big rats (kola), cats and birds.[4]

The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[5] presents the account of the sad plight of king Seṇiya without food and drink during his imprisonment by his son, Kūṇika, but he was served with one hundred lashes every morning. His qeeen Cellanā however was permitted to see him and she offered secretly some food brought by concealing in her hair.

Cases of law suits, judicial procedure, criminal law and punishment as mentioned in the Jaina works are also elaborately discussed in the Brāhmaṇical texts[6] in a very systematic manner.

Judicial procedure

The relativity of crime and punishment as evidenced in

1 *Vivāga Suya* 6, pp. 36 ff.
2 *Nāyādhammakahāo* 2, p. 54 ff.
3 Refer to 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J C. Jain, p. 73, for details ; see also *Vivāga Suya* 6, pp. 36 ff.
4 *Paṇhavāgaraṇa* 3, p 54. Refer also to 'Life in Ancient India- by Dr. J. C. Jain for information.
5 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* II, p. 171.
6 *Manu-Smṛti* VIII, 47 ; 279, *Vide* A study in Hindu Social Theory by Kewal Motwani, p. 173.

the Jaina texts are also discussed by the *Manu-Smṛti*, *Arthaśāstra* and other Brahmaṇical works in great details.

Manu advocates that various factors, such as, the motive, social status, time and place of the offence, circumstances, mental evolution of the criminal, his bearing capacity of punishment should first be ascertained by the judge without *a priori* legal assumption in all matters of justice before delivering impartial, unprejudiced and dispassionate judgement on crime and awarding just punishment to the deserving criminals found guilty by the court.

It is futher observed by Manu that the psychological condition of an individual criminal should be taken into consideration in all cases of crime to inflict punishment on him. If he is higher in the level of mental evolution, he must bear more responsibility.

"When a common man should be fined a trifle, the king should be fined a thousandfold".

"In the case of theft a *Śūdra* should pay a fine of eightfold, a *Vaiśya* twice as much as the *Śūdra*, a *Kṣatriya* twice as much as the *Vaiśya*, a *Brāhmaṇa* twice as much as that of the *Kṣatriya* or even four times as much"[1].

One most important observation is made by Manu on the social position of the criminals after serving their terms of sentence that they should be considered as having been purged of the crime[2], and given the social status. Because punishment should not be retaliation made by the society, but it should be guided by the ideal of forgiveness[3].

"Kṣantavyṁ prabhuṇā nityaṁ kṣipatāṁ kāryiṇāṁ nṛṇāṁ/
Bālavṛddhāturāṇāṁ ca kurvatā hitamātmanaḥ"// (M. VIII-312).

"Yaḥ kṣipto marṣayatyārtaistena svarge mahīyate/
Yastvaiśvaryānna kṣamate narakaṁ tena gacchati"//
(M. VIII. 313).

[1] *Manu-Smṛti*, VIII, 336-38.
[2] *Manu-Smṛti*, VIII, 318.
[3] *Ib*, VIII, 312-313.

The *Arthaśāstra* also follows almost the same principles regarding criminal law and punishment with some variations, and brings all in the state under the sway of "Law".

SEVENTH SECTION-B.

Army

Army is one of the seven limbs of the state, viz. the lord (king, *Svāmī*), minister (*amātya*) territory (or country, *rāṣṭra*), fort (*durga*), treasury (*koṣa*), army (*bala*) and ally (*suhṛt*).

"Svāmyamātyaśca rāṣṭrañca durgaṁ Koṣa balaṁ suhṛt/
Parasparopakāridaṁ saptāṅgaṁ rājyamucyate"[1]//

It is the most essential part of the defence organization of the government.

It is already known from the study of the political conditions reflected in the *BhS* that there was no political unity of India[2] under one paramount ruler during the period of Lord Mahāvīra. Two forces, viz. centrifugal and centripetal, i. e. the force of local autonomy and that of imperialism had been operating with a regular oscilating movement of a swinging pendulum in the political evolution of that period. So the idea of imperialism had to fight the centrifugal political force of local autonomy in the successive eras.

It is further learnt that the most important political event of this period was the long drawn quadrangular struggle[3] among the four states viz. *Magadha, Vaiśālī, Kāśī* and *Kośala* for establishing their respective political suzerainty over North-Eastern India by following a policy of expansion and aggrandisement from their respective bases.

On the other hand every absolute monarch of each state (*Janapada*) had to exercise his supreme authority over a number of subordinate kings,[4] feudal princes (*Sāmantarājas*[5]) and re-

[1] *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, Fourth Sarga, 1.
[2] See the first section of this Chapter. [3] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 301.
[4] *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. See the second section of this Chapter.
[5] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

publican chieftains (*gaṇarāyas*[1]) whose loyalty to their sovereign depended on the feudal relation, military strength of the defence force, and vigilance of the state.

Under these circumstances it was the primary duty of every independent sovereign ruler to organize and maintain a regular well-trained and well-equipped army for the safety and security of the state against internal and external dangers of war.

The *BhS*[1] gives an idea of the form of army, nature of war, fighting services, military conscription, ethics of war, art of fighting, weapons used in war, etc. as known to the time of Lord Mahāvīra. Here an attempt will be made to deal with the military organization, fighting services and ethics of war, as they are connected with the part of administration of the state. The art of war, weapons, etc. will be discussed in connection with the topic 'military science' in the sixth chapter on education.

Military Organization

The study of this work clearly shows that the military organization of the period was based on the traditional four-fold division of army consisting of four parts furnished with cavalry, elephant, chariot and infantry (hayagaya-rathayohakaliyāe cāuraṅgiṇīe seṇāe).[3]

Cavalry

According to the order of the armed forces as mentioned here it appears that cavalry occupied the first and foremost place as a fighting unit in the army for guarding the advanced position and charging the enemy ranks by its swift and dashing attack from all flanks. It also acted as the forward guard during a royal journey, marching in front of all contingents.[4]

Horses[5] which were the most essential component parts of the cavalry were also used to draw both the war-chariots and ordinary ones driven by princes and nobles.

1 *BHS*, 7, 9, 300. 2 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300—303.
3 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. Army is also called *Bala* (*BhS*, 7, 9, 303).
4 *BhS*, 9, 33, 388. 5 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300; 7, 9, 303; 9, 33, 385.

Some Jaina texts give a detailed account of different classes of horses[1], their arming[2], saddling[3], training[4] and riding[5], jumping (*laṅghana*), circular movement (*vaggaṇa*), galloping (*dhoraṇa*)[6] and rearing.[7]

Elephant

The elephant force[8] stood second in rank as a fighting unit and held an honourable position in the army in the war and on other occasions, such as, royal procession and journey from one place to another. Elephants were furnished with the armoury cruppers, flags, standards, weapons, etc. as it is evidenced in the Jain texts.[9]

The *BhS* mentions two war-elephants of king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru, named Udāyin[10] and Bhūtānanda[11] which were used by him in two great wars called '*Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* respectively, waged by him against the combined force of the confederate army of *Vaiśālī, Kāśi* and *Kośala*, nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis*. A great importance was attached by all the rulers of that period to the elephants.

It is already known from the evidence of *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* that the *Magadhan* state elephant, *Secanaka* given by king

1 *Daśā Cu.* 6, p. 213 (*aśva, aśvatara*, 'mule', *ghoṭoka*); See also *Jambu. Su* 2. p. 110 f, *Rāmāyaṇa* 1. 6, 22; *ākirṇa* (ill bred horse) *Uttarā, Sū.* II 10, see *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* 4.327; *Khaluṅka Sutta, Aṅguttara* N. IV, p. 190 f, for 8 defects of a horse, *Kanthaka* (another variety of horse)—*Uttarā. Sū* II, 16 and the commentary; the com. of *Sthānāṅga-Sūtra*—4, 327. See also *Dhammapada*. A, I., p. 85. *Ṭhāṇi*—*Bṛh. Bhā.* 3, 395 a f.

2 *Vivāga Suya* 2, p. 13; *Ovāiya Suya*. 31, p. 132. (arming and saddling of horse and the horseman).

3 *Ib.*

4 *Avaśyaka Ṭikā* p. 261; See also *Rāya. Sū.* 161. *Uttarā. Ṭika* 9, p. 141—(*Vāmyāli*—the training centre for horse).

5 *Uttarā. Ṭikā.* 5, p. 103.

6 *Ovā. Su*, 31. p. 132, Cf. *Arthaśāstra* (p. 148) for the explanation of the terms.

7 *Vya. Bhā.* 10. 484, *Uttara. Ṭikā* 4, p. 96.

8 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 301.

9 *Vivāga Sūya*, 2, p. 13; *Ovāiya Suya*, 30, p. 117; 31, p. 132; *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1, 53, 118.

10 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300.

11 *Ib*, 7, 9, 301.

Seṇiya-Bimbisāra to his younger sons, Halla and Behalla as a gift together with a necklace of eighteen strings of pearls, was one of the causes of these two long-drawn devastating wars between *Magadha* and the *Vaiśālian* confederacy.

A similar account of the cause of war is given by *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*[1] in which it is stated that a war took place between Nami and Caṇḍajasa on their respective claim over an elephant.

There are also references to the names of famous elephants recorded in other Jaina texts, e.g. *Nalagiri* of king Pajjoya[2] and Bhadrāvatī of king Udayana[3] who eloped away Vāsavadattā, the daughter of the former, from Ujjeni to Kauśāmbī, and *Vijaya*, the scent-elephant (*gandhahatthi*) of Kaṇhavāsudeva.[4]

The *Arthaśāstra* also attached a great importance to the elephant force by giving a warning thus "whoever kills an elephant shall be put to death."[5]

These and numerous other evidences from Brahmaṇical and other sources clearly show that the Indian kings of the ancient period largely depended on elephant force.

Chariot

The chariot force occupied the third place in the order of the organization of the army. The *BhS* refers to two types of chariots,[6] viz. war-chariots and ordinary transport-chariots, War-chariots were used for various purposes, such as, carrying arms and amunitions, food, quivers containing arrows, armours, helmets, bows and other weapons,[7] while transport chariots were driven by princes and nobles on their journeys from one place to

[1] *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 9, p. 104 f.
[2] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 160. [3] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, pp. 161f.
[4] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 5, p. 70. [5] *Arthaśāstra*, 50 (p. 49).
[6] *Anu.Ṭī.*, p. 146; *Arthaśāstra* refers to six kinds of chariots viz. "Devaratha (chariot for imaged god), *Puṣparatha* (festal car), *Sangrāma ratha* (war-chariot), *Pāriyānika* (transport-chariot), *Starapurabhiyānika*, *Venayika* (training chariot).
[7] *Uvāiya Sutta* 31, p. 132; *Āva. Cū*, p. 188; *Rāma*. III, 22. 13 ff; *Mbh*. V. 94, 18 ff.

another. It provides the informations that the chariot-force of king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru was strengthened by the introduction of two war engines, viz. *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka*[1] (a big stone-catapult) and *Rathamusala*,[2] a chariot having no horse, no charioteer, no soldier but having a musala (club or mace) fitted to it. Uniqueness of this weapon in the history of the ancient Indian army is not found anywhere else.

The importance of chariots as referred to in the *BhS* and other Jaina texts was also realized by the *Arthaśāstra*[3] for the "protection of the army, repelling the attack made by all the four (columns) constituents of the enemy's army, seizing and abandoning (positions) during the time of battle, gathering a dispersed army, breaking the compact array of enemy's army, frightening it, etc."

Infantry

According to the *BhS*[4] the infantry was the fourth column of the army, consisting of a large number of trained and disciplined soldiers mostly recruited from the common people. The account of foot soldiers as given in this canonical work is also corroborated by those of other Jaina texts.[5]

According to the *Arthaśāstra*[6] the infantry "carried weapons to all places" and fought on all fronts.

It is clear from the study of the evidences furnished by all sources that the infantry was the most important fighting force for close fighting and ultimate success in any war, because it bore the brunt of the first attack of the enemy in collaboration with the cavalry and fought its way to final victory in the face of stubborn resistance offered by the rival forces.

An army or a country of an enemy power may be attacked and harassed by the other columns of the fighting force, but it cannot be conquered without the service of a strong infantry.

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300. [2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 301. [3] *Arthaśāstra*, 371, p. 399.
[4] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300 ; 9, 33, 385 ; 7, 9, 301.
[5] *Ovāiya Sutta*, 31, p. 132 ; Vivāga Suya, 2, p. 13,
[6] *Arthaśāstra*, 371, p. 399,

Fighting Services

The success of an army in war depends on the strength and character of the fighting services. So the army to be effective needs a large contingent of efficient, well-trained, well-disciplined, brave officers, technical experts and soldiers under an able and experienced general (*Senāvai*) and sufficient fighting equipments and latest weapons.

Besides the military personnels of the defence force, there must be a regular heirarchy of civil officers to help its organization. In this regard the *BhS* gives an idea of the composition of the fighting forces of that period.

According to the text the sovereign king, as the head of the state, was the commander-in-chief and he himself mobilized all his forces with the assistance of his staff-members and led the army in the battlefield together with his general (*Senāvai*)[1].

In this connection it refers to very skilful military technical experts (*cheyāyariya*), and a body of high dignitaries of the state, such as, chieftain (*gaṇanāyaga*), judge (*daṇḍanāyaga*), frontier guard (*saṁdhivāla*), ambassador (*dūya*), *Bhaḍa*, *Caḍagara* (a class of royal officials)[2], etc. They followed the king in all battles along with the large contingent of foot soldiers.

It appears from this list of officers that both civil and military staff-members had to join the army and discharge their compulsory military duties in times of war without any excuse or objection to evade the call of the government, when the sovereignty of the state was threatened by the impending danger of war waged by a hostile power.

Conscription

In this connection the *BhS* throws some indirect light upon the system of military conscription introduced and enforced by the ancient state of *Vaiśālī* Republic due to exigencies of war.

The *Śramaṇopāsaka* Nāganattua (Nāgaputra) Varuṇa[3] a prominent citizen of *Vaiśālī* was perforce ordered by the king,

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 301. [2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 303. [3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 303.

the *Gaṇa* (Republic or Assembly) and the army to join the impending *Rathamusala* war (*Rahamusale-saṁgāme*) in defence of the sovereignty of his state which was threatened by this war waged by king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru of *Magadha*. He had to submit to the mandate of the state and discharge his civic duties as a citizen of the Republic.

"Se Varuṇe Nāganattue annayā kayāi rāyābhiogeṇaṁ gaṇābhiogeṇaṁ balābhiogeṇaṁ rahamusale saṁgāme āṇatte".

SEVENTH SECTION—C

Ethics of War

The idea of war cannot be eliminated from the human society so long there is the existence of the military force, sanctioned and organized by different states representing the will of the people with the plea of their protection against the aggression of external enemies.

So when the sovereignty of a state is threatened by war waged by any foreign enemy-power, it must be fought to the last on the principle of self-defence according to some ethics of war.

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon this ethics of war in connection with the two great wars, viz. *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*[1] and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*[2] It is already known from the study of the political conditions, discussed in the second section of this chapter that the sovereignty of the state of *Vaiśālī* Republic was threatened by the invasion of king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru. Having apprehended this danger of war from *Magadha*, king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī* formed a political alliance with *Kāśī*, *Kośala*, nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis*, and other eighteen republican chiefs (*gaṇarājas*)[3] and organized a confederate army consisting of their combined forces to offer a stubborn resistance to the impending war waged by the *Magadhan* king for a righteous cause of self-defence.

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300.
[2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 301, 303.
[3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301.

In these common national dangers every able-bodied male citizen of *Vaiśālī* Republic was called upon by the president-king, the assembly and the army respectively to take up arms in defence of the sovereignty and independence of the state.

Even the *Śramaṇopāsaka*, Nāgaputra Varuṇa,[1] a prominent citizen of *Vaiśālī* had to submit to the mandate of the state and to join the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* to fight the enemy force, after having perforce been ordered by the king, the assembly and the army respectively to perform his duty to the nation and the state. But he fought this battle dispassionately according to the principle of not-striking first the enemy.[2]

Being seriously smitten with an arrow discharged by a rival soldier whom Nāgaputra Varuṇa killed immediately after he was first struck by him (his opponent), he left the battlefield and died a righteous death in a lonely place by observing all the five great vows (*pañcamahāvaya*) according to the teachings of the *Nirgrantha* order.[3]

Here the *BhS* throws a welcome light upon the ethics of war based on the principle of self-defence[4] and reveals an attitude of pacifism towards war like the modern Pacifists.

The traditional ideal of war is referred to in this canonical work thus that many soldiers, being killed in many kinds of war are born in heaven.[5]

The positive ethics of war is embodied in the teachings of the *Gītā*, the *Mahābhārata* and other ancient works of India.

In the *Gītā* it is stated that Lord Kṛṣṇa tried to rouse the drooping spirit of Arjuna by holding the ideal of righteous war before him thus "If killed in the battle, you will attain heaven or by conquering (it) you will enjoy the earth".

"Hato vā prāpsyasi svargaṁ jitvā vā bhokṣyase Mahīṁ"[6].

But one thing should be remembered that the *Gītā* does not preach the doctrine of war for unrighteous cause with a passionate desire.

1-5 *BhS*, 7,9, 303. 6 *Gītā*, 2, 37.

The *Arthaśāstra*[1] also echoes almost the same sentiment on the ideal of war advocating thus "His (king's) minister and priest should encourage the army by saying thus". "It is declared in the Vedas that the goal which is reached by sacrifices after performing the final ablutions in sacrifices, is the very goal which the brave men are destined to attain." "Sooth-sayers and court-bards should describe heaven as the goal for the brave and hell for the timid."[2]

But Lord Mahāvīra refuted the traditional arguments on the ideal of war by citing the case of ninety-six lakhs men killed in the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*. He told Gautama Indrabhūti, his first disciple that only one of them i. e. Nāgaputra Varuṇa would be born in heaven, one in a best family, the other ten thousands in the womb of fish, and the remaining of them in hell and lower animal world.[3]

The echoes of the same holy teachings of the *Gītā* on the consequences of war are also heard in the *Kaliṅga* Edict[4] of the emperor Aśoka, through which he speaks thus "*Kaliṅga* was conquered by king Priyadarśin, Beloved of the gods, anointed eight years. One hundred thousand and a half in number were the men carried away thence (as captives), one hundred thousand in number were killed in action and as many as that died. Thereafter, in connection with the recently annexed country of the *Kaliṅgas* (arose) a strong pious tendency, a longing for piety, (and) an (idea of) inculcating the Law of Piety in the Beloved of the gods. The Beloved of the gods has this repentence on account of having conquered the country of the *Kaliṅgas*. In conquering indeed an unconquered country, the slaying or dying or deporting which occurs there is considered an extremely painful and serious matter by the Beloved of the gods."............... "Now, as many men were then killed, died and were carried

1 *Arthaśāstra*, 367. (Book X. Ch. III).
2 *Ib.*
3 *BhS*, 7, 9, 301, 303 (See also the *Sūtra* No. 7, 9, 303)
4 Thirteenth Rock-Edict : *Śāhbāzgarhi*. See Inscriptions of Aśoka ; part II, by B. M. Barua, and Select Inscriptions, edited by Dr. D. C. Sirkar.

away as captives, a hundredth or thousandth part thereof is considered to-day a serious matter by the Beloved of the gods."

As Nāgaputra Varuṇa, having followed the principle of self-defence fought the battle of *Rathamusala* without passion and died a righteous death, he was destined to be born in heaven.[1]

But those soldiers, who being swayed by passion took the offensive and fought the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* and *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* were destined to be born in hells and other lower animal worlds.[2]

In the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* also the same view is expressed by Lord Mahāvīra on the next infernal birth of kāla and others, the ten step-brothers of king Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru), who lost their lives in the *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*, fighting for an unrighteous cause on the side of the *Magadhan* king.[3]

The principle of a righteous war in defence of the sovereignty of the state as laid down in the *BhS* is also supported by the *Manu-Smṛti* in which it is stated that if three expedients, viz. conciliation, (*sāma*), gift (*dāna*) and sowing dissension (*bheda*) prove unsuccessful to achieve the objectives of the state, the king should resort to war to conquer the enemy.[4]

It is learnt from the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* that before declaring war against *Vaiśālī*, king Kūṇika sent his ambassador thrice to the court of king Ceṭaka for demanding the peaceful extradition of the scent-elephant, *Seeanaka* and the necklace of eighteen strings of pearl which were secretly taken away by the princes, Hall and Behalla to their maternal-grandfather, the *Vaiśālian* king. But his diplomatic mission for obtaining those precious objects met with utter failure on the refusal of the king Ceṭaka to give them up.

So king Kūṇika ordered his ambassador to strike the foot-stool of king Ceṭaka with his left foot and then to deliver

[1] *BhS*, 7. 9, 303.   [2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 801, 303.

[3] *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* (60-62), 63, 65; Kāla and others were born in *Hemābha* hell.

[4] *Manu Smṛti*, VII, 200, 108.

the letter with the edge of a lance as a signal of declaration of war.

"Ceḍagassa raṇṇo vāmeṇa pāyeṇaṁ pāyaviḍhaṁ akkamāhi[1] kuṁtaggeṇaṁ lehaṁ paṇāvehi."

The *Nāyādhammakahāo*[2] also refers to the four expedients, viz. *sāma*, *dāma*, *daṇḍa* and *bheda* which were adopted by king Paḍibuddhi and his five fellow kings to obtain the hands of the daughter of king Kumbhāga by sending their respective envoys.

These four means of state-craft (conciliation, gift, dissension and war) and the diplomatic mission led by the ambassador and his duties are also referred to in the *Manu-Smṛti*[3], the *Arthaśāstra*[4] and the *Mahābhārata*[5] and discussed in great details.

It is now clear that the war was the last resort of the four means to settle the issue with a foreign state, but it must not be a surreptitious war. It should be an open fight between the contending parties for a righteous cause on the principle of self-defence as clearly shown by the *BhS.*[6]

Similar views on ethics of war are also expressed by the *Manu-Smṛti*[7], the *Mahābhārata*[8] and the *Gītā*[9] respectively.

Manu says "A warrior should not kill enemy by secret weapons, etc. in the battle", etc.

"Na kūṭairāyudhaiḥ ....kiñcit-tat-sarvaṁ pratipadyate" (90-94).

The *Mahābhārata* preaches the principle of war thus that it should be fought dispassionately and the destruction with religion is better but not the victory by the sinful act.

1 *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* 1, p. 23. See the Commentary on the *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka* Sangrāma mentioned in the *BhS* 7, 9, 300.
2 *Nāyādhammakahāo* 8, p. 97 ff (dūta's duty); *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 78.
3 *Manu-Smṛti* VII. 108, 109, 200, 66.
4 *Arthaśāstra*, 395, 382, 30.
5 *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparva*, 12, 59, 35.
6 *BhS*, 7, 9, 303.
7 *Manu-Smṛti* VII, 90, 94.
8 *Mahābhārata Śānti parva*, 12, 95 (1-20), p. 665, 12, 95 (17).
9 *Gītā*, 2, 38.

"Yathārthameva yoddhavyaṁ na kruddhyet jighāṁsataḥ,"
(S. 12.95.)

"Dharmeṇa nidhanaṁ śreyo na jayaḥ pāpakarmaṇā"
(S. 12-95).

While the *Gīta* advocates the same ethics of war embodied in the *Mahābhārata* thus that "having thought or regarded happiness and sorrow, profit and loss, victory and defeat equal, so you get ready for war, you will not attain sin by this kind (of war)".

"Sukhaduḥkhe same kṛtvā Lābhālābhau jayājayau
tato yuddhāya yujyasva naivaṁ pāpamavāpsyasi".

The evidences of the *BhS* regarding the ethics of war thus clearly reveal that a note of pacifism has pervaded the whole approach to the ideal of war. And its echoes are also heard in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Kaliṅga* Edict of Aśoka, and the *Gīta*.

EIGHTH SECTION

Inter-state Relations

Inter-state relations as reflected in the *BhS* during the time of Lord Mahāvīra may be studied under two titles—'war and Peace.'

The denotation of the term '*Dūya*'[1] (ambassador) mentioned in this canonical work and other texts clearly indicates that all the states established and maintained diplomatic relations with one another through their respective ambassadors in times of war and peace.

It appears from the *BhS* that the guiding principle of every independent sovereign of that period was the achievement of the supreme political power and material prosperity of his state at the expense of his neighbouring kingdoms. This motive force led him to follow a foreign policy of expansion and self-aggrandisement.

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 303. ; also see—*Nirayāvaliyā*, *Sutta*—1.

The doctrines of state-craft in the matter of internal and external affairs as laid down and advocated by all political thinkers of ancient India were the following four instruments,[1] viz. conciliation (*Sāma*), gift (*dāna* or *dāma* in Jaina text), division (*bheda*) and war (*daṇḍa*).

"Sāmādīnāmupāyānāṁ caturṇāmapi paṇḍitāḥ"[2]
"Sāma bhedaḥ pradānaṁ ca tato daṇḍaśca pārthivaḥ."[3]

The *Arthaśāstra*[4] added deceitfulness and secret punishment to the list of these four means of statecraft to achieve the objectives for the material welfare of the state and the people at large.

Both Manu[5] and Kauṭilya[6] have formulated the following six-fold government policy for determining the inter-state relations, viz. peace (*sandhi*), war (*vigraha*), observance of neutrality (*āsana*), marching (*yāna*), alliance (*saṁśraya*) double policy (i. e. double dealing by making peace with one and waging war with another (*dvaidhībhāva*).

"Sandhiṁ ca vigrahaṁ caiva yānamāsanameva ca/
Dvaidhībhāvaṁ saṁśrayaṁ ca ṣaḍguṇāṁścintayet sadā"[7] //
(M. VII 160)

It was probably a natural consequence of the political conditions of those days that such conventions and rules were followed by the individual king for maintaining the inter-state relations and that between the paramount ruler and his vassals.

Here an attempt will be made to examine how far the above principles of foreign policy were followed by different states mentioned in the *BhS* for determining the inter-state relations in times of war and peace.

1 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8, p 97 ff.
2 *Manu-Smṛti*, VII, 109.
3 *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti Parva*, 35, p. 100. See also *Arthaśāstra*, 30 (pp. 29-30 for the mission of ambassador).
4 *Arthaśāstra*, 238 (Book IV).
5 *Manu-Smṛti*, VII, 160.
6 *Arthaśāstra*, 263. (Book VII).
7 *Manu-Smṛti*, VII, 160.

War-Time Relations

The *BhS* shows that the corner stone of the external relations of *Magadha* was a policy of expansion and self-aggrandisement at the cost of its neighbouring states.

So this rising state under the leadership of king Kūṇika followed a policy of aggressive imperialism against its strongest northern neighbour, *Vaiśālī*, to crush its age-old republicanism, to push up its boundaries to all directions in order to achieve a scientific frontier on all sides and to turn the lower courses of the *Ganges* into a *Magadhan* lake by ousting the *Vaiśālian* political and economic interests from the field of commerce and trade,[1] as it was evidenced in his construction of a forward base of operation at *Pāṭaligrāma* against the Republic of *Vaiśālī*.

This policy of *Magadha* reminds one of the advent of the European trading companies to India in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries A. D., to establish their direct commercial relation with her by ousting the monopoly of interests of the Arab merchants from the field of Indian trade with the western countries.

So they came here with the sanction and financial support of their respective states to sell their manufactured goods and in return to purchase raw materials, spices and other Indian commodities, greatly demanded by the western people. But as the time went on, all the European trading companies established factories and forts and entered into the Indian political field to safeguard their respective interests. Consequently their participation in local politics led to the building up of their colonies in India and subsequently an empire, as it is fully known from the British rule.

Magadha wanted to buy all commodities which flowed from North Bihar beginning from the foot of the Himālayas

[1] According to the Commentary of Buddha Ghoṣa there was a dispute between king Kūṇika and the *Vaiśālians* over a mine of precious.........articles near the port on the *Ganges*. See also *Dīghanikāya* (*Mahāparinivvāṇa Sutta*), *Aṭṭhakathā*; (Plan of *Ajātaśatru* and his minister-Vassakāra on trade policy).

to the port on the *Ganges* and to control the whole lower Gangetic trade.

So it was very necessary for this rising state to establish its political suzerainty over the northern side of the *Ganges* by conquering its most powerful neighbour, the Republic of *Vaiśālī*.

Now, it is to be observed how far these two states followed the principles of foreign policy with regard to their inter-state relations during their long-drawn political struggle.

It has already been discussed in connection with the 'ethics of war' that king Kūṇika[1] sent his ambassador thrice to the court of king Ceṭaka to demand the peaceful extradition of the *Magadhan* state elephant, *Secanka* and the neclace of eighteen strings of pearls secretly taken away by his younger brothers, Halla and Behalla to their maternal-grandfather.

On the failure of his policy of peace and conciliation to obtain those precious objects from *Vaiśālī*, the *Magadhan* king resolved to root out the *Vajjians* (*Vaiśālians*) by waging war against them, which was the last resort of the four means of statecraft to achieve its objectives.

So he entrusted his prime minister, Vassakāra[2] with a secret mission to sow seeds of dissension (Bheda) among the *Vaiśālians*. This policy of Bheda (dissension) bore fruits after three years when king Kūṇika marched with his well equipped army strengthened by the introduction of two new war-engines, *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka* and *Rathamusala* against the confederate forces of *Vaiśālī*, nine *Mallakis*, *Kāśi*, *Kośala* and their eighteen *gaṇarājas* (republican chiefs) to settle the issue on the battlefield by war (*daṇḍa*). After a long drawn contest continuing for more than sixteen years he won the final victory over those states by inflicting a crushing defeat on their combined forces with his two new weapons.

This event of the political struggle between *Vaiśālī* and *Magadha* throws light upon another side of the principles of inter-state relations.

1 *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*—1.
2 *Digha-Nikāya* (*Mahāparinirvāṇa Suttanta*).

It is learnt from the *BhS*[1] and the *Nirayāvaliyā Sūtra*[2] respectively that king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī* made a political alliance (*Saṁśraya*) with nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and their eighteen *Gaṇarājas* to offer a stubborn resistance to the impending aggressive war declared by king Kūṇika in defence of the sovereignty of the state of *Vaiśālī* and others.

He led the combined forces of his allies to fight the wars waged by *Magadha*, but unfortunately the local autonomy of the republican state of *Vaiśālī* could not keep up its banner high for a long period and consequently had to bow down its head to the imperialism of *Magadha*.

In this connection one important matter should be observed that other states, such as, *Vatsa*, *Avantī* & *Sindhu-Sauvīra* observed a policy of neutrality (*āsana*) in this political struggle between *Vaiśālī* and *Magadha*, though the kings of the above three states were matrimonially related with king Ceṭaka[3], as it appears from the absence of any reference to their participation in these two wars as recorded in the *BhS*.

Peace-Time Relations

According to the theory advocated by all the political authors of ancient India, every state should maintain peace and try to avoid war as far as possible by establishing diplomatic relations with other states through its ambassadors on whom both war and peace depended.

The *BhS* clearly shows that the foundation of every state was based on its military strength and peaceful federal relations with a number of princes, feudal lords and republican chiefs over whom the sovereign ruler exercised his suzerainty from his capital.

This feudal feature of the state reveals that the subordinate kings, feudal lords, princes and chiefs bound by the tie of their

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 301. [2] *Nirayāvaliyā Sūtra* 1.
[3] Hindu Civilization, 235, 236. See also the *BhS*, for the matrimonial relation of king Ceṭaka with *Vatsa* king Satānīka by offering his daughter, the princess, *Mṛgāvatī*, the mother of king Udayan.

loyalty to the crown surrendered their rights to the centre to follow an independent foreign policy, to establish and maintain separate diplomatic relations with other states and to organize full-fledged army of their own. They had to pay their tributes and to render military services to their paramount king in times of war. But it appears from the *BhS* that perhaps they enjoyed autonomy in their internal administration within their respective small feudal estates.

Thus it is stated in this canonical work that king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*[1] exercised his suzerainty over sixteen *Janapadas Vītībhaya*, etc., three hundred and sixty three cities, Mahāsena and others, ten kings, many princes, lords etc., while king Śiva of *Hastināpura*[2] ruled over a number of feudal kings or lords.

The political struggle between *Magadha* and *Vaiśālī* and others clearly reveals that eighteen republican chiefs[3], nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis*[4] rendered valuable military services to king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī* in his war with king Kūṇika.

The evidence of the self-reflection of king Śiva[5] on his own powerful majestic position that his feudal kings "will obey his authority so long there is his prosperity" suggests that the state had to keep vigilence over them with regard to their doings, as their loyalty depended on the military power and material prosperity of the sovereign ruler.

The terms "*Sandhivāla*"[6] and "*Pālayāhi*"[7] (frontier-guard and protect) used in the *BhS* imply that the state appointed frontier-guards to keep a watchful eye over the inter-state affairs by carefully observing the activities of its neighbours, neutrals, enemies and ambitious rulers desirous of conquest.

The counsel "govern (protect), being surrounded by allies" (pālayāhi iṭṭhajaṇasaṁparivuḍe)[8], given by the retiring king to the heir-apparent at the time of coronation suggests that the state must have followed a foreign policy to secure a firm,

1 *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. 2 *BhS*, 11, 9, 417. 3 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300.
4 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301. 5 *Ib*, 7, 9, 417. 6 *Ib*, 7, 9, 309.
7,8 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417; 13, 6, 491.

grateful, devoted and loyal ally in order to maintain a balance of power.

It is clear from the above evidences that the inter-state relation as reflected in the *BhS* was based on the systematic principles of foreign policy. It is revealed here that a state should avoid war as far as possible and try to achieve its objectives in peaceful way by applying any one of the first three means, viz. conciliation, gift and dissension through a diplomatic channel by sending its ambassador.

On the failure of these expedients it may resort to war, the last means to determine the external relation in order to attain its desired objectives.

In times of peace a state must keep a vigilent eye over the activities of its neighbours, neutrals, enemies and ambitious rulers desirous of conquest. On the other hand it should maintain a balance of power by establishing friendly relations with other states and try to secure firm, grateful and loyal allies who will follow it in war and peace with unshaken devotion.

Inter-state relations as revealed here are also elaborately discussed by the *Manu-Smṛti* and the *Arthaśāstra* on almost similar lines in a systematic manner.

NINTH SECTION

Gaṇa Polity as revealed in the Bhagavatī Sūtra

The study of the political conditions as reflected in the *BhS* has clearly shown that two forces of political doctrine, viz. Monarchism and Republicanism, had been operating side by side during the time of Lord Mahāvīra, but ultimately they came into conflict which resulted in the defeat of the latter.

In connection with the two great wars called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* between *Magadha* and *Vaiśālī*, the *BhS* refers to the confederacy of nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and their eighteen

gaṇarājas[1] (republican chiefs), which was formed under the leadership of king Ceṭaka to offer a stubborn resistance to the agressive war waged by king Kūṇika. Like the *BhS*, the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* also alludes to the *Gaṇarājas* (*gaṇarāyāṇo*)[2].

The *Mallakis* and the *Licchavis* (*Vajjians*) are mentioned also in the Buddhist works[3] and the *Arthaśāstra*[4] as republican communities (or corporations) having non-monarchical constitution, while Pāṇini[5] refers to the *Vṛjjis* (*Vajjians* or *Vajjis*) of which the *Licchhavi* was a part.

The term '*Gaṇa*' or *Gaṇarāja* as referred to in the *BhS* carries the conception of a republican state governed by the *Gaṇarājas*, where the sovereignty is vested in the entire population as distinguished from the word '*Rajjaṁ*' (kingdom).

As regards the human society the '*Gaṇa*' signifies a body of persons endowed with the main trait of "a mind of being conscious[6]", while the political *Gaṇa* is an organized conscious corporate body of human beings having a collective mind as distinct from a mere vast crowd of people.

According to Pāṇini, *Saṅgha* signified *Gaṇa* as recognized by the people of his time.[7]

The *Jātakas*[8] refer to the gathering of people by the bond of *Gaṇa* (*gaṇabandhanena*) in one place for collective deliberation and work. It may be the assembly of three, four (persons or communities) or councillors or the whole city or many peoples.

These references from the *Jātakas* reflect the very character of *Gaṇa* in those days.

1 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300-301. 2 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* II, 3, 1, 10.
3 *Majjhima-Nikāya* (1, 4, 5, 35).
"imesaṁ pihi bho (Gotama Saṅghānaṁ Gaṇānaṁ seyathidaṁ Vaijjinaṁ Mallānaṁ," Jāta. IV, 148.
"Vesālinagare Gaṇarājakulānaṁ abhisekamaṅgalapokkharaṇiṁ", Lalita-Vistara.
4 *Arthaśāstra* XI, 378, p. 407. 5 *Pāṇini Sūtra*, IV, 2, 131.
6 Hindu Polity, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, p. 25.
7 *Pāṇini Sūtra* III, 3, 86. *Vide* India as known to Pāṇini; Dr. V. S. Agrawala, p 426.
8 *Jātaka* 1, 422; *Jātaka* II, 45.

The *Mahābhārata*[1] throws much light upon the constitution, administrative organization, character, function, defect and weakness and success and strength of the *Gaṇa* composed of the whole *body politic* and the entire political community.

According to the *Amarkoṣa*[2] the '*Gaṇa*' denotes 'an assembly of co-habitants", while Amarasiṅgha, an author of the Gupta period, defined and explained the terms '*Rājaka*' and '*Rājanyaka*' as a *Gaṇa* of kings and that of the *Kṣatriyas* respectively.

"Atha rājakaṁ rājanyakaṁ ca nṛpati kṣatriyāṇāṁ Gaṇe kramāt"[3].

The term '*Rājā*' (king) of the word (*Gaṇarājā*)[3] mentioned in the *BhS* denotes the republican chief belonging to a royal family.

It appears from the denotation of the word '*Gaṇarāja*' that the descendants of the first powerful *Kṣatriya* settlers and founders of *Janapada* (state) enjoyed the privilege of political sovereignty which was passed on to the members of their respective families from generation to generation.

Even with the increase of population the reins of the main political power and central authority remained in the hands of those *Kṣatriya* families which were entitled to kingship by consecration ceremony.

So the title *Rājā* was borne by the heads of those ruling *Kṣatriya* families respresentiug their respective interests in the republican assembly.

The significance of "*Gaṇarāja*" is also supported by the evidences of the *Lalita*[4] *Vistara* in which it is stated that each of seven thousand seven hundred and seven (7707) *Gaṇarājas*[5] of the *Licchavis* considered himself as "I am king, I am king" "ekaika—eva manyate ahaṁ rājā, ahaṁ rājeti"[6].

[1] *Mahābhārata, Śānti parva*, 107.
[2] *Amarakoṣa*, *Vide* Hindu Polity by Dr. K.P. Jayaswal, p. 26.
[3] *Amarasiṁha* II, 8. XI, 34. (Lexicon), *Vide* H. P. p. 26.
[4] *BhS*, 7 9, 300. [5] *Jātaka*, I, 504,
[6] *Lalita-Vistara*, Ch. III, p. 21.

This feature of *Gaṇa* polity is also evidenced in the *Sabhā-Parva* of the *Mahābhārata*[1] in connection with the constitutional practice of the Republic mentioned and signified by the statement "Gṛhe gṛhe hi rājānaḥ" as distinguished from the imperial government "Samrājaśabdo hi kṛtsnabhāk".

The interpretation of the word '*Gaṇarāja*' as referred to in the *BhS*, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahābhārata* is also corroborated by the *Arthaśāstra*[2] in which it is explained that the members of the corporations, such as, *Licchavis*, *Mallas*, etc., bore the title '*Rājā*' (*rāja-śabdopajīvinaḥ*)[3].

The *Licchavi Gaṇarājas* of *Vaiśālī* are also referred to in the *Jātaka*[4] in connection with the coronation tank, the sacred water of which was used by them in their consecration ceremony for rulership.

"Vesāli-nagare-Gaṇa-rājakulānaṁ abhiseka-maṅgala-pokkharaṇiṁ.[5]"

The above evidences clearly show that the hereditary character of rulership was maintained in the *Gaṇa* polity of the *Licchavis* and other *Kṣatriya* republics having the sovereignty vested in some ruling families which constituted the governing class, as it is found in the case of 7707 members of the Licchavis designated as '*Rājā*' (king).[6]

It is clear from all sources of the Jains, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical works that the *Gaṇa*—polity of the *Licchavis*, the *Mallakis*, and other republics was based on the equality of the members of some ruling *Kṣatriya* families vested with the sovereignty of the state.

Confederation—Federal Council

The *BhS*[7] gives an idea of the constitution of the confederation formed of nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis* and other

[1] *Mahābhārata Sabhā-Parva*, 14-2. *Vide* India as known to Pāṇini, p. 428.
[2] *Arthaśāstra*, XI, 378. [3] *Ib*, XI. I., p. 378. [4] *Jātaka*, IV, 148.
[5] This *abhiseka pokkharaṇi* has been located and the four corners of its embankments have been excavated by Dr. Altekar in April, 1958.
[6] *Jātaka*, (Fausboll) I, p. 504. [7] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300-301.

eighteen republican chiefs of *Kāśī* and *Kośala* under the leadership of king Ceṭaka with their headquarter at *Vaiśālī* to fight the aggressive war waged by king Kūṇika.

It appears from the *Kalpa Sūtra*[1] that this confederation of the *Mallakis* and the *Licchavis* lasted for more than sixteen years upto the great demise of Lord Mahāvīra which was celebrated by them through their joint illumination of lights.

The natural alliance between nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis* as mentioned in the *BhS* suggests that the constitution of their confederation was based on the principle of parity of members having equal rights and duties in the affairs of their united republican state in the face of a common danger of war.

It is learnt from the Buddhist works[2] that the *Licchavi* state with its capital at *Vaiśālī* was the most powerful republic of the *Vajjian* confederation. Yet it had to make an alliance with the independent but less important state of the *Mallakis* of *Kuśīnārā* and *Pāvā* by giving them equal representation in the federal council, probably due to the exigencies of her war with *Magadha*.

Constitution of the Licchavis

Though the *BhS* gives an idea of the *Gaṇas* (republics) of the *Licchavis* and the *Mallakis*, yet it does not throw any light upon their respective constitutions and forms of government. The text only reveals that the head of the *Licchavi* Republic of *Vaiśālī* was a king or consul (*Rājā*) who was assisted by a body of high dignitaries, such as, *Gaṇarājas*, *Gaṇanāyagas* *Daṇḍanāyaga*, *Dūya*, *Saṁdhivāla*, *Bhaḍa*, *Caḍagara*[3] etc., in his both civil and military functions.

It makes an indirect reference to the system of conscription[4] introduced and enforced by *Vaiśālī* Republic in times of war for the defence of the state by relating the story of Nāgaputra

[1] *Kalpa Sūtra* 128; J. B. O. R. S. 1, 103.

[2] *Dighanikāya—Mahāparinivvāṇa Suttanta* (Trans. adopted from Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha Pt. II, pp. 79-85; Cf. S. B. E, Vol. XI., pp. 3-6, *Jātaka* 1, 143 (7).

[3,4] *BhS*, 7, 9, 303.

Varuṇa, a prominent citizen of the state who was ordered by the king, the assembly and the army respectively to join the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* in order to fight the forces of *Magadha* led by king Kūṇika.

So one should turn his attention to other sources which present an elaborate account of the constitution and form of government of the *Licchavi* Republic which formed a part of the greater *Vajjian* confederacy.

The fundamental principles of the *Vajjian* constitution are embodied in the following famous dialogue of Lord Buddha with his disciple, Ānanda at *Rājagṛha*, when Vassakāra, the prime minister of *Magadha* paid a visit to the Blessed one with an intention to know his mind about the *Vajjians*.

1. "So long, Ananda, as the *Vajjians* hold full and frequent assemblies."
2. "So long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out *Vajjian* business in concord (*Vajji karaṇīyāni*).
3. So long as they enact nothing already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the *Vajjians* as established in the former days.
4. So long as they honour, esteem and revere and support the *Vajji* Elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words.
5. So long as no women or girls belonging to them are detained among them by force or abduction (i. e. law and not force reigns).
6. So long as they honour, esteem and revere and support the *Vajjian Caityas* (sacred monuments) (i. e. follow the religion established).
7. So long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arhants amongst them

(i. e. follow the established practice and keep out Brahmaṇic religious systems).

8. So long may the *Vajjians* be expected not to decline but to prosper"[1].

It is said that Lord Buddha himself founded his religious order or congregation (*Saṅgha*) on these fundamental principles of the *Vajjian* political system (ie. *Gaṇa* polity).

Licchavi Constitution

The constitution of the *Licchavi* Republic which was a part of the *Vajjian* confederacy was also framed on the same fundamental principles as revealed in the above dialogue of Lord Buddha with Ānanda.

According to *Aṭṭhakathā*[2] (a later work) the supreme executive body of this state was composed of a president-king (*Rājā*), Vice-president (or deputy-king, *Uparājā*), general (*Senāpati*) and treasurer (*Bhāṇḍāgārika*).

The parliament (federal assembly) consisted of 7707 Rājās who represented the founder ruling families residing in *Vaiśālī*.

"Tattha niccakālaṁ rajjaṁ kāretvā vasaṁtānaṁ ye va rājūnaṁ satta sahassāni satta sattāni sattā ca (.) rājāno hoṁti tattakā ; ye va uparājano tattakā; senapatino tattakā ; tattakā bhaṁḍāgārikā."[3]

The literal translation of the passage is this "of the kings who permanently residing and ruling there (i. e. in *Vaiśālī*) the number was seven thousand, seven hundred and seven. The number of *Uparājās* was the same, as also the number of *Senāpatis* and *Bhāṇḍāgārikas*."[4] From this it appears that the *Licchavi* Republic had 7707 kings, 7707 deputy-kings (or heir-apparents), 7707 generals and 7707 treasurers who were entitled to govern the state.

[1] *Dighanikāya* (*Mahāparinivvāna Suttanta*)–Dailogues of the Buddha Pt. II, p. 79—85. Cf. S.B.E. Vol, XI, pp. 3-6, Rhys Davids.

[2] Turnour-Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal VII (1838) p. 993 et seq.

[3] *Jātaka* I, 504.

[4] Homage to Vaiśālī ; C. H. of *Vaiśālī*, Dr. Altekar.

According to the interpretation of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar the passage suggests a federation of 7707 kings who enjoyed autonomy in their local administration but ceded the supreme powers to the *Saṅgha* (republic) to conduct the state affairs.[1]

Dr. R. C. Mazumdar[2] is of opinion that the above number of kings only indicates the size of the great supreme assembly represented by a number of kings each of whom maintained a body of officers for running the administration of the state, while Dr. Ghoshal[3] accepts only the number of the kings as true but rejects those of deputy-kings, generals and treasurers.

Dr. Altekar[4] supports the contention of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar about the number of kings.

It appears from the study of the above views of all the scholars on this controversial passage that each king maintained a contingent of personal officers and individual treasury. In a real sense the *Licchavi* Republic cannot be called a democratic state but an oligarchy, because the right of citizenship was granted only to the heads of the permanent residents of the *Kṣatriya*[5] community but was not extended to the total population of 1,68,000 including inner and outer *Vaiśālians*[6]. From this it is apparently clear that the sovereignty of the state was vested in those republican chiefs who were entitled to equal rights, privileges and powers in the supreme assembly (*Gaṇa*),

Though it appears theoretically that every king of the *Gaṇa* had the right to govern the state, in actual practice the administration of the government was run by the experienced elderly members, as it is reflected in the famous dialogue of Lord Buddha that the *Vajji* elders should be honoured and supported.[7]

1 Carmichael Lectures, p. 154, D. R. C. Bhandarkar.
2 Corporate Life, pp. 93-4 (Ist edition), Dr. R. Mazumdar.
3 I. H. Q. XX, pp. 334 ff.
4 Homage to *Vaiśāli*, The constitutional history of the *Licchavis*.
5 Hoernle, J. A. S. B, 1898, p 40.
6 *Mahāvastu-Triśakuniya*, ed. Senart, I, pp. 256, 271 ; M. V. and L. V. are the later works but they contain old tradition.
7 Dialogues of Buddha, pt. II, p. 80.

Moreover, the Executive Council of this Republic consisted of eight members (*Aṣṭakula*) representing the interests of different sections, having their respective uniform and colour.[1]

Probably the external affairs were conducted by nine *Licchavis*, while the internal administration including justice was run by the *Aṣṭakulas*.

Each young *Licchavi* prince had to be consecrated with the sacred water of the coronation tank of *Vaiśālī* at the time of his succession to his father's title and status of '*Gaṇarāja*'.[2]

Functions of the Gaṇa

The Buddhist works throw some light upon the working of the republican assembly of the *Licchavis* as depicted therein.

Thus it is stated in the *Aṭṭhakathā* that an alarm signal used to be given at the appearance of the *Vaiśālian Gaṇarājas* in the *Saṁthāgāra*[3] (assembly house).

An officer designated as *Āsanapaññāpaka* (Regulator of seats) used to seat the members of the assembly at their appointed place according to the order of seniority in age and experience.[4]

A *Mahattaka* or a distinguished member among those *gaṇarājas* was appointed by the parliament in session to declare the message thus "on behalf of the *Licchavis* of *Vaiśālī*" in order to conduct the legislative business of the state.

"Vaiśālakānāṁ Licchivīnāṁ vacanena".[5]

The Buddhist works reveal that a systematic legislative procedure was followed by this supreme assembly of the *Licchavis* in the matter of transaction of its business.

First of all, the rule of quorum of a required number of members was observed by this house of representatives before beginning the legislative work, as it is evidenced in the duty of

1 *Mahāparinivvāṇa Suttanta*, S. B. E. XI-31 ; *Aṅgu*, P. T. S. II, 239 ; *Mahāvastu*—1, 259 ; *Dighanikāya* II, 96.
2 *Jātaka*—(Fausboll) IV, p. 148.
3 Turnour—J. A. S. B. VII, pp. 994-95.
4 Vinaya Text—S. B. E., Vol. XX, p. 408 fN. (See the account of the congress of *Vesāli*, *Cullavagga*, XII—2-7).
5 *Mahāvastu*, 1, 254.

Gaṇapūraka[1] (whip) of the assembly. But it had to face sometimes difficulty in securing a complete quorum like the Athenian Republic of Greece.[2]

Then a motion on a particular subject was moved by a member like this "Let the Venerable Saṅgha hear me,"[3], etc., and it was debated by the house before passing a resolution on it for its final acceptance or rejection.

In this parliament of the *Licchavis* every member whether young or old was entitled to equal rights, expression (speech) and franchise on any bill placed before the house for enactment and also had the privilege to be the chairman of the assembly, as it is reflected in the following passage.

"Nocca madhya vṛddha jeṣṭhānupālitā ekaika eva manyate aham rājā aham rājeti na ca kasyacit śiṣyatvamupagacchati"[4].

The acceptance of any resolution proposed by a member for final enactment was subject to the approval of all the members present in the assembly house. In the case of division of opinion and dispute over any issue the final decision on the subject was taken by ballot votes counted by an officer designated as *Śalākāgrāhāpaka*[5] with the help of *Śalākās* (sticks)[6] of two types chosen and collected by the members according to their respective support for and opposition to the bill.

A provision was also made for taking votes of absentee members who could not attend the session due to unavoidable circumstances[7].

1 *Mahāvagga*, III, 66 (*Gaṇapūrako vā bhavissāmiti* or I will help to complete the quorum); Sacred Books of the East. XIII, p. 307.

2 Glotz, The Greek city and its Institution, p. 153. It is said that the chairman of the Athenian Republic had to collect the indifferent citizens of this city-state with the help of officials and to bring them to the parliament in order to form the quorum.

3 *Cullavagga*, IV, 11, 2 (S.B.E., XX, 29); *Cullavagga*, XI, 1, 4.

4 *Lalitavistara*-Ch. III, p. 21.

5 *Cullavagga*-IV, 9, 5 ; S.B.E. XX, p. 25.

6 These pins or sticks—are of wood according to a Chinese record ; See Hindu polity by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, p. 91-13f.

7 *Cf. Mahāvagga*-S.B.E. III, p. 277.

There was a legislative procedure to send the bill to a select committee composed of a few members for its further study and acceptance[1] in some cases. The study of the following passage of the *Mahāgovinda Suttanta*[2] of the *Dīgha-nikāya* clearly suggests that some officers were appointed for recording the proceedings of resolutions and minutes of legislative function of this parliament (*Gaṇa*).

"The thirty-three gods assembled in the Hall of good counsel to discuss a certain matter, the four kings were receivers of spoken words and the four kings were receivers of the admonition given with respect to matter under discussion especially in the Mote hall"[3].

According to Rockhill a *Nāyaka*[4] (chief administrative officer) was elected by the ruling *Licchavi* community, probably to execute the laws passed by the parliament.

Judicial System

The Buddhist texts clearly show that an elaborate judicial procedure was followed by the *Licchavi* Republic for protecting the liberty of its citizens and administering proper justice in any criminal case which gave rise to law-suit and came up before the court for adjudication.

The highest judicial authority in the state was the president-king who presided over the supreme court of this Republic and was assisted in his work of administering justice by a judicial minister[5] who could be even an outsider or a paid officer.

Besides these, there was a body of judges appointed by the government, viz., *Viniccaya-Mahāmāttas* (Justices), *Vohārikas* (Lawyer-Judges who were well-versed in law and custom), *Suttadharas* (Doctors of law who held the thread of law and

[1] *Cullavagga*-IV, 14, 24 ; S.B.E. XX, p. 54 ; XXVI, p. 56.
[2] MG. *Dīgha-Nikāya* XIX, 14 ; Pāli text Society edition, Vol. II, pp. 22-25.
[3] Dialogues of the Buddha, p. 263, pt. II 1 f. (Sacred Books of the Buddhist (East) Vol. III, pp. 263-64n).
[4] Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p 62.
[5] Turnour, J. A. S. B. VII, pp. 994, 95,

custom governing the state and the people from ancient times), *Aṭṭhakulaka* (a judicial bench consisting of judges presenting eight castes or tribes), *Senāpati* and Uparājā.[1]

Judicial Procedure

In criminal cases a systematic long judicial procedure was followed by the judges for ascertaining the seriousness of crime committed by any citizen and delivering the final judgement according to the laws of the state laid down in the *Pavenipotthaka* (a law book).

A citizen charged with an act of crime was first to be produced before the *Gaṇarājas* who, in their turn, handed him over to the *Vinicoaya-Mahāmattas* for ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent after proper investigation in the case.

If this court of *Vinicoaya Mahāmattas* found him innocent, it released him immediately. If he was found guilty, his case was forwarded to the court of Appeal presided over by the *Vohārikas* without awarding any punishment to him. If this court also considered him innocent, he was acquitted of the charge, but if he was proved guilty, he was made over to the High Court of *Suttadharas* for further trial. In this manner his case was forwarded to the courts of *Aṭṭhakulaka*,[2] *Senāpati*, and *Uparājā* respectively till it was transferred to the Supreme court presided over by the king, the highest judicial authority in the state.

The king acquitted the accused if there was no sufficient proof of his crime; otherwise he awarded the just punishment to the culprit according to the law of the *Paveni-potthaka*.[3]

This account of the judicial procedure in criminal case, given in the *Aṭṭhakathā* is in aggrement with that of the republican judicial system embodied in the Sanskrit texts.

It is laid down in the *Mahābhārata* that in a republic criminal justice should quickly be administered by men learned

[1] *Aṭṭhakathā*, 118. [2] Turnour—J. A. S. B. VII, pp. 993-94.
[3] The Book of law and precedents.

in law through the president, so that it might not be neglected or tempered by the Elders of the *Kula*-court.

"Nigrahaḥ paṇḍitaiḥ kāryaḥ kṣiprameva pradhānataḥ".[1]
"Kuleṣu kalahā jātāḥ kulavṛddhairupekṣitāḥ".

According to Bhṛgu the judicial body in a *Gaṇa* was designated as *Kulika* and also *Kula*[2] which was used by *Kātyāyana* as jury,[3] so the *Aṭṭhakulaka* (or *Aṣṭakulaka*) referred to in the *Aṭṭhakathā* in connection with the judicial procedure should be taken in the sense of a judicial body consisting of eight members but not as representatives of eight clans of Rhys Davids.[4]

The constitution and form of government of the *Malla* Republic of *Pāvā* and *Kuśīnārā* was based on similar principles of those of the *Licchavi* state, as the former was always mentioned by the Buddhist works[5] and the *Arthaśāstra*[6] as republic along with other ones, viz. *Licchavis, Vṛjjka, Madraka, Kuru, Pāñcāla*, and others who "live by the title of '*Rājā*'".

[1] *Mahābhārata-Śānti Parva*, Ch. 107, 27.
[2] *Viramitrodaya*, p. 11.
[3] *Kātyāyana* is referred to in V. M., p. 41.
(Vaṇigbhyaḥ Syāt Katipaiḥ Kulabhūtaiḥ adhiṣṭhitam).
[4] Cf Rhys. Davids, Buddhist India, p. 22.
Turnour—J. A. S. B., VII, 993 n.
[5] *Mahāparinivvāna Suttanta*, 6-23.
[6] *Arthaśāstra*—BOOK, XI, 378, p. 407.

FOURTH CHAPTER—SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

FIRST SECTION

Varṇa (Social Order)

It appears from the *BhS* that during the time of Lord Mahāvīra the society was based on the traditional '*Varṇāśrama-Dharma*', the chief distinguishing feature of the community life in ancient India. But the social order does not seem to be very rigid, as it is evidenced by the racial synthesis of different tribes and races of the period of this canoncial work in the evolution of Indian civilization.

The term '*Cāuvvaṇṇa*'[1] Skt. '*Cāturvarṇa*' (four colours or orders) as mentioned in the *BhS*, other Jaina texts, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical works denotes that the society was divided into four orders on the basis of distinction of social relationship grown out of various factors, such as, birth, family heterogeneous cultures, customs and manners, restrictions as to connubium (the right of inter-marriage) and commensality (the right of eating together), religious, political, economic and geographical factors and other circumstances.

Though the reference to the term '*Cāuvvaṇṇa*' in the *BhS* does not specifically mean the four social orders by their names, yet it is apparently clear from the context[2] that it signifies the four orders (castes), viz. the *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Kṣatriya*, the *Vaiśya* and the *Śūdra* of ancient India.

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1. 557 ; Cf. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 25, 31 ; *Vivāga Suya* 5, p. 33 ; *Ācārānga-Niryukti* 19·27 ; *Ṛg-Veda, Puruṣa-Sūkta*, X·90 ; *Manu* 1, 31 ; *Gītā*, 4, 13 ; *Mahābhārata Śānti-parvan*, 12, 60, 2 ; See Buddhist India by Rhys Davids, p. 33 ; Dailogues of the Buddha 1, 148; *Vinayapiṭaka* 11, 4, 160.

[2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 557. (Once Lord Mahāvīra suffered from bilious fever (*pittajara*) and passed the motion of red coloured blood excrement. The four varṇas (*Cāuvaṇṇa*) talked about it and predicted to one another in the town of *Meṇḍhiyagāma* (*Nagar*) thus, "Surely Śramaṇa............bilious fever, etc." (*Pittajara*).

The date of the origin of growth of these four *Varṇas* (colours or orders) can be assigned to the *Ṛg-Vedic* age when the basis of social distinction between the *Aryans* and the *Non-Aryans* was the physical difference of their two respective light and dark colours (*Varṇas*) i. e. *Aryan* colour as against *Dasyu Varṇa*.

The following stages in the evolution of *Varṇa* may be marked in general :—

First, the '*Ubhau Varṇau*'[1] (both the colours), probably signifying the two colours–Aryan and Dasyu, lived side by side in *Ṛg-Vedic* society.

The second stage of this social evolution ushered in the growth of the three *Aryan* colours (or orders) (*Trai-Varṇika*) marked out by the three distinct occupations as mentioned in one of the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*[2].

Lastly, the stage of *Cāturvarṇyaṁ*'[3] is noted by the inclusion of the *Śūdras* within the social fold as it is revealed in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* hymn of the *Ṛg Veda* and in later secular and religious texts.

In later period the term "*Cāturvarṇa*' lost its original meaning and denoted a social order based on various factors, such as birth, tribal connexion, religion, occupation, political, economic and geographical factors which contributed to the formation and growth of different castes out of these four *Varṇas* (Colours or orders).

Divine origin of Cāturvarṇa

The divine origin of these four orders (*Cāturvarṇas*) can be traced to the *Puruṣa Sūkta* hymn of the *RgVeda*[4] in which it is stated that "the *Brāhmaṇa* was his mouth, the *Rājanya* was made his arm, that who was the *Vaiśya* was his thigh, the *Śūdra* sprang from the feet of the great *Puruṣa*".

[1] *Ṛg Veda*, I, 176, 1. [2] *Ib*, I. 113, 6. [3] *Ib*, X, 90, V, 12.
[4] *Ṛg Veda*, Tenth *Maṇḍala*, *Sūtra*, 90, V, 12.
See also *Manu-Smṛti*, 1, 31 ; 10, 4.

"Brāhmaṇo asya mukhamāsīd bāhū Rājanyaḥ kṛtaḥ /
Urūtadasya yad-Vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ Śūdro ajāyata."//

This divine theory of the origin of the four *Varṇas* (orders) as referred to in the *ṚgVeda* is refuted by the Jain texts and interpreted by them in a different way.

It is stated in the Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa*[1] that Lord Ṛṣabhadeva advised the people to earn their livelihood by following six professions, viz. sword, pen, agriculture (cultivation), art and learning of *Śāstras*, Commerce, arts and crafts.

And he first established three orders (*Varṇas*), viz. the *Kṣatriyas*, the *Vaṇijas*, and the *Śūdras* on the basis of their respective occupations and qualities.[2]

After Ṛṣabhadeva his son, Bharata created the Brāhmaṇical order out of those who were virtuous and studied and taught others, performed sacrifices, received gifts, etc.[3]

The interpretation of these passages furnished by the *Mahāpurāṇa* cuts across the divine origin of the *Cāturvarṇas* of the *ṚgVeda*, but it carries the same spirit of the later caste system as embodied in all the Jaina,[4] Buddhist[5] and Brāhmaṇical works.[6]

The social order based on qualification and occupation as revealed in the Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa* is also supported by the *Gītā* in which it is explained by Lord Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna thus—

"Four *Varṇas* are created by me according to the division of qualification and vocation (or action)."

" Cāturvarṇyaṁ mayā sṛṣṭaṁ guṇakarmavibhāgaśaḥ."[7]

[1] *Mahāpurāṇa*, (Jñānapīṭha edition), *Parva*, 16, LL, 179, 180.
[2] *Ib*, L., 183, 184.
[3] *Ib*, Vol. 1, P. 16, L 246 ; and Vol. II, *Parva* 31, VV 20—22.
[4] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 25, 31. *Vivāga Suya* 5, p. 33 ; *Acārāṅga Niryukti* 19, 27.
[5] Buddhist works—See the Dialogues of the Buddha 1, 148, *Vinaya-piṭaka* 11, 4, 160.
[6] *Yajurveda* etc.—Refer to Vedic Age, p. 449—51 ; *Manu* 10, 4 ; *Mahābhārata Śānti parva*, Ch. 296 VV. 5, 6 ; *Arthaśāstra*, Book 1, Chapter III. 8.
[7] *Gītā* 4, 13.

The same views of the Jaina texts and of the *Gītā* on the conception of *Cāturvarṇa* are also expressed by the Buddhist works in which it is revealed that the social grades were based on occupation and there was no caste-bar, put in one's way to adopt any profession for earning his livelihood according to his qualification and to raise himself up to a higher social rank.[1]

But the purity of birth and fair complexion, maintained through seven generations from both sides of the father and the mother respectively, were considered as criteria of higher caste by the *Kṣatriyas* who were "fair in colour, fine in presence, stately to behold"[2].

This classification of orders was probably made in harmony with the realities of life.

It is clear from the above evidences that the social distinction among the four *Varṇas* was the basis of later caste system of India. But the term '*Varṇa*' cannot be equated with the word 'caste' as it stands now, because it does not bear the distinctive marks of a caste, such as, "hereditary class with members socially equal, united in religion and usually following the same trade, having no social intercourse with persons of other castes, etc."[3]

[1] J. A. R. S. 1901, p. 869.
(a) *Jātaka* II, 5. 290 (A *Kṣatriya* takes to pottery, busket-making, flowering, cooking in pursuance of a love affair without losing his caste).
(b) *Jātaka* 4, 84 (Another becomes a trader by giving up his share in the kingdom to his sister).
(c) *Jātaka* 4, 169 (Another prince earns his livelihood by hands).
(d) *Jātaka* 7, 87 (A noble man becomes an archer on pay).
(e) *Jātaka* 4, 15 (A *Brāhmaṇa* earns money by trade and gives alms).
(f) *Jātaka* 22, 417 (Two *Brāhmaṇas* take to trade without any excuse).
(g) *Jātaka* 5, 127 (Another *Brāhmaṇa* becomes an assistant to an archer who was previously a weaver).
(h) *Jātaka* 2, 200 ; 6, 170 (*Brāhmaṇas* take to trapping).
(i) *Jātaka* 4, 207 (A *Brāhmaṇa* appears as wheel wright). They figure also as agriculturists, cow-herds and goat-herds.

[2] Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 148 ; VI 4, 11, 4, 160. See Buddhist India by Rhys Davids for all these references.

[3] The Concise Oxford Dictionary p. 172, Column 2.

Moreover, the word "*caste*" is derived from Latin '*Castus*' meaning purity of blood which was transformed into the Portuguese word '*casta*'.

It is the Portuguese who first used this word "*caste*" as understood now to denote the institution of the social system of the Hindus based on distinction of races or castes (*Castas*).

The earliest reference to it is found in a Decree of the sacred council of Goa of A.D. 1567, published in the Portuguese Chronicles in which it is said, "The Gentoos divide themselves into distinct races or castes (*Castas*) of greater or less dignity, holding the Christians as of lower degree and keep these so superistitiously that no one of higher-caste can eat or drink with those of a lower.[1]"

This term '*Caste*' was thus subsequently used by all the Europeans to denote tho social distinctions of the Hindus.

Restrictions as to connubium and commensality and the pride of purity of birth are the most important criteria of the origin of Indian caste-system which did not exist as an established institution in a rigid form before the age of the latter *Saṁhitās*.[2]

The *Manu-Smṛti*[3] attributes the origin of caste in a strict sense to the mixed marriages.

> "Strīṣu anantarajātāsu dvijairutpāditānsutān
> Sadṛśāneva tānāhur nātṛdoṣa-vigarhitān" (6).

Because the birth, the main element, combined with other factors, such as, tribal connexion, religion, occupation, political, economic, and geographical circumstances, etc., consolidated different social groups and simultaneously isolated them, contributing to the rise of the caste system.

The *BhS* reveals that the society was based on the traditional caste system of India which consisted of the *Brāhmaṇas*

[1] Imperial Gazetteer of India, I, 311 f., *Vide* Racial Synthesis-by Viśvanāthan.

[2] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I p. 112; Vedic Age, p. 449 f, p. 450.

[3] *Manu-Smṛti* 10, 6.

(*Māhaṇa*),[1] the *Kṣatriyas*, (*Khattiya*),[2] the mercantile class (*Vaṇiya*),[3] the householders (*Gāhāvai*),[4] and other castes of lower order, such as, barbar (*Kāsavaga*),[5] potter (*Kumbhakāra*),[6] weaver (*Taṁtuvāya*),[7] blacksmith,[8] painter (*Maṅkha*),[9] hunter,[10] bearers of palanquin[11] and *Caṇḍālas*,[12] marked out by their respective occupations.

But there is no reference to the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras anywhere in the *BhS*, probably the *Gāhāvais* and the mercantile class belonged to the *Vaiśya* caste, while the other communities of lower grade formed the rank of the *Śūdras*, the fourth Varṇa.

Different Castes and their respective positions

The *BhS* throws sufficient light upon the functions and social positions of the above mentioned castes and clearly differentiates their respective status, occupations, obligations, duties and privileges in matters both spiritual and secular.

Functions and social position of the Brāhmaṇas (Māhaṇa)[13]

In the society the *Brāhmaṇas* appear as rich householders[14], officiators at worship,[15] propitiators[16] (*Balikārīo*), interpreters of marks of dream (*Suviṇalakkhaṇapāḍhaga*)[17] and ascetics.[18]

1 *BhS* 9, 33, 380; 15, 1, 540; 15, 1, 541; 18, 10, 647.
2 *Ib.* 9, 33, 383; 11, 9, 417; 12, 2, 441; 13, 6, 491.
3 *Ib.* 11, 11, 424; 15, 1, 547; 18, 2, 618.
4 *Ib.* 15, 1, 541.
5 *Ib* 9, 33, 385.
6 *Ib.* 15, 1, 539
7 *Ib.* 15, 1, 541.
8 *Ib.* 16, 1. 564.
9 *Ib.* 15, 1, 540.
10 *Ib.* 5, 6, 206.
11 *Ib.* 9, 33, 385.
12 *Ib.* 3, 1, 134. (*Pāṇa*)
13 The term '*Māhaṇa*' used in the *BhS* denotes the *Brāhmaṇa* as distinguished by some Jaina texts according to their respective views. Thus it is stated in the *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi* (p. 5, also Cf. *Ib.* 213 f) that on the refusal of the Jaina monks invited by king Bharata to take share in a feast arranged by him, he entertained the *sāvagas* who were very simple, virtuous and kind hearted. Whenever they found any body killing some beings, they prevented him from doing this cruel act by saying thus "*Mā haṇa*" from which the term '*Māhaṇa*' is said to have been derived. See also *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (p. 184) and *Paumacariu* of Vimalsūri (4, 75-78) for its derivation according to their respective views.
14 *BhS*, 9, 33, 380; 15, 1, 540, 541.
15 *Ib.* 18, 10, 647.
16 *Ib.* 11, 11, 430.
17 *Ib.* 11, 11, 428.
18 *Ib.* 2, 1, 90; 8, 6, 332; 11, 9, 417; 9, 33, 382.

As householder one of them named Ṛṣabhadatta[1] could even afford the luxury of maintaining a large contingent of waiting servants, maids and female slaves belonging to many Indian tribes and foreign nationalities, such as, *Cilātikās (Kirātikā), Barbarikās, Ṛṣiganikās, Vāsaganikās, Pallavikās, Lhāsikās, Lausikās, Arabīs, Drāviḍīs, Siṁghalīs, Pulindīs, Puṣkalīs, Śabarīs and Pārasīs,*[2] etc.

Another Brāhmaṇa, Gobahula[3] by name, was in possession of a large number of cows kept in a big cowshed at *Saravaṇa* near *Nālandā* where Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, the *Ājīvikaa* leader was born.

The third *Brāhmaṇa* named Bahula[4] living in *Kollāga Sanniveśa* (a quarter of the town) outside *Nālandā* is said to have entertained and honoured Lord Mahāvīra with abundant best food (*paramāṇṇa*) mixed with honey and clarified butter (*ghaya*) on the day of conclusion of his fourth fast of one month during the period of his austerities (*cautthamāsakkhamaṇa*), when he went out of the weaver's workshop for begging alms.

The fourth *Brāhmaṇa*, Somila[5] by name lived in *Vāṇijya-grāma* (*Vāṇiyagāma*) by officiating at worship and exercising his spiritual leadership over five hundred disciples of his own and of his relatives together.

Other *Brāhmaṇas* figure in the society as depicted in this canonical work as interpreters of marks of dream (*Suviṇalakkhaṇapāḍhaga*)[6], propitiators (*Balīkārīo*)[7] and ascetics (*Tāvasa*)[8] as already mentioned.

It is learnt from the *BhS* that Ṛṣabhadatta and Devānandā, the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Brāhmaṇī* undertook the state of houselessness by renouncing the world, after getting initiated by

[1] *BhS*, 9. 33, 380; 9, 33, 382.
[2] *Ib*, (Their identifications will be discussed in the Chapter on History).
[3] *Ib*, 15. 1, 540.
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
[5] *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.
[6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[7] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[8] *Ib*, (*Māhaṇa*), 8, 6, 332; 11, 9, 417 (*Tāvas*).

Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma*. They attained liberation by studying the prescribed religious texts, practising severe austerities, and meditation[1].

The above discussion shows that four classes of the *Brāhmaṇas*, viz. rich householders, officiating priests and propitiators, interpreters of signs of dream and ascetics were in existence in the society during the time of Lord Mahāvīra.

Duties of the Brāhmaṇas

The text clearly reveals that the main functions of the *Brāhmaṇas* were study of the Vedas and other Brāhmaṇical texts[2], teaching and officiating at worship[3], interpretation of dreams[4], propitiating for others[5], receiving and giving of gifts[6], entertaining of guests and ascetics[7] and asceticism[8].

Duties of the *Brāhmaṇas* as enumerated in the *BhS* are also corroborated by other Jaina texts. Thus in the *Mahāpurāṇa*[9] it is said that the duties of the *Brāhmaṇas* are study, teaching, receiving and giving of gifts and performance of sacrifice.

"Adhītyadhyāpane dānaṁ pratīcchejyeti tatkriyāḥ".

Some other Jaina works provide the information that the *Brāhmaṇas* were well-versed in the fourteen subjects of study (*cauddasa vijjāṭhāṇa*) and they were employed by the king in his court, as it is evidenced by the fact revealed in the *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*[10] that one *Brāhmaṇa* scholar was appointed by the king of *Kauśāmbi* in the place of *Kāsava*, the former state *Brāhmaṇa* after his death.

There is also reference in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[11] to the *Brāhmaṇa* teachers who lived in the association of their pupils

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 382.
2 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380 ; 15, 1, 540; 15, 1, 541, 18, 10, 647; 11, 11, 428.
3 *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.
4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
5 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
6 *Ib*, 8, 6, 332. (*Samaṇa-Māhaṇa*).
7 *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
8 *Ib*, 2, 1, 40 ; 8, 6, 332 ; 11, 9, 417.
9 *Mahāpurāṇa, Parva*, 16, L, 264.
10 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 8, p. 123 a.
11 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 112, 19.
"*Ajjhāvayāṇaṁ* vayanaṁ suṇittā uddhāiā tattha bahū kumārā daṁdehiṁ vettehiṁ kasehiṁ ceva samāgayā taṁ isiṁ tālayaṁti" (119).

exercising their spiritual leadership over them like Somila of the *BhS*[1].

The second duty of the *Brāhmaṇas*, as mentioned in some Jaina texts other than this work[2] was the performance of sacrifices. Thus the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[3] furnishes the evidence that once Lord Mahāvīra passed his *Pajjūsaṇa* period (rainy season) in the sacrificial house of a *Brāhmaṇa* (*aggihottavasahī*), a resident of *Campā*[4].

It is stated in the *Uttarādhyayana*[5] *Sūtra* that a *Brāhmaṇa* named Vijayaghoṣa, who was performing sacrifice, was taught a true sacrifice by the Jaina monk, Jayaghoṣa according to *Śramaṇa Dharma*.

The *Vivāga Suya*[6] records the evidences that one *Brāhmaṇa* priest named Maheśvaradatta was employed by king Jiyasattu to avert his misfortune.

In the *Kalpa Sūtra*[7] they appear as interpreters of marks of dream (*Suviṇalakkhaṇapāḍhaya*), well conversant with the eight divisions of the *Mahānimitta* and other sciences to foretell the future destiny of the newly born Child, Lord Mahāvīra at the call of his father, king Siddhārtha.

They are also found as fortune-tellers and propitiators[8] who utter blessings for the safety of the travellers during their journey.

The duties of the *Brāhmaṇas*, viz. study and teaching of the Vedas and other *Śāstras* (Sciences), worshipping and guiding others in offering sacrifices, giving and receiving gifts as prescribed in the *BhS* and other Jaina texts are also assigned to them by the Brāhmanical works.[9]

1 *BhS*, 18, 10, 647.
2 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. 15, 1, 540.
3 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 320.
4 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 320.
5 *Uttarādhyayana Sutta* 25.
6 *Vivāga Suya*, 5, p. 33.
7 *Kalpa Sūtra* 4, 66 ff.
8 *Nāyādhammakahāo* 8. p. 98. See the *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.
9 *Manu* (1, 88) "Adhyāpanamadhyayanaṁ yajanaṁ yājanam tathā, dānaṁ pratigrahaṁ caiva Brāhmaṇānām akalpayat" (88); see also *Yajurveda*, Kautilya *ArthaŚ*. Book 1, Chapter III, 8.

But the Buddhist texts[1] bear ample evidences that besides the above mentioned functions, they adopted also other occupations to earn their livelihood without losing their caste.

Position of the Brāhmaṇas in the Society as depicted in the *BhS*

The *BhS*[2] clearly shows that the *Brāhmaṇas* occupied an honourable and dignified position equally with the *Kṣatriyas* who were considered to be superior to all other castes in the society.

The economic condition and occupation of the *Brāhmaṇas*, the two most important factors of civic life determine their social position in relation to other castes.

The following accounts of their financial condition and profession will throw some light upon their place in the society.

One scene laid at *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma* describes the appearance of the rich aristocrat *Brāhmaṇa* and *Brāhmaṇī*, Ṛṣabhadatta and Devānandā[3] on bullock-cart, being adorned with best clothes and ornaments with a large retinue of attendants and female slaves belonging to different Indian tribes and foreign nationalities, who were dressed in their respective national costumes, to attend the holy teachings of Lord Mahāvīra, delivered at the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* (temple) where they were initiated by the Master to *Śramaṇa Dharma*.[4]

The economic condition of this *Brāhmaṇa* family to afford the luxury of maintaining a large contingent of waiting maids and attendants and the very name of the *Sanniveśa-Brāhmaṇa-kuṇḍagrāma* (*Māhaṇa-kuṇḍagāma*) associated with the members of this caste, speak of their separate entity and social status of high position as house-holders.

In another scene laid at *Vāṇijyagrāma*, Somila[5], a proud learned *Brāhmaṇa* as already mentioned appears at *Dūtipalāśaka Caitya* to debate with Lord Mahāvīra on the philosophical doctrines.

[1] *Jātaka* II, 5, 290 ; 4, 84 ; 4, 169 ; 2, 87; 4, 15 ; 5, 22 ; 471 ; 5, 227 ; *Ib*, 2, 200 ; 6, 170 ; 4, 207.
[2] *BhS*, 8, 6, 332 ; 15, 1, 541. [3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380 ; 381, 382.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. [5] *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.

He was fully and perfectly satisfied with the holy teachings of explanation of the Master on those topics raised by him. And finally he was converted and initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma* as *Śrāvaka*.

The economic conditions of Gobahula[1] and Bahula[2], the other two *Brāhmṇas*, have already been pointed out in the beginning of this topic.

It is further learnt how some *Brāhmṇas* as interpreters[3] of marks of dream beheld by queen Prabhāvatī Devī were honoured by king Bala of *Hastināpura* with rich presents for predicting the birth of the great child, Mahābala who afterwards undertook the state of houselessness by renouncing the world during the life, time of his parents, having got initiated by the monk, Dharmaghoṣa, the disciple's disciple of Vimala, the thirteenth Tīrthaṅkara.

As propitiators (*Balikārīo*)[4] of the royal family the *Brāhmaṇas* held an honourable position in the society.

Lastly, they appear as ascetics (*Tāvasas*)[5] like the *Śramaṇas* who were greatly honoured by the whole society as known to the *BhS*.

It is also stated that the *Śramanopāsaka*, offering gifts to such *Śramaṇa* or *Māhaṇa*[6] with acceptable and eatable food and drink, etc., dissociates his *Karma* and his sinful act (*pāvakamma*) does not touch him. That means the offering of gifts to them results in spiritual merit of the householder.

In the *BhS* the occurrence of the '*Māhaṇa*' (*Brāhmaṇa*) together with the '*Śramaṇa*' as the objects of the highest honour to the householders determines their equal social position with the *Śramaṇas*. The *Brāhmaṇas* were thus held in great respect by the society.

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 540.
2 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
5 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90 ; 11, 9, 417.
6 *Ib*, 8, 6, 332 ; 15, 1, 541.

In other texts, such as the *Mahāpurāṇa*[1] and *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[2] it is said that king Bharata established the *Brāhmanical* order out of the most virtuous people and honoured them with the mark of *Kākiṇī*, sacred thread and entertained them with food and other rich presents.

The *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā* also provides the information that the *Brāhmaṇas* were honoured by the *Nandas* of *Pāṭaliputra*[3] with gifts of wealth and various costly articles, while one hundred and eight '*dīnāras*' were given by the king to Vararuci every day for reciting one hundred and eight verses in his eulogy.[4]

They were also entertained and honoured with food and other presents on the occasion of birth, death ceremony and other festivals.[5]

It has already been discussed in connection with the judicial and revenue administrations in the third chapter that they were exempted from capital punishment and taxation respectively and were rewarded for finding treasure trove.[6]

The *Niśītha Cūrṇi*[7] assigns the highest position to the *Brāhmaṇas*, when it states that they who were once heavenly gods were created by the Prajāpati on earth as living gods. This work echoes the same sentiment of the *BhS* that they should be offered alms and gifts by the householders for attaining spiritual merit.

As in the *BhS*, the frequent occurrences together of the terms '*Samaṇa*' and '*Māhaṇa*' in several Jaina texts,[8] clearly determine their equal status and identical relation in the social life.

Moreover, it is known from the *Uvāsagadasāo*[9] that the title *Māhaṇa* or *Mahāmāhaṇa*' was attributed to Lord Mahāvīra.

1 *Mahāpurāṇa*, *Parva*, 18, LL-20, 21, 22.
2 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 213 f.
3 *Uttarādhyayna Ṭīkā*, 3, p. 57.
4 *Ib*, 2, 27 a. 5 *Ib*, 13, p. 194a. 6 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 20, p. 1281.
7 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 12, p. 865.
8 Cf. *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*—p. 93. Cf. *Saṁyutta*, *Samaṇa Brāhmaṇa Sutta* II 129 f., 236 f; IV p. 234 f, V. p.
9 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 7.

Like the Jaina texts, the Buddhist works[1] also assign a similar social status to the *Brāhmaṇas*, but they place them after the *Kṣatriyas*, while all the Brāhmaṇical literatures[2] offer them the highest position in the society.

The Khattiyas

The *Kṣatriyas* figure as the ruling caste and occupied the first and foremost position in the society, having formed the rank of the nobles during the time of Lord Mahāvīra.

It is learnt from the *BhS* that the following *Kṣatriya* kings had been ruling over different parts of India at that period, viz. Seṇiya[3] (Bimbisāra) of *Magadha*, his son, Kūṇika[4] (Ajātaśatru) of *Campā*, Ceḍaga[5] of *Vaiśālī*, Udayana[6] of *Kauśāmbī*, Udāyana[7] of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, his nephew Keśikumāra,[8] Mahāsena[9] of *Avanti*, Bala[10] and Śiva[11] of *Hastināpura*.

Besides these kings, there is the mention of other *Kṣatriya* princes like Jamālī[12] of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma*, Abhīcī Kumāra[13] of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, Mahābala[14], the son of Bala, and Śivabhadra[15], the son of Śiva of *Hastināpura*.

The *Kṣatriyas* were divided into several communities, viz. the *Ugras* (*Ugga*), the *Bhogas* (*Bhoya*), the *Rājanyas* (*Rāiṇṇā*), the *Ikṣvakus* (*Ikkhāgā*), the *Jñātṛis* (*Nāta*), the *Kauravas* (*Koravvā*), the *Kṣatriyas*[16], the *Licchavis* and the *Mallakis* (*Licchai* and *Mallai*)[17].

1 See *Nidānakathā* (1. p. 49) in which it is stated that the Buddhas are born in one or other of the two higher classes the *Khattiyas* or the *Brāhmaṇas*, never in low caste.—Cf. *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* (XXXII, 19), and *Kaṭhaka* (28.5) where the superior position is given to the *Kṣatriyas* rather than to the *Brāhmaṇas* (Mazumdar, Op. cit pp. 367, 369. Fick. Op. cit. p. 84 ff) ; Refer to Dr. G. S. Ghurye's—'Caste and Race in India' p. 63 f and the struggle between Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra for the social position. For all these informations see 'Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons'—by Dr. J. C. Jain p. 140, foot note 9.

2 *Ṛgveda* X, 90, V. 12 ; *Manu*, 1, 31.

3 *BhS*, 1, 1, 6.

4 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301.

5 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300 (Comm.), 12, 2, 441.

6 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.

7-9 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.

10 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.

11 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

12 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383.

13 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.

14 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.

15 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

16 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 11, 419 ; 20, 8, 683

17 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301.

The duties of the *Kṣatriyas* as mentioned in stray references of the *BhS* consisted of study,[1] officiating at coronation ceremony,[2] giving and receiving of presents,[3] governing,[4] fighting and protection of people.[5]

In a nutshell, the main function of the *Kṣatriyas* can be summed up by one word "*Pālayāhi*"[6] (Protect).

The very term '*Kṣatriya*' (*Khattiya*) denotes '*Saviour*' who is entrusted with the task of protecting the wounded.

"Kṣatatrāṇe niyuktā hi Kṣatiiyāḥ[7] Śastrapāṇayaḥ".

It reminds one of the greek word '*Soteros*' (*saviour*) inscribed on the coins of the Bactian Greek ruler, Diodotus who assumed this honorific title "*Diodotoy Soteros*" (*Diodotus the Saviour*).[8]

The *Raghuvaṁśa* of the poet Kālidāsa also supports the same denotation of the term '*Kṣatriya*' as interpreted by the *Mahāpurāṇa* and the Greek legend on the coins of Diodotus.

It is stated in this poetic work that the derivation of the word '*Kṣatra*' which is famous in the world is made from the phrase "protects from injury", the sacred duty of the *Kṣatriyas*.

"Kṣatāt kila trāyata ityudagraḥ
Kṣatrasya śabdo Bhuvaneṣu rūḍhaḥ".[9]

So, this most important duty of protecting the people and the state was assigned to the *Kṣatriyas* by the society known to the *BhS* as it is evidenced by the fact of the highest position

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 383; 11, 9, 417; 11, 9, 429 (*Upanayana*); 12, 2, 441; 13, 6, 491; 15, 1, 541
2 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 431; 13, 6, 491 (Consecration).
3 *Ib* 11, 11, 429.
4 *Ib*, 9, 9, 330-301; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 429; 12, 2, 441; 13, 6, 491 (governing).
5 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301, (fighting).
6 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417; 13, 6, 491 (protecting, Pālayāhi).
7 *Mahāpurāṇa Parva*, 16, 243.
8 Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1 (Rapson), p. 404, pt. III, 9,
9 *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, Canto, II, V. 53,

of the above mentioned *Kṣaatriya* kings and princes, ruling over their respective states with the assistance of large contingents of officials of all grades.

Further, the two political events,[1] viz. *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* as already mentioned, speak themselves of the most essential duties of the *Kṣatriyas*, who took part in these two wars on behalf of the two fighting camps of *Vaiśālī* and *Magadha* respectively for the protection of economic and political interests of their respective states.

Lord Mahāvīra also infused a spirit of renunciation into the hearts of a number of kings[2], princes[3] and princesses,[4] who undertook the state of houselessness from that of the worldly life and devoted and dedicated themselves to the search of truth, religion and philosophy for the highest spiritual realization by renouncing the mundane life of materialism. Thus they advanced the cause of the religious movement of that period and made a contribution to the Indian culture and civilization by their religious devotion, spiritual activities and patronization of the ascetic order.

Gāhāvaī and Vaṇik (The Vaiśyas)

In the social order as revealed in the *BhS* next stand the *Gāhāvaīs*[5] (householders) and *Vaṇiyā*[6] (merchants) who corresponded to the *Vaiśyas*, the third *Varṇa* and formed the rank of the majority of commoners.

It appears that the entire system of production of necessaries of social life and national wealth was controlled by the members of these two communities, particularly the mercantile class who exercised a great influence on the economic policy of the state.[7]

The *BhS* mentions a number of very rich houreholders and merchants and guild-president (*Seṭṭhī*) who were

1 *BhS* 7, 9, 300, 301, 303. 2 *Ib*. 13, 6, 491 ; 11, 9, 417.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383–85 ; 11, 11, 431. 4 *Ib*. 12, 2, 441.
5 *BhS*, 2, 1, 90 ; 3, 1, 134 ; 3, 2, 144 ; 15, 1, 541.
6 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547.
7 *Ib*. 9, 33, 383 ; 17, 9, 300 ; 9, 33, 385 ; 13, 6, 491.

Śramaṇopāsakas, viz. the householders[1] Vijaya, Ānanda and Sudarśana (or Sunanda) of *Rājagṛha*, Piṅgalaka of *Śrāvastī*,[2] Tāmalī, the *Mauryaputra* of *Tāmralipti*,[3] Pūraṇa of *Bebhela Sanniveśa* in the *Vindhyagiri*,[4] Nāgaputra Varuṇa of *Vaiśālī*,[5] Ṛṣibhadraputra of the town of *Ālabhikā* and others,[6] the well-to-do householders of the town of *Tungikā*,[7] Gaṅgadatta of *Hastināpura*,[8] Revatī of *Meṇḍhikagrāma*,[9] and the merchants, Śaṅkha *Sreṣṭhī*, Pokkali and others of *Śrāvastī*,[10] Sudarśana *Sreṣṭhī* of *Vāṇijyagrāma*,[11] Kārttikadatta *Sreṣṭhi* and eight thousand merchants of the town of *Hastināpura*[12], the four merchants of *Śrāvastī*, referred to by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in his story related to Ānanda, the houseless monk and disciple of Lord Mahāvīra.[13]

Duties of the Gāhāvaīs and Vaṇiks

Duties of this third social order comprised study[14], performing of own worship and sacrifice,[15] offering of gifts,[16] cultivation,[17] cattle-breading,[18] trade and commerce[19].

Hospitality[20] was considered as the most sacred duty of this class. It is stated in one scene laid in the city of *Rājagṛha* that the three householders named Vijaya, Ānanda and Sudarśana individually entertained and honoured Lord Mahāvīra with abundant food and drink on the days of conclusions of his first, second and third monthly fasts respectively, during the period of his practice of severe austerities.[21]

The reference to four merchants[22] of *Śrāvastī* made by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra clearly shows that the merchants used to

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 541. We find another reading of Sudarśana viz. Sunanda.
2 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90. 3 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134. 4 *Ib*, 3, 2, 144.
5 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303. 6 *Ib*, 11, 12, 433. 7 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107.
8 *Ib*, 16, 5, 577. 9 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557. 10 *Ib*, 12, 1, 437.
11 *Ib*, 11, 11, 424. 12 *Ib*, 18, 2, 618. 13 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547.
14 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 3, 2, 144 ; 7, 9, 303 ; 2, 5, 107, etc.
15 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 3, 2, 144 ; 12, 1, 437, etc.
16 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107. 17 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330, etc.
18 *Ib*, 3, 1, 334 ; 8, 5, 330, etc.
19 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107 ; 11, 11, 424 ; 12, 1, 437 ; 15, 1, 547 ; 18, 2, 618.
20 *Ib*, 12, 1, 437 ; 15, 1, 541. 21 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
22 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547.

go abroad from their own city to carry on inland trade, having taken sufficient food, drink and other provisions for journey and their merchandise of various saleable articles, loaded in multitudes of bullock-carts, with the object of gaining much wealth by trade and commerce.[1]

There is also another indirect evidence to show that a merchant travelled to different countries for external trade and returned home after full sixteen years with abundant wealth of all kinds, such as, gem, jewel, gold and precious stone etc.[2]

The very name '*Vāṇiyagāma*,'[3] the home town of Sudarśana *Sreṣṭhī* carries the idea with it that it was a commercial centre where the mercantile class lived and carried on a voluminous trade throughout the state of its own and abroad.

The references to Kārttikadatta[4], the president of an economic guild of eight thousand merchants of the town of *Hastināpura*, the wealthy and influential merchant, Śaṅkha[5] of *Srāvastī*, the well-to-do *Śrāvakas* of the town of *Tuṅgikā*[6], who increased their wealth by banking business throw sufficient light upon the commercial activities of this mercantile class at different centres of trade and industry in ancient India during the period of Lord Mahāvīra.

Besides these, the *BhS*, provides a list of the following trades and professions carried on by both the merchants and other tradesmen belonging to the class of Gāhāvaīs for earning their livelihood, viz. making of bow and arrow[7], business in utensils[8], silk and cotton cloths[9], gold, bellmetal, pearl, conch, precious stone, coral etc.[10], transport business (*Bhāḍikamma*), ivory business (*Daṁtavāṇijja*), lac-business (*Lakkha-vāṇījja*) traffic in hair (wool etc., *Kesavāṇijja*), wine business (*Rasa-vāṇijja*), poison-business (*Visa-vāṇijja*), crushing work with machinery (*Jaṅta-pīlaṇakamma*, such as sugarcane-crushing), running of brothel

[1] *BhS*. 15. 1, 547.
[2] *Ib*. 12, 6, 456.
[3] *Ib*. 11, 11, 424 ; 18, 10, 647.
[4] *Ib*. 18, 2, 618.
[5] *Ib*. 12, 1, 437.
[6] *Ib*. 2, 5, 107.
[7] *Ib*. 5, 6, 205.
[8] *Ib*. 5, 6, 206.
[9] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[10] *Ib*, 8, 5, 328.

(*Asalposaṇayā*), charcoal making (*Iṅgālakamma*), cutting of forest (woods, *Vaṇakamma*), making and selling of carts (*Sāḍīkamma*), ploughing (*Phoḍīkamma*), castrating (*Nillaṁchaṇakamma*),[1], act of setting fire to the forest (*Davaggidāvaṇayā*), draining of lake (*Saradahataḷāya-parisosaṇayā*)[2], etc.

The account of the life of the householders[3] and mercantile class and their respective occupations as given in the *BhS* is also corroborated by other Jaina texts in which they figure as rich land owners, cultivators and merchants.

Thus it is known from the study of those works that a number of agriculturists and merchants, viz. Ānanda[4], a rich land owner of *Vāṇijyagrāma*, Pārāśara[5], a householder known as *Kṛṣipārāśara*, Kūiyaṇṇa[6], another householder, Gosaṁkhī[7], a *Kuṭumbī*, the lord of the *Ābhīras* and Nanda[8], a merchant of *Rājagṛha* prospered with their respective professions and wealth.

The references to the occupations of this third social order as found in the *BhS* and other Jaina texts[9] are also supported by the Buddhist[10] and Brāhmaṇical works[11].

In the society, like the *Kṣatriyas*, a number of householders and merchants also undertook the state of houselessness after getting themselves initiated to *Śramaṇa Dharma* and other systems of religion. Thus the text reveals that the householders Tāmalī[12] and Pūraṇa[13] got themselves initiated to *Pāṇāmā* and *Dāṇāmā Pravrajyā* initiations respectively, while the merchants

1 *BhS*, 8, 5, 330. Śrī Abhayadeva means castration of cattle by this word.
2 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330. These fifteen kinds of occupations were not approved by the religious teachings as embodied in the *BhS*, though they were taken up by the people of its society to earn their livelihood.
3 *Ovāiya Sutta*, 27 ; Cf. Fick. Op. cit, p. 256 ff. See also 'Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, Fn. 30, p. 143.
4 (*Gāhāvai*) *Ovāiya Sutta*, 27, (Ānanda) *Uvāsagadasāo* (Lec. 1 Hoernle's Translation).
5 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 2, p. 45
6 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* p. 44.
7 *Ib*, p. 297.
8 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 13, p. 141.
9 *Mahāpurāṇa*, *Parva* 16.
10 Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, Ch. IV, pp. 32-39.
11 *Manu-Smṛti*, 1,90, (87-91)
12 *BhS*, 3, 1, 134.
13 *Ib*, 3, 2, 144.

Sudarśana[1], Kārttikadatta and his eight thousand followers[2] undertook the state of houselessness by renouncing the world and attained *Śramaṇahood*, after having studied the prescribed *Aṅgas* and practised severe austerities and meditation according to rules laid down by the *Nirgrantha* order. In this way they also devoted and dedicated their life to the mission of religion and philosophy for attaining the highest truth and spiritual realization.

Their importance in the society lay not only in their contributions to the cause of Indian culture and civilization by their joining the ascetic order and spiritual activities, but it lay more in their valuable services rendered to the state and the people at large in the economic field.

They were the backbones of the social structure, supporting its different parts and also the perennial sources of material prosperity which supplied the needs of economic life to the entire society for its existence and continuance by producing daily necessaries of all citizens.

Besides these three social orders, the *BhS* mentions a number of professional castes of lower grades, such as, barbar (*Kāsavaga*)[3], potter (*Kumbhagāra*)[4], weaver (*Tamtuvāya*)[5], blacksmith[6], *Maṅkha* (painter and picture-shower)[7], hunter[8], litter-bearer[9], trapper[10], fisherman[11], *Caṇḍāla*[12], etc., marked out by the pursuits of their respective occupations of low crafts. They probably formed the rank of the *Śūdras*.

A list of the following tribes and peoples[13] belonging to different races and nationalities, who were absorbed into the social system of its period, is also presented here. These were—*Cilātikā, Barbarikā, Ṛṣigaṇikā, Vāsagaṇikā, Pallavikā, Lhāsikā,*

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 424.
[2] *Ib*, 18, 2, 618.
[3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 539.
[5] *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
[6] *Ib*, 16, 1, 562,
[7] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[8] *Ib*, 1, 8, 65, 66, 67; 5, 6, 206.
[9] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[10] *Ib*, 1, 8, 65.
[11] *Ib*, 7, 6, 288.
[12] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134. (*Pāṇa* means *Cāṇḍāla*; See comm.)
[13] *Ib*, 9, 33, 382.

Lāsikā, *Ārabī*, *Drāviḍī*, *Siṁghalī*, *Pulindī*, *Puṣkalī*, *Śabarī* and *Pārasī*.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, the position of the *Brāhmaṇas* in the society does not appear to be superior to that of the *Kṣatriyas*, but they ranked equally with the latter in the front line of the social strata. Like the *Kṣatriyas* and the *Vaiśyas* they possessed abundant wealth to live as rich citizens, even affording the luxury by maintaining a retinue of servants, maids and foreign female slaves belonging to different tribes and nationalities.

The *Kṣatriyas* appear as the ruling class, exercising their power and influence over the whole society, while the merchants and the householders controlled the economic life of the society by carrying on trade and commerce, industry and agriculture, and various arts and crafts, and producing the national wealth and necessaries of all citizens.

They were the real bases of the social edifice on which stood the superstructure of the society.

The *BhS* also reveals that these three orders stood equal in the eyes of *Śramaṇa Dharma*, as it is evidenced by the fact of admission of the members of these three castes belonging to both sexes to the *Nirgrantha* order without any distinction. But there is no evidence to show that the members of lower social grades were admitted to this *Saṅgha*.

The reference to the foreign female slaves and waiting maids employed in the house of the rich *Brāhmaṇa*, Ṛṣabhadatta clearly shows the racial synthesis between the Indians and outside peoples belonging to different races and nationalities, who were incorporated into the fold of the social system of the period of the *BhS*.

This gradual absorption of these foreign elements in Indian society was one of the most important features of the social evolution of that age which was marked by the catholic spirit of the people.

The location of different castes in three distinct quarters, viz. *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma*, *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma* and *Vāṇijyagrāma* of the city of greater *Vaiśālī* according to the caste basis furnished an additional incentive and gave an impetus to functional organizations of the society and self-government which were natural to all economic occupations, especially industry and commerce.

In conclusion it may be said that the society was something like a federation of castes and sub-castes, the members of which retained their individual identities.

So the social organization consisted of a large number of groups which had partially been blended together and brought into the same spiritual and cultural system in the evolution of caste, as is made obvious by the fact of absorption of foreign elements in the Indian population of that age culminating in racial synthesis.

SECOND SECTION.

Āśrama (Stage of Life)

Of the *Varṇāśramadharma* organization of the society, '*Varṇa*' has already been dealt with in the first section of this chapter. Here a discussion will be made on the *Āśrama*' (Stage of life) as revealed in the text.

It is known that *Varṇāśrama-Dharma*' was based on the capacity of an individual and it was attached to build up the social life.

It appears from the *BhS* that the life of an individual member of the first three orders, namely, the *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Kṣatriya* and the *Vaiśya* (*gāhāvaīs* and *Vaṇiyā*) was regulated by the Indian traditional four stages of the Vedic texts, viz. *Brahmacarya*, *Gārhasthya*, *Vānaprastha*, and *Sannyāsa* (*Parivrājaka* stage), according to the evolving capacity of human life. These four stages were the guiding principles, each of which provided

an opportunity for manifestation of one more primary human desire and exercised a social control over an individual life by developing the best type of personality and making a progressive social order in those days of the past.

According to the features of this '*Aśrama*' the first two predominantly prepared an individual for leading a wordly life, while the last two guided him in attaining his spiritual realization.

Thus in the ascending order each stage was a stepping stone to the next one till the highest mission of life might be brought to a successful glorious consummation.

The *BhS* does not categorically specify these four stages of life by their respective names, but they are inferable from the following terms, '*Bambhacerav̄asena*,'[1] '*Guttabambhayāri*,'[2] '*Ghorabambhacerav̄asī*,'[3] *Gāhāvai*,[4] '*Āgāravāsa*,'[5] '*Vāṇapattha Tāvasa*,'[6] '*Parivrāyaga*,'[7] '*Thera*'[8] and '*Aṇāgāra-Niggantha*'[9] as used in connection with the holy teachings of Lord Mahāvīra to denote the distinct stages of life.

The first stage was that of *Bambhacerav̄asa*[10] which denoted the state or life of *Brahmacārin* (a religious student). It occupied the first part of life of an individual (*Komāriyāe*)[11] i. e. the period from childhood to youth, which was marked by investiture with sacred thread (*uvanayana*),[12] initiation(*pavvaijāe*), observance of celebacy (*Bambhacerav̄asenam*)[13] and devotion to learning alphabet and study (*viṇṇātapariṇayamette*).[14]

In the *BhS*, it is stated that in one of his births Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, the *Ājivika* leader attained intelligence even before the piercing ceremony of the ear (*aviddhakaṇṇae*) by getting

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 550. [2] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92. *Kumāraśramaṇa* is also used to denote *Bālabrahmacārin* ; *BhS* (comm.), 5, 4, 118 ; Ṣaḍvarṣajātasya tasya pravrajit\ āt.
[3] *Ib*, 1, 1, 7 ; 15, 1, 550.
[4] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 7, 9, 303 ; 15 1, 510 ; 15, 1, 541.
[5] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. [6] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90 ; 11, 9, 417.
[7] *Ib*, 1, 2, 25 ; 2, 1, 90 ; 11, 12, 4:6.
[8] *Ib*, 15, 1, 546.
[9] *Ib*, 1, 6, 53 ; 1, 9, 76 ; 2, 1, 90 ; 15, 1, 553 ; etc.
[10] *Ib*, 9, 31, 365. [11] *Ib*, 15, 1, 550. [12] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[13] *Ib*, 15, 1, 550. [14] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.

initiated, leading the life of an unmarried religious student and observing continence in youth.

"Komāriyāe pavvajjāe komāraeṇaṁ baṁbhaceravāseṇaṁ aviddhakannae ceva saṁkhāṇaṁ paḍilabbhāmi"[1].

A great stress has been laid on the attainment of *Brahmacarya* (chastity) in the text which tells that some one dwells in (practises) pure observance of chastity even without listening to *Dharma* (rel gion) explained by a *Kevalin* (omniscient) and others, and some one does not do so without listening to it.[2]

Because he, the partial annihilation and suppression of whose conduct-obscuring *karmas* has taken place, dwells in pure *Brahmacarya* withiout listening to the religious discourse of a *Kevalin* and others, but he, whose conduct obscuring *Karmas* are not partially annihilated and suppressed, does not attain the chastity without listening to the religion explained by a *Kevalin* and others[3].

The importance of observance of chastity (*Brahmacaryavāsa*) as laid down in the *BhS* is also greatly emphasized by the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[4]. It teaches thus that "what the people call 'Sacrifice' (*yajña*), 'Sacrificed' (*iṣṭa*), 'Protracted sacrifice' (*sattrāyana*), 'Silent asceticism (*mauna*), 'a course of fasting' (*anāśakāyana*), and 'betaking oneself to hermit life in a forest' (*araṇyāyana*) are really the chaste life of a student of sacred knowledge. Because only through this life he attains that world[5] (*loka*), the soul (*Ātman*)[6], the protection of the real soul (*Sat Ātman*)[7], thinks[8] and finds the imperishable soul and *Ara* and *Nya*[9] in the Brahmaloka where is the lake, '*Airaṁ madiyaṁ*', affording refreshment and ecstasy[10].

This *Upaniṣad* further lays stress upon the practice of chastity by instructing thus :—

"Tau ha dvātriṁśataṁ varṣāni Brahmacaryamūṣatuh /
Tau 2 Prajāpatiruvāca kimicchantāvavāsatam" ?[11] //

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 550. [2,3] *Ib*, 9, 31, 365.
[4-10] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, Ch. VIII, *Kāṇḍa*. 5.
[11] *Ib*, Ch. VIII, *Kāṇḍa*, 7. (Indra and Virocana went to Prajāpati and practised *Brahmacarya* for 32 years). See the 13 principal Upaniṣads by Robert Ernest Hume, 2nd Edition ; p. 266 ; and for the text see Daśopaniṣads—edited by the Paṇḍits of the Adyar Library, p. 204, 209.

According to the nature of this stage of life the students may be classified into two groups, viz. one who studied for a certain period after which he entered the second stage, i. e. the life of householder by getting himself married, as he became grown up and capable of enjoying the worldly life[1], while the other one was '*Bālatavassin*'[2] (*Bālatapasvin*) or *Kumāraśramaṇa*[3] who observed celibacy throughout his life which was entirely devoted and dedicated to the pursuits of learning, knowledge, austerity and meditation for the attainment of spiritual realization.

Thus it is learnt that prince Mahābala of *Hastināpura*[4] had to undergo the following course of *Brahmacarya* in the first part of his life, viz. the ceremony of *coloyaṇagaṁ* (*cūḍādharaṇaṁ*, tonsure ceremony), *uvaṇayaṇaṁ* (sacred thread ceremony), *kalāgrahaṇaṁ* (that of learning alphabet) till he became free from boyish state, learned, firm and capable of enjoying the worldly life.[5]

Of the second category of the student life it is found that the princess, Jayanti[6], the aunt of king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī* remained '*Brahmacāriṇī* (maid, observing celebacy) throughout her life and joined the *Nirgrantha* order, after getting initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma*. She devoted and dedicated her life to the search of knowledge, truth and spiritual realization.

Similarly there are also other examples of life-long *Brahmacarins* in the *BhS*. Thus it is related here that there lived a *Bālatapasvin* named Vesiyāyaṇa[7] outside the town of *Kūrmagrāma*[8] by practising austerity, observing fast, raising and holding up his arms, facing the sun and heating (absorbing heat) his body in the sunshine on his *Ātāpanabhūmi* (the place

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. [2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 543. [3] *Ib*, 5, 4, 188.
[4,5] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. [6] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
[7] *Ib*, 15, 1, 543.
[8] There are two readings '*Kummagāma*' & '*Kuṇḍagāma*' found in the printed text of the *BhS*. I accept the reading '*Kummagāma*' which occurs in all the published Mss. except in one. Moreover all scholars also have accepted this reading.

of meditation) while Atimukta *Kumāra-Śramaṇa*[1], a disciple of Lord Mahāvīra, was also a student of this class.

It thus appears that the acquirement of knowledge and building up of character by man-making education were the outstading features of the first stage of life.

Second Stage

Marriage[2] distinguished the boundary of the second stage from that of the first one after the completion of education of the student at that period.

From this second stage of life followed manifold secular duties of the householder comprising economic pursuits, supporting of family and other institutions, gratification of human desires (*kāmabhogadāna* etc.)[3], liberality, offering of gifts, entertainment of guests, relatives and other peoples. But the religious and spiritual aspects of life were not ignored at all. The householder had to perform himself the family sacrifices, such as, '*Balikamma*' (worship of house-gods) '*Kautukamaṅgala*' (auspicious ceremony) and *prāyaścitta*' (expiation) and to offer due worship to ancestors and gods. It was also his duty to study and lead a religious life by observing continence on festival days. In a word, a householder, who may be a *Brāhmaṇa* or a *Kṣatriya* or a *Gāhāvai* or a *Vaṇik* had his three debts to pay, viz. debts to the people and ascetics, gods and ancestors[4] as they are embodied in the stray references of the *BhS*.

Here is found an idea of the cult of hero-worship in the act of offering oblation to the manes as the prevailing custom of the society.

The *Raghuvaṁśa*[5] of the poet Kālidāsa also has echoed a similar sentiment expressed by the *BhS* on the ideals of house-

[1] *BhS*, 5, 4, 188. A *Kumāra-Śramaṇa* was initiated generally at the age of six

[2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [3] *Ib*. 9, 33, 384.

[4] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. (*Devayapitikayakajje*).

[5] *Raghuvaṁśa* V, 10.

(Yasmāt te sarveṣāṁ āśramāṇāṁ Brahmacarya-vānaprāstha-yatīnāṁ-upakāre Kṣamaṁ-Śaktaṁ-kṣemaṁ śakte hite triṣu iti-Amaraḥ).

hold life and the highly glorified second stage (*gārhasthya*) which was able to do service in the benefit of all the *Āśramas*' (i. e. *Brahmacarya*, *Vānaprastha* & *Yati* stages of an individual man).

"Kālo hyayaṁ saṁkramituṁ dvitīyaṁ
sarvopakārakṣamāśramaṁ (V-10).

The following examples of the *BhS* regarding the life of householders present a vivid picture of the second stage which regulated their both individual and social relations in regard to secular and religious aspects of their duties.

After the completion of study, when prince Mahābala of *Hastināpura*[1] attained his full youth, and became grown up and capable of enjoying the worldly life, his parents, king Bala and queen Prabhāvatī Devī caused him to accept the hands of eight princesses at the auspicious moment of constellation of the part of the lunar day and provided them with all necessaries of the second stage of life, such as, palaces, palace-staff, wealth, etc.

Like prince Jamālī[2] of *Kṣatriya-Kuṇḍagrāma*, prince Mahābala also passed his time in the upper palace by enjoying singly desired sound, touch, taste, object of beauty and smell—the five kinds of human gratification of desires in the company of best young beautiful ladies, dancing and singing throughout the nights of six seasons.[3]

Here it seems that '*Desire*' was the determining principle of this second stage of life, as it is reflected in the arguments advanced by the respective mothers of prince Jamālī[4] and prince Mahābala[5] in order to dissuade them from undertaking the state of houselessness.

They told their respective sons to enjoy abundant sensual gratifications of human desires with their wives and vast wealth and prosperity inherited by them from their respective grandfather and great-grand-father according to their desires.

The mother of prince Jamālī said to him "so long, son, we live, then later on with our death, being old (i.e. experienced)

[1] *Bhs*, 11, 11, 430. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. [3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384. [5] *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.

in the affairs of increasing family-thread (generation), and desireless..............undertake the state of houselessness."[1]

But this human desire could not ensnare the mind of prince Jamālī nor that of prince Mahābala, because they realized the futility and transitoriness of these fleeting enjoyments and sensual gratification of desires.

They did not lose the ideal of the spiritual aspect of the second stage of life, being engrossed in the material enjoyments and involved in secular duties. The knowledge and experience gained in the family affairs led them to the path of religion to attain the highest truth and spirital realization. So they undertook the state of houselessness by renouncing the world.[2]

It is further learnt that king Śiva of *Hastināpura*[3] who prospered by his sons, cattle, kingdom, army, transport, revenue, treasury, city, inner female apartment, abundant gold, jewel and other kinds of wealth performed his both secular and religious duties due to the state and the people at large.

On his realization of the higher truth revealed by the sudden spiritual awakening in his heart, one day he, having placed his son, Śivabhadra in the affairs of the kingdom, undertook the state of *Vānaprastha* asceticism (asceticism practised by the forest recluses) by renouncing the world for the attainment of spiritual knowledge, truth and final emancipation from the bondage of mundane life.[4]

It is further known from the *BhS* that Śaṅkha, Pokkali and others,[5] the rich *Śramaṇopāsakas* of the city of *Śrāvasti* passed their life by attending the holy teachings of Lord Mahāvīra delivered at *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* and observing the vow of fasting (*Pauṣadhavrata*) and continence (*Brahmacarya*) in addition to their respective household affairs[6].

A more vivid picture of the second stage of life is revealed in the graphic account of the household life led by the *Śramaṇopāsakas* of the city of *Tuṅjikā*. They were very rich with

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384.
[2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 11, 431.
[3,4] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
[5,6] *Ib*, 12, 1, 437-38.

grains etc., famous and possessed many houses furnished with beds and seats, vehicles, abundant wealth and various kinds of precious stones. They increased their wealth by banking business (*āyogapayogasaṁpauttā*) and were accomplished in many arts. In their houses much food and drink got wasted without consumption due to their plentiness[1].

They were masters of many male and female slaves and possessors of many cows, buffaloes and quadruped animals; and they were undefeated by many peoples in knowledge and learning, knowers of living and non-living substances; realizers of virtue and vice (*uvaladdhapuṇṇapāvā*), conversant with the doctrines of influx, stoppage and dissociation of *Karma*, the act of subordinating, bondage and liberation.[2]

They were well-established in the *Nirgrantha* teachings and unchallenged in its knowledge and had no predilection for any other doctrine. They obtained, accepted, asked, ascertained and knew the true meanings and explanations of the *Nirgrantha* teachings which were their bones and marrows "reddened with love and devotion"[3].

They were liberal like the high crystal; their doors were open to others and their entrance into the houses of others was welcomed and pleasing. They purified their souls by observing many vows, such as *Śīlavrata*, *Guṇavrata*, *Viramaṇavrata*, *Pratyākhyānavrata*, *Pauṣadhavrata* etc. and performing the acts of complete fasting in *Cāturdaśī* (fourteenth day of the moon), *Aṣṭamī* (eighth day of the moon), *Amāvasyā* (the night of no moon), and *Pūrṇimā* (the day of full moon).

They offered uncontaminated, pure and desirable food, drink and other dainties, cloth, vessel, blanket, broom (*rajaharaṇa*), seat, *paṭṭa* (cloth), bed, medicine, etc., to the *Śramaṇa-Nirgranthas* and passed time by observing acts of austerities and meditation on the self[4]. (Tavokammehiṁ appāṇaṁ bhāvemāṇā viharaṁti).

One day, having learnt about the presence of the ascetics of Lord *Pārśvanātha's* order at the *Puṣpavatī Caitya* from the

[1-4] *BhS*, 2, 5, 107.

multitudes of people, going there to attend their religious discourses, those *Śramaṇopāsakas* of the city of *Tungikā* went to them to listen to their holy teachings and entered into a religious discussion with them by putting some questions to them for true explanations, e.g. "what was the fruit of self-control (*Saṁyama*) and that of austerity (*tava*) ?"

To their great satisfaction, those *Sthaviras* (ascetics) explained that the fruit of self-control was the non-influx of *karma*-matter and that of austerity was the dissociation of *Karma*.[1]

Then those *Śramaṇopāsakas*, being convinced and pleased with these explanations retired to their own city after paying due respect to those ascetics.

This account of the ways of living of the *Śramaṇopāsakas* of *Tuṅgikā* as given in the *BhS* truly represents the individual, social and religious aspects of household life.

There is a similar example of this second stage from which followed manifold activities of a householder.

Thus it is learnt that a very rich merchant named Kārttikadatta[2] lived in the city of *Hastināpura* by exercising his authority over eight thousand other merchants as their guild-president (*negama-padhāna*).

They were engaged in manifold activities and professions of secular life, but the religious duties were not ignored by them.

They also attended the sermons of the houseless monk, Munisuvrata, delivered in the grove of thousand mango-trees.

They being satisfied with the holy teachings of that ascetic got initiated by him to *Śramaṇa Dharma* and undertook the state of houselessness, after having placed their respective eldest sons in the household affairs and renounced the world.[3]

The above evidences remind one of the household life of Ānanda of *Vāṇiyagrāma* as mentioned in the *Uvāsagadasāo*.[4]

[1] *BhS*, 2, 5, 110. [2,3] *Ib*, 18, 2, 616.
[4] *Uvāsagadasāo*, Lec. 1., Hoernle's Translation. See also Mahāvīra : His life and teachings by Dr. B. C. Law p. 38-39.

He is said to have "possessed a treasure of four kror measures of gold deposited in a safe place, a capital of four kror measures of gold put out on interest, a well-stocked estate of the value of four kror measures of gold, and four herds, each herd consisting of ten thousand heads of cattle." He was "a person whom many kings and princes and merchants made it a point to refer to, and to consult, on many affairs and matters needing advice,...in short, on all sorts of business. He was also the main pillar, as it were, of his own family, their authority, support, mainstay and guide. In short, he was a cause of prosperity to whatever business he was concerned with."

"Ānanda had his own *Posahasālā* (fasting-house) in the *Kollāga* suburb of *Vāṇiyyagrāma*, in the midst of his people of *Nāta* or *Jñātri* clan."[1]

The *BhS* and the *Uvāsagadasāo* clearly show that an attention was paid to individual, social and religious aspects of a householder's life.[2]

Though the desire for sex, progeney and property received the first attention and care in this part of life, yet the spiritual aspect of this stage was not ignored, because the vision of the future was the guiding principle of the householder as conceived in the first stage of '*Brahmacarya*' to follow in his day-to-day activities. He had to perform both secular and religious duties to the family, the society and to himself. Thus a balance was maintained in this material life of the second stage.

Vānaprastha (Vāṇapattha, third stage of life)

In connection with the austerity practised by the royal sage, Śiva of *Hastināpura* the *BhS* presents a vivid picture of

[1] *Uvāsagadasāo*, Lec. 1 Hoernle's Translation. See also 'Mahāvīra' His life and teachings by Dr. B C. Law., p 38-39.

[2] *Cf.* Arthaśāstra, Book 1, Ch. III, 8. p. 7. It states "the duty of a householder is earning livelihood by his own profession, marriage among his equals of different ancestral *Ṛsis*, intercourse with his wedded wife after her monthly ablution, gifts to gods, ancestors, guests and servants and the eating of the remainder",

the life of the third stage called *Vānaprastha* led by a large number of forest recluses (*vāṇapatthā Tāvasā*), such as, *Hottiyā* (*Agnihotrikas*), *pottiā* (*vastradhāriṇas*) upto *Disāpokkhiyā* (*Diśāprokṣiṇas*) who passed their time by observing different kinds of asceticism according to various religious faiths.[1]

A detailed discussion will be made later on about their systems and practices in relation to the subject 'Various leaders of thought and their philosophies and religious systems' as revealed in this canonical work.

It is stated here that once due to a sudden spiritual awakening in the mind of king Śiva,[2] he realized the truth of transitoriness of the worldly life, pleasure, power and wealth.

So, after having placed his son, Śivabhadra in the affairs of his kingdom, the king got initiated by the *Diśāprokṣiṇa vānaprastha-Tāpasas*[3] (forest recluses who moved by sprinkling water in four directions) to their faith and undertook the ascetic life of the Vānaprastha stage by renouncing the world.

The *BhS* presents a graphic account of the *Diśāprokṣiṇa* austerity of this third stage of life, practised by the royal sage, Śiva, dwelling on the bank of the *Ganges* with a few necessary articles, such as, flower-basket made from bamboo, iron pot, iron-pan, spoon, tambika (an article of wearing), ascetic utensils, etc.[4]

On the day of conclusion of his first *Ṣaṣṭha Kṣamaṇa* vow (two consecutive days' fast), the royal sage, having descended from the *Ātāpanabhūmi*[5], put on his bark-cloth (*vāgalavatthaniyatthe*) and came to his hermitage to take the basket in order to pluck flowers, fruits, leaves, etc., for performing sacrifice.

Having taken the basket, he first sprinkled the eastern direction with water and prayed to the god, Soma thus, "O Soma, Mahārāja of the eastern quarter, protect Śiva, the royal sage, who is engaged in collecting the fruits on the path of *Sādhanā* (meditation) of the next life, by protecting (him) permit

1-4 *BhS*, 11, 9, 417.

5 The place for meditation.

him to pluck those which are tuberous roots, roots, barks, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, *haritakas* (terminalia) etc."[1].

Thus having advanced towards the eastern direction, he plucked those things and filled his basket with them. Then after collecting the *Darbha* grass, *Kuśa*-grass and *Samidha* (fire-wood for sacrifice), *Patra-moṭaṁ* (broken leaves with branches of tree), he returned to his own hermitage and placed the basket filled with flowers, fruits etc. on the ground.

After that, having wiped off, besmeared, swept and purified his sacrificial altar with water, he went to the *Ganges* with a water-jar and *Darbha*-grass to take bath and purify himself by playing with the sacred water, sprinkling and sipping it according to the prescribed religious process. Then having performed the work (worship) of gods and ancestors (*Devayapitikayakajje*), he emerged from the *Ganges* and returned to his own hermitage with the sacrificial jar filled with water and *Darbha*-grass.

He made next the altar with the *Darbha* and *Kuśa* grasses, and sands, rubbed *Arani*[2] with *Saraka*[3] (the rubbing wood) to kindle fire for performing sacrifice. Having kindled fire by this process he caused it to rise & cast the *Samidha* wood into it. And thus he, having blazed the fire brought near the altar seven articles of sacrifice (*aṅgas*), viz. *Sakahā* (*Sakathā*-a kind of article), *Bakkalaṁ* (*bark* of tree), *ṭhāṇa* (*Jyotisthānaṁ*, *Pātrasthānaṁvā*), *Sijjā* (bed, *Śayyābhāṇḍa*), *Kamaṇḍalu* (water pot of ascetic made of wood or earth), *Daṇḍadāru* (*Stick-Daṇḍaka*), then *Pānaṁ* (drink) and worshipped the fire with honey and clarified butter and rice and cooked *caru*[4] (oblation of rice prepared with butter-milk for offering to gods and manes).

Then he worshipped *Vaiśvānara*, the fire-god with the oblation of *caru*, entertained and honoured guests first with it, and he took himself food last of all.

1,3 *BhS*, 11, 9, 417.

2 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. *Avani* and *Saraka* are two kinds of firewood. In ancient days the people used to kindle fire by rubbing them against each other.

4 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

Exactly in the same manner the royal sage, Śiva performed sacrifices on the days of conclusions of his second, third and fourth fasts (*Saṣṭhakṣamaṇa*) respectively.

The particular difference is that he sprinkled the southern, western and northern directions and prayed to *Yama*, the lord of the South, *Varuṇa*, the lord of the West, and *Vaiśramaṇa*, the lord of the North on the days of conclusions of the second, third and fourth fasts in succession, while collecting flowers, fruits, leaves, sacrificial fire-wood, etc.

These are the essential features of the third stage of life as revealed in the *BhS*.

It appears from the above evidences of *Vānaprastha* ascetic life of the royal sage, Śiva that the class corresponding to this stage was the *Kṣatriya* caste and the statesmen whose spiritual urge led them to their retirement to asceticism.

The same view on the adoption of the *Vānaprastha* life is also expressed by the poet, Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*[1] in which it is said thus, "Then that king Dilīpa, having offered the white royal parasol to his young son, king Kakuda, according to custom, took shelter of the *Vānaprastha Āśrama* together with his wife, Sudakṣiṇī. This retirement to forest was the family vow of the old *Ikṣvākūs*".

> "Atha sa viṣayavyāvṛttātmā yathāvidhi sūnave /
> Nṛpatikakudaṁ dattvā yūne sītātapavāraṇaṁ /
> Munivanatarucchāyāṁ devyā tayā saha śiśriye / galitavayasāṁ Ikṣvākūṇāmidaṁ hi Kulavrataṁ" (III-70).

The *Raghuvaṁśa* further tells that king Aja[2], having odered the modest prince, Daśaratha dressed in armour, in the matter of protection of the people according to the Śāstras became *Prāyopaveśanamati* (having the mind to die in unmoving sitting position), desiring to end the suffering of his body wrecked by disease.

> "Samyag-vinītamatha varmahavaṁ Kumāramādiśya rakṣaṇavidhau vidhivat-prajānāṁ /

[1] *Raghuvaṁśa*, III, 70. [2] *Ib.*, VIII, 94.

Rogopasṛṣṭatanudurvasatiṁ mumukṣuḥ prāyopaveśanamatiḥ nṛpatiḥ babhūva" (VIII-94).

The same sentiment of the *Raghuvaṁśa* regarding the third stage of life is echoed also in the *Padmapurāṇa*[1] where it is said that king Daśaratha too desired to retire to forest after getting initiated to asceticism, having realized the old stage of his life.

"Tadā Daśaratho bhīto bhṛśaṁ saṁsāravāsatah.........
.........Saṁsatpravrajāmīti niścitaṁ"[2] (vv. 77 to 80).

So he ordered his ministers and other high dignitaries of his state to consecrate his first son, Rāma as king quickly in the protection and governace of the kingdom so that he might enter the *tapovana* (forest of austerity) without any hindrances.

"Abhiṣiñcata me putraṁ prathamaṁ rājyapālane /
Tvaritaṁ yena nirvighnaṁ praviśāmi tapovanam"[3] (v. 90) //

The above evidences of the *BhS* corroborated by the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Padmapurāṇa* clearly show that at the *Vānaprastha* stage a householder retired from the worldly life into the forest and began a new course of life as a hermit, having a mind free from attachment to desires, pleasures and enjoyments but concentrated on renunciation and self-purification. At this stage he led a life of dignity, calm and partial seclusion by devoting and dedicating himself to meditation for his spiritual progress.

Thus the *Vānaprastha* life of self-restraint and self-denial as incidentally referred to in this work is characterized by distinctive marks, such as, non-possession, continence, living in forest in solitude on its natural foodstuffs i.e. fruits, leaves, roots, etc., restraint of mind, speech, body (action). wearing of bark cloth (*vāgalavatthaniyatthe*) to cover nakedness, non-injury to living beings as far as possible, fasting, performance of sacrifice, entertaining of other ascetic-guests with '*caru*'[4] and practice of austerities and meditation according to the prescribed rules of religious systems.

1,2 *Padmapurāṇa*, VV, 77 to 80. 3 *Ib*, V. 90.
4 *BhS*. 11, 9, 417.

These evidences of distinctive marks of the *Vānaprastha* life are also corroborated by the *Arthaśāstra* in which it is stated that the duty of a forest recluse (*Vānaprastha*) is "observance of chastity, sleeping on the bare ground, keeping twisted locks, wearing of dear skin, fire-worship, ablution, worship of gods, ancestors and guests and living upon food stuffs procurable in forests."[1]

This third stage of austerities and meditation prepared the ground for further spiritual progress of the forest recluse towards his attainment of final emancipation from the worldly bondage in the fourth *Āśrama* called *Sannyāsa*.

Fourth Stage of Life (Parivrājaka-Anāgāra).

The *BhS* gives a graphic account of the fourth stage of life of an individual by making incidental references to the undertaking of the state of houselessness by the forest recluse, Śiva (*Vānaprastha tāpasa*)[2] and the ascetic (*Parivvāyaga*). Skandaka of the city of *Śrāvastī* respectively.

The term '*Parivvāyage*'[3] used here and in other texts[4] denotes the ascetic of the fourth stage, who has renounced the world completely and devoted and dedicated himself to the attainment of perfect knowledge, truth, highest spiritual realization and final liberation from the bondage of mundane life.

In the *Vānaprastha* stage one day sometime '*Vibhaṅga-jñāna*' (transcendental knowledge with an unbeliever) of the royal sage Śiva was born in him, while practising austerities. He saw only seven islands and seven seas in the Universe with the help of that awakened knowledge, but beyond that he did not see and know anything else.

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, Book I, Chapter III, 9, p. 9
[2] *BhS*, 11, 9,417-18.
[3] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90-96 ; 1, 2, 25 ; 2, 1, 90 ; 11, 12, 436.
[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Book 1, Ch. III-9 ; Pāṇini (VI. 1. 154) puts the *Parivrājaka* into the third stage, while he refers to the *Bhikṣu* belonging to the fourth stage; *Vide* India as known to Pāṇini by Dr. V.S. Agrawala, Ch. III Secion-2, p. 81.

So he thought that he attained the last knowledge and intuition (*Atiśeṣa-jñāna-darśana*) and proclaimed himself to the people of *Hastināpura* as the attainer of these two spiritual objects, after coming out of his hermitage from the forest on the bank of the *Ganges*.

Having listened to this matter in the presence of many people of that city talking about it, the houseless monk, Gautama, Indrabhūti, the first disciple of Lord Mahāvīra reported the whole incident to his Master who was passing time in the mango-grove called '*Sahasambavaṇa*' situated in that city.

On his request to know the truth regarding the existence of only seven islands and seven seas as declared by the royal sage, Śiva, Lord Mahāvīra explained in the assembly of his followers that there were more islands, such as, *Jambūdvīpa*, etc., and more seas, such as, *Lavaṇa-Samudra* etc., including those seven islands and seven seas.

The message of this holy teaching of the Master immediately got circulated among the people of the city of *Hastināpura* who talked about it to one another, standing on the streets. Having listened to this matter in their presence the royal sage, Śiva became doubtful about his own spiritual knowledge and intuition. So he at once went to Lord Mahāvīra to know himself the true explanation regarding the number of islands and seas in the Universe.

He was convinced of the holy teaching of explanation of the Master on the subject and satisfied with his religious discourse.

Then the royal sage got initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa-Dharma* and undertook the state of houselessness, the main characteristic of *Sannyāsa* (ascetism of the fourth stage). He attained spiritual emancipation by practising various acts of austerities and meditation. Though this evidence of asceticism practised by the royal sage according to the *Nirgrantha*-religion does not truly represent the picture of the fourth stage of life as depicted in the Vedic texts, yet it gives an insight into the

fact that the *Vānaprastha* stage of Śiva guided him further in attaining the final spiritual realization.

There are references to the actual operation of the fourth stage of life in the *BhS* as found in the cases of *Parivrājaka* Skandaka[1] of *Śrāvasti* and Pudgala *Parivrājaka* of *Ālabhikā*[2].

Skandaka resided in the *Parivrājakavasati* (*maṭha*, ascetic's residing place), in the city of *Śrāvasti* and passed time by practising austerities and meditation, having possessed *Tridaṇḍa* (three staves), *Kuṇḍikā* (*Kamaṇḍalu* = water pot), *Kañcanikā* (*Rudrākṣamālā* = rosary), *Karoṭikā* (earthen vessel), *Bhṛśikā* (grass seat), *Keśarikā* (duster), *Ṣaḍnalikā* (*Trikāṣṭhikā* = an article), *Aṅkuśa* (axe), *Pavitraka* (staining cloth or ring), *Gaṇetrikā* (a kind of ornament or rosary, *Chhatra* (umbrella), *Upānaha* (shoes), *Pādukā* (wooden sandals), and *Dhāturaktavastra* (red-coloured garment).

One day this Skandaka, being unable to answer to the question of Piṅgalaka, a disciple of Lord Mahāvīra, whether the Universe was finite or infinite, etc , went to the Master who was staying by this time at the *Chatrapalāśaka Caitya* outside the city of *Kajaṅgalā* to have the true explanation of the same.

Having been satisfied with the holy teachings on the subject he got initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa-Dharma* to undertake the state of houselessness. After practising various acts of austerities and meditation for many years he attained the highest spiritual realization and liberation.

These examples give an idea of the fourth stage of life as it was in actual operation in the society.

Side by side the *BhS* presents a picture of the state of houselessness of the *Nirgrantha* order, as it is evidenced in the greetings accorded to prince Jamālī by the people on his way to *Bahuśālaka Caitya* to get initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma* in order to take to ascetic life.

The people greeted him by saying thus "you conquer the uuconquered senses with unbroken and best knowledge (*jñāna*),

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 90. [2] *Ib*, 11, 12, 436.

right attitude to truth (*darśana*) and conduct (*cāritra*), dwell in the midst of perfection, kill the wrestler in the form of attachment and jealousy by austerity and firmly bound patience, destroy eight *Karmas* by best pure meditation, becoming careful without being swayed by passion.

"O steady, hold the flag of worship inside the theatre hall of the three worlds, attain pure and best omniscience, emancipation, the best position by the straight road to perfection as instructed by the excellent Jina by defeating the army of twenty-two *Pariṣahas* (forbearances), let there be no hindrances of thorns of senses on the path of your religion."[1]

The mother of Jamālī advised him thus, "self-control should be practised, passion should be conquered, exertion should be made,"[2] while offering him as the highest alms to Lord Mahāvīra.

Thus it is clear that both the *Brāhmaṇical* and *Nirgrantha* systems of asceticism, having the same ideal of liberation were in operation side by side in the society influencing each other. Thus the fourth stage of life as reflected in this canonical work carries the conception of complete renunciation of all worldly desires, pleasures and enjoyments by mind, speech and body (action) of the ascetic who fully devoted and dedicated himself to the spiritual pursuits by practising austerities and meditation on soul for the attainment of omniscience, the highest truth and liberation from the mundane life.

This spiritual urge for emancipation infused a spirit of self-control, self-discipline, complete renunciation and detachment from the worldly desires and a spiritual freedom into the heart of an individual ascetic and led him to work out his salvation by studying the religious texts, practising severe austerities and meditation on the infinite, pure and perfect immortal soul.

Thus it is revealed that the fourth stage made an individual a free and perfect man with a resurrected soul who was

1, 2 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385.

above truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain and did not desire this world or the next one nor the mundane existence, but aspired after attaining the pure state of soul and liberation.

The *Arthaśāstra*[1] expresses the same views on the fourth stage of life. It states that the duty "of an ascetic retired from the world (*Parivrājaka*) is complete control of the organs of sense, abstaining, disowning money, keeping away from society, begging in many places, dwelling in forest and purity both internal and external"[2].

The references to these four stages of life in the Bhagavatī Sūtra (*BhS*) clearly show how the individual and social life was led and what were the social circumstances, prevailing at that time. The greatness of this *Varṇāśrama* system lay in the fact that it was not only a translation into form, but it was in the actual practice of life of the society. But here this organization is not prescribed in this canonical work.

Thus the spirit of *Varṇāśrama-Dharma* illustrated itself in the system of life into stages, because spiritualism dominated the whole individual, social and political aspects of life of the people of that period. So they did not like to die in their houses but desired to attain '*Mokṣa*', the ultimate goal of human life outside the household surroundings.

THIRD SECTION

Social Structure and Family Relations.

Social Structure

The social structure as revealed in the *BhS* consisted of *Janapada* (state), *Varṇa* (social order), *Jāti* (caste), *Gotra* (origin), *Jñāti* (kinsman), *Kula* (family), *Vaṁśa* (lineage), and *Gāhāvai* (householder).

[1,2] *Arthaśāstra*, Book 1, chapter III, 9.

Janapada (State)

It has already been explained in the first section of the third chapter on 'Political conditions' that a *Janapada* or a *Mahājanapada* referred to in the *BhS* was an autonomous political unit.

The study of this text shows that a citizen of a *Janapada* was distinguished by its name, as it is known by the fact that the two disciples of Lord Mahāvīra named Sarvānubhūtī (Savvāṇubhūī) and Sunakṣatra (Suṇakkhatta) were called "*Pāiṇajāṇavae*"[1] (*Prācīnajānapada*) and "*Kosalajāṇavae*"[2] (*Kośalajānapada*) respectively, i. e. they were the citizens of their own individual states.

In this connection the epithet '*Vesālie*'[3], attributed to Lord Mahāvīra in reference to his designation, is of great interest bearing a historical value. Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri[4] explains '*Vesālie*' (*Vaiśālika*) by Lord Mahāvīra and in fact as metronymicum[5], "*Viśālā Mahāvīrajananī*" ; "Vesāliya-Sāvae-Viśālā Mahāvīrajananī tasya apatyamiti Vaiśālikaḥ Bhagavān, tasya vacanaṁ śṛṇoti tadrasikatvāt iti Vaiśālika Śrāvakaḥ"[6].

The historic and social association of Lord Mahāvīra with this city is thus suggested by this epithet "*Vesālie*", which leads one to conclude that he was born in *Vaiśālī* and so he came to be known by the name of his state.

Even some of the female slaves employed in the service of the rich aristocratic family of the *Brāhmaṇa*, Ṛṣabhadatta[7] were distinguished by the names of their respective states (or countries), e. g. *Cilāiyā* (*Kirātikā*), *Arabī* (Arabian), *Siṁghalī* (Ceylonese), and *Pārasī* (Persian, of *Pārasa* country = Persia).

Varṇa and Jāti (Order and caste)

The '*Varṇa*' (*Vaṇṇa*)[8] and '*Jāti*'[9] as referred to in the *BhS* were the next component parts of the social structure existing during its period.

[1,2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 553. [3,4] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90 ; 12, 2, 441.
[5] Weber, Indian Antiquary Vol. XVII, Dec. 1888. P. 345.
[6] See *BhS*, commentaty 2, 1, 90.
[7] *BhS*, 9. 33, 382. [8] *Ib*, 15, 1, 557. [9] *Ib*, 2, 5, 108; 109 (*Jāti*).

It has already been discussed in the first section of this chapter that these two terms are often used in the *BhS* to denote the caste of an individual member of the society.

Gotra (Ancestral family)

According to the order of the social formation, after the *Jāti*, there comes the *Gotra* (*Gatta*)[1] to which the members of a family traced their origin in the distant past.

Jñāti (Kinsman)

The *Jñāti* (*nāti*)[2] generally signified all relations on the parents' sides or particularly the Kinsmen (Paternal relations).

Kula (family)

The *Kula*[3] was the next important unit of the community round which rotated the whole social structure consisting of its different component parts It was the nucleus of the society which was formed of a group of families, each having several members of its own under the guardianship of the father[4] or in his absence the eldest son.[5]

Joint family

The text shows that the society as depicted in it was characterized by the joint family system[6] which was prevailing during its period. It further reveals that there existed three classes of family, viz. high, low and middle class families (*uccanīyamajjhimāiṁ kulāiṁ*)[7] as distinguished by their respective economic and social status from one another.

Vaṁśa (Natural Lineage)

In the society great importance has been attached to '*Vaṁśa*'[8] on both the sides of the father and the mother, along with the '*Kula*' from the point of view of the natural lineage and social and cultural position.

1 *BhS*, 1. 1. 7 ; 2, 1, 90 (*Goyamasagottenaṁ, Kaccāyanagottenaṁ*).
2 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
3 *Ib*, 2, 5, 108 ; 109
4,5 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 11, 429 ; 12 2, 441. 13, 6, 491 ; 15. 1, 540.
6 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441 ; 13, 6, 491 ; 7 *Ib*, 15, 1, 540, 41.
8 *Ib*, 2, 5, 108–9.

Gāhāvai (Householder)

The householder[1], who was generally the father or in his absence his eldest son (*Jeṭṭhaputta*), was the head of the family,[2] the smallest social unit, having the full responsibility deciding authority, care and charge of the welfare of all its members.

Family Relations

The *BhS* presents a good account of a wider sphere of family relationship formed of great-grandfather, grandfather (*Ajjaga pajjaga-piu pajjagae*),[3] mother and father (*Ammāpiyaro*),[4] aunt (*Piucchā*),[5] son (*putte, Attae, Jāyā*,),[6] husband (*Bhattā*),[7] wife (*Bhajjā*,[8] daughter (*Dhūyā*,),[9] nephew (*Bhāttijjae, Bhāiṇejja*),[10] daughter-in-law (*Suṇhā*),[11] sister-in-law (*Nanaṁdā, Bhāijjā*),[12] brother in-law (*Saṁbandhi*),[13] and grandson (*Potte, Nattue*).[14]

The mother was the object of more love and honour than father in the family, for the term "*Ammā*" (mother of the compound word *Ammāpiyaro*)[15] is generally used before the term "*Piya*" (father).

The sphere of family relation was also extended to the friends, kinsmen and relatives (*mittaṇātiṇiyaga*)[16] and even to the attendants (*pariyaṇa*)[17] who were included in its gradation in the larger social circle.

Family servants.

In the list of the family members the *BhS* refers to several classes of servants and maids who have already been mentioned in connection with the topic 'personal and palace-staff' in the sixth section of the third chapter on 'Political conditions.'

Besides them, female slaves also served the rich aristocratic and royal families, as it is evidenced by the fact that they

[1] *BhS*, 3, 1, 134 ; 15, 1, 541.
[2] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 117.
[3] *Ib*, 9. 33, 384.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384 ; 11, 11, 422.
[5] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
[6] *Ib*;12, 9, 417 ; 12, 2, 441 13, 6, 491.
[7-12] Ib, 12. 2, 441.
[13] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
[14] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441
[15] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.
[16-17] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 11, 429.

appear as the members of the retinues of the *Brāhmaṇī*, Devānandā[1] and the queen, Mṛgāvatī[2] respectively.

These servants, maids and female slaves formed thus the part of the contingent of the palace-staff in the royal household or they were employed in the service of the rich aristocratic families[3] or in the houses of the well-to-do merchants,[4] as it is revealed in the *BhS* and corroborated by the evidences of *Pāṇini*,[5] the *Arthaśāstra*[6] and the *Kāma Sūtra* of Vātsyāyana.[7]

Guests

Hospitality to both the invited and uninvited guests and ascetics was the most important feature of the family life as depicted in the *BhS*. It was regarded as the cardinal virtue of a householder to entertain and honour the guests with various kinds of food, drink and other presents in order to earn the spiritual merit (*puṇya*) out of a good action [8]

This text presents a vivid picture of the custom of welcoming, entertaining and honouring the guests and ascetics by the householders with great warmth of heart and modesty on their arrival at the houses of the hosts.[9]

A discussion on this topic of the manner of welcoming guests will be made later on in connection with the subject 'Hospitality to guests' as revealed in the *BhS*. Here it may be stated in short that a distinguished guest like a king[10] or a noble[11] or friend-kinsman-relative[12] or a co-religionist[13] or a monk[14] was highly honoured with proper decorum and devotion.

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 382. 2 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
3-4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382 ; 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 11, 430.
5 Refer to 'India as known to Pāṇini' by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, p. 97-8. *Pāṇini* III, 2, 21, (*Kiṁkara*). See *Gaṇapāṭha* (II, 2, 9 & VI, 2, 151, *Yājakādi* group, IV, 4, 48 ; IV, 1, 146 ; VII, 3, 4 ; IV, 4, 17, VI, 3, 60.
6 *Arthaśāstra* 43, Ch. XI, p. 41.
7 *Kāmasūtra*, See Haran Chakladar's studies in *Kāmasūtra*.
8 *BhS*, 8, 6, 332. 9 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541
10-11 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 11, 429 ; 13, 6, 491.
12 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 11, 429 ; 13, 6, 491.
13 *Ib*, 12, 1, 438. 14 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541, 557.

Succession

It has already been discussed in connection with the royal succession in the fourth section of the third chapter on 'Political conditions' that the law of primogeniture was generally operating in the case of the royal family. On the retirement of the kings, his eldest son was usually placed by him in the affairs of the state to succeed to his property.[1]

In the noble and rich families[2] and other common households[3] the same law of primogeniture determined the matter of succession to the father's property inherited from the grandfather and great-grandfather, as it is evidenced in the cases of prince Jamāli[4] of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma*, Tāmali[5] of *Tāmralipti*, Pūraṇa[6] of *Bebhela Sanniveśa* and Kārttikadatta[7] of *Hastināpura*.

Conjugal life

The *BhS* presents a picture of a happy family life in which the husband and wife were the equal religious partners. The wife never stood on the way of her husband's resolution to undertake the state of houselessness by renouncing the world with a view to attaining spiritual emancipation.

On the other hand she followed her husband as a devoted companion on the path of religion. Thus she helped him in every possible way she could do in relation to this stage of life by creating a serene and peaceful environment in the family. The husband also regarded her as the co-partner of his life's journey, but he never considered her as a condemned thing in the worldly affairs.

Thus it is found that king Seṇiya (Śreṇika-Bimbisāra) and queen Cellanā of *Magadha*[8], and king Udāyana and his wife,

[1] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417.
There is an exception in the case of the prince. Abhijit, the son of king Udāyaṇa of *Sindhu-Sauvira* who installed his own nephew, the prince Keśi-Kumāra on the throne by putting aside the rightful claim of his own son on the ground of his spiritual welfare.

[2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384; 3, 1, 134. [3] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540. [4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.
[5] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134. [6] *Ib*, 3, 2, 144. [7] *Ib*, 18, 2, 618.
[8] *Ib*, 1, 1, 4.

queen Prabhāvatī Devī of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*[1] made pilgrimages to Lord Mahāvīra to attend his holy sermons delivered in the two assemblies of his followers at the *Guṇaśilaka Caitya* outside the city of *Rājagṛha* and at *Mṛgavana* in the city of *Vītībhaya* respectively. When king Udāyana undertook the state of houselessness by renouncing the world, after getting initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to the *Nirgrantha*-religion, Prabhāvatī Devī did not stand on his way as an obstacle to dissuade him from his resolution.

Besides these instances, the *BhS* presents other brilliant pictures of conjugal love, devotion, fidelity and ideal relationship between the husband and wife belonging to the three classes of families, viz. high, low and middle (*uccanīyamajjhimaim Kulāim*)[2].

Thus in one scene it is depicted how Bala, the king of *Hastināpura*[3] welcomed his queen, Prabhavatī Devī on her approach to him in his bed-chamber in order to reveal the incident of her auspicious dream by which she was awakened from her sleep at midnight.

She was first received, seated on an auspicious seat and comforted by him with sweet words of love and honour and then she was inquired about the cause of her unexpected visit to him in an animated mood at such a time.

She gracefully submitted to him the whole account of her dream of a vision of a lion having a beautiful figure and descending and speaking own words.

According to his own intelligence king Bala interpreted this mark of dream thus that she would give birth to a great male child and then he congratulated the queen with these words that she was fortunate.

In another scene laid at *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma* a happy picture of co-partnership of the husband and wife in work and worship is presented in the rich aristocratic *Brāhmaṇa* family of Ṛṣabhadatta[4].

[1] *BhS*, 13, 6, 491.
[2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380–82.

It is to be observed with a great admiration how he reported to his wife, Devānandā the account of his attending the holy sermons of Lord Mahāvīra, delivered at the *Bahuśālaka Caitya*, immediately after returning from there with a gladdened heart.

Then Ṛṣabhadatta drove together with Devānandā in a bullock-cart to the said *Caitya* to attend the holy teachings of the Master with a burning spiritual urge. They, being pleased and satisfied with the religious discourse of Lord Mahāvīra, got initiated by him and joined his ascetic order by renouncing the world[1].

In the middle class family of Śaṁkha and Utpalā[2], the *Śramaṇopāsaka* and *Śramaṇopāsikā* of *Śrāvastī* also, a burning example of a happy conjugal life is found thus that they led an ideal life of the husband and wife with mutual love, faith, devotion and honour endowed with the richness and glow of their pious hearts in the worldly affairs and worship.

Even in the low class houseless wandering family, like that of Maṅkha Maṅkhali and Bhadrā[3], the parents of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, such a peaceful and happy relation existed between this couple that they had borne all hardships and poverty of their household life with calmness, patience and unflinching faith in and devotion to each other in their up and down journeys of the mundane world. But these material sufferings could not lead to the breach of the family peace and their separation from each other.

Thus it is stated[4] that the houseless Maṅkha Mankhali, accompanied by his pregnant wife, Bhadrā, took shelter in the cowshed of the *Brāhmaṇa* Gobahula at *Saravaṇa*, after wandering from village to village, to pass the rainy season there, without getting any residence anywhere in that town.

It was here in this cowshed that their son, Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra was born to them in the midst of poverty, hardships

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 382.
[2] *Ib*, 12, 1, 437-38.
[3] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.

and misery. Even under these pecuniary circumstances they marched together on the journeys of life, experiencing all sorts of suffering by holding the ideal of the sacred union of the husband and wife and their life-long companionship before them.

Only one instance of infidelity of the wife has indirectly been referred to in the text. An another man enjoys the wife of a Sramaṇopāsaka[1] in his absence. But the effect of this sinful act does not affect him, because he is not attached to his wife or any other worldly object. But it does not at all reflect ūpon the general moral breakdown of the family life. On the contrary it may safely be said that the conjugal life as depicted above appears to be an abode of love and peace reigning over the whole family.

Relation among different members of the family

In the society, as depicted in the *BhS*, reverence, devotion and unquestioned obedience to the parents were regarded as the highest natural duties of the son, for it was the spontaneous consequence of the seemly behaviour and great veneration towards all the elders of the family.[2]

Even when a son desired to undertake the state of houselessness by renouncing the worldly life, he did so with the permission of his parents who themselves arranged and performed the consecration ceremony of his departure from the state of houseness with great pomp and grandeur. They also accompanied him on his way to the taking of ascetic life to offer him as the highest alms to his future religious teacher, as it is evidenced in the case of the prince, Jamāli,[3] who was presented by his parents to Lord Mahāvīra.

It was the duty of the parents to bring up their son with best care, attention and education in the first part of his life till he reached the stage of youth and became capable to shoulder the responsibilities of the family and to gratify the five kinds of human desires,[4] viz. sound, touch, taste, object of beauty and smell.

[1] *BhS*, 8, 5, 328. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 13, 6, 491-92.
[3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384-385. [4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.

Then the parents married their son with the best girl[1] belonging to the family of their equal status and placed him in the household affairs by providing him with all necessaries for the second stage of his life marked by the marriage, as it is found in the case of the prince, Mahābala of *Hastināpura*[2].

So the sweet and happy relation between the parents and the son was based on their reciprocal love, natural duties, and moral obligations called upon by the secular life.

The *BhS* presents a vivid picture of the outpourings of the mother's spontaneous love for her son in a scene laid at *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma.*

It is stated here that when the prince, Jamālī,[3] being frightened by the worldly fear, birth, old age and death, expressed his desire to his parents to undertake the state of houselessness from that of houseness with their permission, his mother, having heard this unwelcome, uncharming and unheard request of her dear son began to perspire, became pale, then swooned and fell down at once on the ground. She was very quickly brought to consciousness by her attendants through sprinkling cold water over her eyes and fanning (air) with a palm-leaf fan.

Then she, being consoled by them, tried to persuade her son to give up his resolution of undertaking the state of houselessness and told him, weeping and lamenting thus "you are, son, our only son", "we do not like your separation for a moment even, stay so long, son, we live, then later on, with our death, being old in the affairs of the increasing family-thread (*tantu*), desireless and initiated in the presence of Lord Mahāvīra, undertake the state of houselessness from that of houseness."[4]

In this connection a great religious discussion took place between the prince, Jamālī and his parents in the form of arguments and counter-arguments on the futility and transitoriness of this worldly life and its material enjoyments. But the prince carried his points with his unanswerable arguments and convinced his parents of the validity of his reasons.

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430. [2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [3,4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

So they, being disappointed, finally permitted his leaving the world to undertake the ascetic life.

Even in a low family like that of the houseless Maṅkha couple, Maṅkhali and Bhadrā[1] there is found an account of the natural parental love towards their only son, Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in full brim of their hearts, as it is manifested in their loving care and attention for him with their meagre means. Because the child is the beam of light of happiness, rich in meaning and hope even in a poorest family.

The *BhS* clearly shows that very cordial relation existed between the parents and the son in the family life at that period. But in one case, as already pointed out in connection with royal succession in the third chapter on 'Political conditions', it is learnt that a disgruntled son, like the prince Abhijit Kumāra[2] entertained a feeling of animosity towards his father, king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, for he was deprived by his father of his rightful claim to the throne according to the law of primogeniture. The king placed his nephew, Kesīkumāra in the affairs of his kingdom instead of his own son, the natural heir-apparent to the throne on the ground of his spiritual welfare.

The prince, Abhijit Kumāra[3] submitted to the pious wish of his father with a wounded feeling without showing any sign of revolting attitude and disrespect towards him.

The text also throws light upon the happy relationship existing among the other members of the family, and friends (*mitta*), kinsmen (*nāti*) one's own man (*niyaga*) blood relations (*sayaṇa*), brother-in-law (*saṁbandhī*) and attendants or dependents (*pariyaṇa*)[4], as it is evidenced in the common family gatherings, taking of meals together and entertainments on the occasions of the social or religious ceremonies, such as, the celebrations of the birth of a new born child[5], of marriage[6], of consecration, and of departure for undertaking the state of houselessness[7], etc.

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 540. [2] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. [3] *Ib*, 13, 6, 492.
[4] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 11, 429 ; 16, 5, 577 ; 18, 2, 618. [5] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. [6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[7] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 3, 2, 144 ; 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 13, 6, 491 ; 16, 5, 577 ; 18, 2, 618.

The picture of the family life as depicted in the *BhS* is also found in other Jaina texts.

In addition they give some brilliant examples of the joint family system, the natural devotion and honour and duty of the sons to their parents, and relationship among the brothers.

Thus the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[1] refers to a big joint family of a merchant consisting of his four sons and daughters-in-laws and its other members. They were living together very happily with mutual love, devotion and duties to one another. The merchant was very anxious about the future fate of his dear joint family as to who would maintain and continue the unity and integrity of his happy house after his death.

It is learnt from the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*[2] that the greatest reverence was paid by the sons and daughters to the parents who were regarded like the master, religious teacher and god.

So, it was the natural duty of the sons and daughters to serve them with best care and attention by giving them bath, dressing, decorating and entertaining them with eight kinds of cooked food.[3]

There is also a reference to the salutation by the children to the father, having touched his feet (*pāyavandaya*)[4] everyday, because he was like a teacher and a god to them and his life was more precious to the rest of the family[5].

The mother was also held in great esteem in the society as depicted in other Jaina texts in one of which it is found that king Pūsanandi paid his reverence to his mother and used to take his bath and meal after his mother had enjoyed them first[6].

As regards the relation among the brothers, it is learnt from the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[7] that the *Brāhmaṇa* brothers named

1 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 7, p. 84 f.
2 *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* 3, 1, 135.
Cf. *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1, 13 ; 16, 176. *Ib*, 18, p. 213.
3 *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* 3, 1, 135.
4 Cf. *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1, 13 ; 16, 176. 5 *Ib*, 18, p. 213.
6 *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain.
7 *Nāyādhammakahāo* 16, p. 162, for all these references, see Life in Ancient India, pp. 146, 147.

Soma, Somadatta and Somabhūti of the city of *Campā* used to take their meals in one another's house by turn in order to maintain a happy family relation, although they had their respective separate families.

The features of the domestic relation as revealed in the *BhS* and the other Jaina texts are also corroborated by the evidences of the *Arthaśāstra*[1] and the Aśokan Edicts[2].

Conclusion

Though the *BhS* presents a picture of a happy family life without any breach of peace in it, still it is a matter of conjecture that the peaceful atmosphere of the royal family of the *Kṣatriya* princes might have been affected by the existence of polygamy which might have probably led to the suppression of natural freedom of love of the wife by lowering her honourable position in course of time.

It is learnt that eight separate royal household establishments furnished with a contingent of the palace-staff and attendants and other necessaries of life were maintained by each of the princes, Jamālī[3] and Mahābala[4] for their respective eight wives, probably with the apprehension, lest there might treak out any trouble and quarrel among them.

The union of eight wives endowed with heterogeneous sentiments, behaviours, cultures and education possibly changed the character of the peaceful homelife.

It should carefully be observed that even the rich environment of luxury and pleasure of the royal family could not dissuade the princes—Jamālī and Mahābala from their undertaking the state of houselessness, as the sensual gratification of desires appeared to them impure and non-eternal.

[1] *Arthaśāstra* 48, p. 47 ; Cf. *Ib.*, p. 190.
[2] Rock Edict III ; *Yerraguḍi* Minor Edict ; Rock Edict IV and others.
[3] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384. [4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.

FOURTH SECTION

Dream, Pregnancy and Celebrations of Birth and Marriage.
Dream

It appears from *BhS* that there was the popular belief in dreams current among the people of the society as depicted in this canonical work.

It was the general belief at that period that the mothers of *Tīrthaṅkara* or *Cakravartin*, *Vāsudeva*, *Baladeva* and *Māṇḍalika* woke up by dreaming fourteen, seven, four and one of the following great dreams just after the birth of embryo in the wombs of their respective mothers, viz. elephant, bull, lion, consecration of Lakṣmī, flower-garland, the moon, the sun, flag, water-jar (*kumbha*), lotus-lake, sea, heavenly palace, heap of gems and burning fire[1].

This account of the fourteen great dreams is also corroborated by the evidence of the *Kalpa Sūtra*[2] which also gives the same list of fourteen dreams.

So, according to the *Śvetāmbara* tradition there are fourteen great dreams, but the *Digambara* one[3] mentions sixteen great dreams by adding two more objects, viz. a royal seat marked with a lion's head (*Siṁhāsana*) and a palace of snakes or of the king of snakes (*Nāgabhavana*). The *Digambaras* designate the consecration of Lakṣmī under the word '*diśāgaya*' i. e. Goddess Lakṣmī, being bathed in waters from the trunks of the elephants of the quarters.

There is another instance of the belief in dreams referred to in the *BhS* that Lord Mahāvīra once woke up from his sleep, having perceived the following ten objects in his dream during the period of the stage of his finite knowledge (*chadmasthakāla*), viz. (1) One big frightful and spirited *Tāla-Piśāca* (devil)

1 *BhS*, 16, 6, 579.   2 *Kalpa Sūtra* 4.
3 See *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta Vol. 1, Notes III, 5. pp. 40-41 ; 600-601 ; See also Skt. *Mahāpurāṇa*, First part–twelfth *parva*–LL. 148-152.
(Gajendramavadātāṅga......jvalanaṁ prajvaladdyutiṁ" (151).
Dṛṣṭvaitān ṣoḍaśa-svapnān athādarśaṁ mahīpate...... (152).

defeated in dream, (2) One big white-feathered male cuckoo, (3) One big variously coloured-feathered male cuckoo, (4) One large pair of garlands endowed with all jewels, (5) One big udder of a white cow, (6) lotus-lake furnished with flowers from all sides and on all sides, (7) One large sea murmuring with thousand ripples of waves crossed by swimming with arms, (8) One big sun shining with rays, (9) One great *Manuṣottara* mountain covered with and surrounded by its own green and blue rays of colour, (10) One soul seated on a best throne on the peak of one great *Mandāra*-mountain (*Sumeru*).[1]

The first dream vision of the defeated *Tāla Piśāca* indicated that the *Mohanīya Karma* (*Karma* which obstructs right faith and right conduct) is uprooted by *Śramaṇa* Lord Mahāvīra.

The second one—i. e. the big white-feathered male cuckoo showed the passing of his time by attaining *Śukladhyāna* (pure meditation) and the third one of a variously coloured-feathered male cuckoo meant the teaching, explaining, instructing of twelve *Aṅgas* and the illustrating of the *Gaṇipiṭakas* full of own and others doctrines (*Sasamayaparasamaiyaṁ*) by him viz. *Ācāra, Sūtrakṛitāṅga*......upto *Dṛṣṭivāda*

The fourth one of a big pair of garlands full of jewels meant two kinds of *Dharma* (Religion), viz. *Āgāradharma* and *Anāgāradharma* (Religion for the householder and religion for the houseless monks), while the fifth one of a high udder of a white cow signified the *Śramaṇa Saṅgha* consisting of *Cāturvarṇas* of *Śramaṇa* Lord Mahāvīra, viz. *Śramaṇas* (monks), *Śramaṇīs* (nuns), *Śrāvakas* (laymen) and *Śrāvikās* (laywomen)

The sixth one of a large lotus-lake explained four classes of gods, viz. *Bhavanavāsī, Vāṇavyantara, Jyotiṣka* and *Vaimānika*[2].

The seventh one of a great sea is interpreted as the crossing of the beginningless and endless world-forest by *Śramaṇa* Lord Mahāvīra.

The eighth one—i. e. one large sun, indicated the attainment of the infinite highest, coverless, pure, unobstructed

[1,2] *BhS*, 16, 6, 580.

complete omniscience (*Kevalajñāna*) and self-awareness or intuition (*Darśana*) by the Master.

The ninth one of a great *Manuṣottara* mountain covered with and surrounded by its own blue and grey rays of colour signified the noble glory, praise, honour and fame of *Śramaṇa* Lord Mahāvīra travelled to the celestial, human and Asura (demon-god) worlds.

The tenth one of his own soul seated on the best throne on the peak of one great *Mandāra* mountain meant that the Master, being seated among gods, human beings and Asura-gods expounded *Kevalajñāna*' (omniscience)[1]. There are also other examples of dream-vision given in the *BhS*.

They are as follows :—

"If a man or a woman beholds a big row of horses or a flock of elephants or a herd of oxen in dream and thinks himself or herself mounted by mounting them or he or she beholds one long rope stretching eastward and westward touching both the seas, contracts himself or herself by contracting (it), thinks himself or herself contracted, or he or she beholds one long rope stretching to the east and west and touching both the borders of the Universe, cuts it and thinks himself or herself cut thus, then he or she will attain liberation and put an end to all miseries just at the present moment' [2].

'If he or she perceives a big black yarn...... . upto white yarn and confuses, thinks himself or herself confused thus, he or she will attain salvation and put an end to all miseries by the very life."[3].

Thus the dream vision of "a heap of iron or that of copper or that of tin or that of lead and mounting on it or that of silver or gold or a pile of wood or leaves or skin or straw or husk or ashes or dust and its scattering" experienced by one, indicated his or her attainment of salvation by the second birth.

[1] *BhS*, 16, 6, 580. [2,3] *Ib*, 16, 6, 581.

If he or she beheld the vision of a great heap of gold or that of gem or that of diamond and thought himself or herself mounted by mounting it in dream, he or she would attain his or her liberation and put an end to all miseries by the very life.

If he or she experienced the dream-vision of one big pile of grass like '*Teja-nisarga*' or that of wood, leaves, skins, husks, ashes and dust, various kinds of grass, such as, *sarastambhaka* (read grass), *Viraṇīstambhaka* (a tuft of fragrant grass) *Vaṁśīstambhaka* (a stem or root of bamboo), *Vallimūlastambhaka* (a tuft of stem or root of creeper plant) and thought himself or herself "uprooted thus" by uprooting it in dream, or a jar of milk or of curd or of clarified butter, or of honey and thought himself or herself "pulled up" by pulling it up in dream, or one big horrible pitcher of wine of sour rice gruel or of serum of flesh (i. e. oil and fat) and thought himself "broken up" thus by breaking it up, or a large lotus lake furnished with flowers and thought himself or herself "plunged thus" by plunging into it in dream, or a great sea full of ripples of waves, thought himself or herself "crossed thus" by crossing it in dream, or a big house full of all kinds of jewels and thought himself or herself "gone up" and "entered" into it thus by entering into it during the dream-vision, or a large aerial house inlaid with all kinds of jewels and thought himself or herself mounted thus, by mounting it in dream, he or she would attain liberation and put an end to all miseries by that very life.[1]

There is a further evidence of the general belief in dream as revealed in the following graphic account of the *BhS.*

It is stated here that queen Prabhāvatī[2] Devī, the wife of king Bala of *Hastināpura,* beheld in her dream at the midnight a vision of a lion having "a beautiful and worth-seeing breast which was very white like the silver necklace, milk-ocean, moon-light, particle of water and silver-mountain, firm charming fore arms, round, thick, well-set, excellent sharp teeth, smiling

[1] *BhS,* 16, 6, 581 [2] *Ib,* 11, 11, 428. It is already mentioned in the topic conjugal life in the third section of this chapter.

distorted mouth like a best adorned lotus, delicate measured splendid charming lips like the leaf of a red lotus, and soft and very tender palate tongue, eyes like the heated best gold existing in pot (for making liquid), rolling like the wheel to the right and left, round and pure like the lightning, large thick (heavy) thigh (shank), a fully developed bright shoulder adorned with soft shining, fine, auspicious-marking manes, a raised, well-built and well-borne (beautiful) tail moving to and fro, sporting (rejoicing), gaping mouth like the shape of the moon, and open nails, descending and speaking too much constantly own words"[1].

Having dreamt this vision of a lion, she woke up from her sleep and immediately went to the bed-chamber of her husband, king Bala, to reveal this remarkable dream-vision to him as already pointed out in the previous section in connection with the topic conjugal love. King Bala, having listened to the whole story narrated by his wife, queen Prabhāvatī Devī, interpreted this auspicious and fortune-indicating dream according to his own natural knowledge, intellect and intelligence thus that a great son would be born to them.

Next morning eight interpreters of signs of dream were summoned by the king in order to have the correct reading of this mark of lion beheld by the queen, because they were the experts in this subject.[2]

According to the principles of the *Svapnaśāstra* (text on Dream) they interpreted that the queen had dreamt one of the fourteen great dreams as enumerated above which indicated that she would give birth to a great male child who would become an independent king or a houseless monk in future[3].

The evidences of the traditional belief of the people in dreams as revealed in the *BhS* are also corroborated by those of other Jaina texts.

Thus it is stated in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[4] that one attains glory, if he beholds decorated articles, a horse, an

[1,2] *BhS*, 11, 11, 428. [3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[4] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 8, 13. See Commentary by Śānti Sūri.

elephant, and a white bull in dream and one loses wealth, if he passes urine or red stool in dream.

The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[1] refers to the dream-vision of the ascetic Bambhagutta that a stranger drank his milk kept in a bowl. It was interpreted thus that some body would come to him to learn the sacred lore.

It is also learnt from the birth-story of Lord Mahāvīra related by the *Kalpa Sūtra*[2] that the fourteen great dreams as enumerated in the *BhS* were dreamt by his mother, Triśalā at the time of her conception.

In the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[3] also a similar tale is narrated thus that the queen Dhāriṇī beheld a big elephant entering into her mouth in her dreams-vision during the time of her conception of the future child, Meghakumāra in her womb.

This story reminds one of the birth of Lord Buddha in the womb of his mother, Māyā[4] by entering into it in the form of a white elephant which is represented in sculpture on the *Bhārut Stūpa* and elsewhere.

The evidences of general belief in dreams as revealed in the Jaina texts are also supported by the Buddhist works. Thus it is found in the *Mahāsupina Jataka*[5] that Pasenadi propitiates to avert the effect of his sixteen bad dreams experienced in one night as they, according to the interpretations of the *Brāhmaṇas* indicated that great dangers would befall on his kingdom or treasure or life.

Maintenance of Pregnancy

The *BhS*[6] throws a welcome light upon the course of nourishing the embryo of a child followed by a mother to nourish it in her womb during the period of her pregnancy which is the most delicate and dangerous time of the women's life.

Thus it is stated here that having learnt the result of her auspicious dream from her husband, king Bala, that she would

1 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* p. 274.
2 *Kalpa Sūtra* 4 66—87.
3 *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1, p 8 ff.
4 *Nidānakathā* 1, p. 50 ff.
5 *Mahāsupina Jātaka*, 1, 77.
6 *BhS*. 11, 11, 428.

give birth to a great child as interpreted by the eight readers of signs of dream, queen Prabhāvatī Devī carried about (i.e. nursed) the embryo of her future child, following the course of maintaining it by not taking very cold, hot, bitter, pungent, sour, sweet articles (of food), but by enjoying happiness-producing food, sleep, fragrant flowers, garlands, and moderate and embryo-nourshing diet.

Thus having taken that kind of food at proper place in time and rest on the pure soft bed and seats, enjoyed lonely happiness agreeable to mind in pleasure garden and having her desire commended, fulfilled and honoured, but not-unhonoured and destroyed, and also having become free from disease, infatuation, fear and terror, she nourished that embryo upto the period of nine months and seven and a half days and nights. After the completion of this course with all cares and attentions, she gave birth to a beautiful male child having very tender hands and feet, fully developed five sensed body endowed with the marks of good qual. and a placid face like the shape of the moon, lovely, dear and pleasant to the sight[1].

The evidences of the process of nourishing the embryo and maintaining the pregnancy as mentioned in the *BhS* are also corroborated by those of other Jain texts[2]. They put an emphasis on the observation of the same carefulness by the mother in taking not very cold or hot or acrid or pungent or sour or sweet food but wholesome, moderate embryo-nourishing diet at proper time and place, and also in standing, sitting and sleeping, and dressing and decoration during the period of pregnancy for the safe growth of the future unborn child. Thus she, being free from disease, sorrow and terror should nurse the embryo having her all desires fulfilled and satisfied, as the pregnancy longing crops up in the heart of the mother.

It is stated in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[3] that the unfulfilled desire of queen Dhāriṇī to roam about in the outskirts of *Vebhāra*

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 428.
[2] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1, P. 19 ; Cf. *Avadāna Śatakā* 1, 3, P 15.
[3] *Ib*, 1, P. 10 ff.

mountain of *Rājagṛha* in the monsoon, riding on an elephant, arose in her mind in the third month of her pregnancy. It caused her sickness, reduced her body and led to the loss of her happiness and beauty.[1]

Having received this report of the physical and mental conditions of queen Dhāriṇī, king Śreṇika immediately approached to her and inquired about the cause of her melancholy state. On being asked thus, the queen expressed her pregnancy longing to her husband that she would like to roam about, mounting an elephant in the outskirts of the *Vebhāla (Vaibhāra)* hill.

This unfulfilled desire of queen Dhāriṇī was satisfied by her step-son, prince Abhayakumāra through some divine means adopted by him on the receipt of the information of this state of affairs from his father, king Śreṇika.[2]

The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*[3] also refers to the pregnancy longing of queen Satyavatī to play in an ivory palace, while a case of desire of drinking the moon (*Candapiyaṇa*) by a pregnant lady is mentioned in the *Uttarādhyayana Sutra*.[4]

There are also some references to the desire of the pregnant ladies to take meat and wine during the period of their pregnancy.

Thus *Vivāga Suya*[5] points out to the pregnancy desire of a woman to drink different kinds of wine and to take flesh of various cattle, while the *Avaśyaka Cūrṇi*[6] furnishes the account of yearning of queen Cellaṇā for eating the flesh of the belly of her husband, king Śreṇika mixed with wine.

On receipt of this report, prince Abhaya made some secret devices to save the situation and at the same time to satisfy the desire of the queen by placing flesh with blood and entrails,

1 *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1, 14 p. 11-12.
Also refer to *Uttarādhyayanā Ṭīkā*, p. 132a.
2 *Ib*, 1; 13, 14, 15 16, 17. 3 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* 1. 335, p. 169.
4 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* 3, p. 57. 5 *Vivāga Suya* 2, p. 14.
6 *Avaśyaka Cūrṇi* II, P. 166. The other tradition tells that the piece of flesh was that of hare.

brought from a slaughter's house (*ghayatthāṇa*) just on the belly of the king assuming a pretended unconscious state.

Similarly the *Piṇḍa Niryukti*[1] refers to the rise of pregnancy longing of queen Sudaṁsaṇā to take the flesh of the deer on the sight of their images in a painting hall, while the *Vivāga*[2] *Suya* tells of the desire of another lady to take abundant food, drink, spices, sweets and wine.

The evidences of the Jaina texts with regard to the pregnancy-longings are also supported by the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist works[3].

This fact of desire of the pregnant women corresponds to realities.

Birth and its Celebration

The *BhS* presents a vivid picture of the celebration of birth of a new born child who was the light of joy to the whole family whether it is rich or poor.

Thus it is stated in the text that when the auspicious message of the birth of a male child given to by the queen, Prabhāvatī Devī was conveyed by her chamber-maids to her husband, king Bala of *Hastināpura*, he took a silver pitcher filled with pure water and consecrated (washed) their heads with sacred water, honoured them with the diamond of his crown and ornaments put on by him, gave abundant gifts of love suitable for livelihood, and entertained them thus, and then payed respect to them by making them free i. e. removing the bondage of their slavery.[4]

In honour of the birth-ceremony of his new born son king Bala ordered the release of prisoners, raised the standard of weights (*ummāṇaṁ*), made the inner and outer parts of the city

[1] *Piṇḍa Niryukti*, 80. [2] *Vivāga Suya*, 3, P. 23.
[3] See *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, *Śarirasthāna*, Ch. III, P. 90–92; also Cf. *Mahāvagga* X, 2, 5, p. 343; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Appendix III, pp. 221–8. Refer to Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain canons by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 149–50 for details.
[4] *BhS*, 11, 11, 428.

of *Hastināpura* sprinkled, swept & besmeared with cowdung by his servants, and caused to erect thousand pillars (*yūpas*) and thousand discuses (*cakka*). Then he worshipped and honoured them with great pomp and grandeur.[1]

The king celebrated this auspicious birth ceremony together with his friends, relatives, kinsmen, staff and subjects for ten days. By his order it was marked with the remission of customs and taxes (*ussukkaṁ-ukkaraṁ*), non-cultivation of land (*ukkiṭṭhaṁ*), non-donation (*adijjaṁ* i. e. selling), non-measuring (*amijjaṁ*), non-entrance of the royal officers into the house of cultivators (i. e. unwelcome visit of police officers, *abhaḍappavesaṁ*) non-taking of anything with impunity and unjust punishment (*adaṁḍakodaṁḍimaṁ*) and non-payment of debt (*adharimaṁ*).[2]

This celebration of birth was provided with songs and dances presented by courtesans and actors followed by many classes of actors (*aṇegatālācarāṇucariyaṁ*) and the unharnessed *Mṛdaṅga* and it was furnished with the unfaded flower-garlands for the social entertainment of the people.[3]

Thus the birth-ceremony of his son was made delightful and sportive (*Pamuiyaṁ-pakkīliyaṁ*) by the king Bala together with the city and country people (*sapurajaṇajāṇavayaṁ*) for ten days.[4]

On this occasion he offered and caused to offer hundreds, thousands, lakhs of sacrifices,[5] gifts, shares of desired objects and himself received and caused to receive such quantities of presents during this period extending for ten days.[6]

The king and queen, Bala and Prabhāvatī Devī performed the birth-ceremony (*jāyakamma*) of their child by cutting his naval-string and burying it into the ground on the first day, that of showing the moon and the sun to him (*Caṁda-Sūradaṁsaṇaya*) on the third day, that of keeping the whole night vigil (*jāgariyaṁ*)

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429 2,4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
5 *Ib*, „ „ (The figure of Sacrifices seems to be an exaggeration).
6 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.

on the sixth day, and that of purification (*asuijāyakammakaraṇe*) on the eleventh day, when the impurity caused by the birth of the child ended[1].

On the twelfth day they, having prepared abundant food, drink, sweets and other dainties, entertained their friends, kinsmen, relatives, attendants and many others upto the *Kṣatriyas*[2] with those things and honoured them with rich presents.

Then before all of them the parents christened their child with an attributive name derived from qualities, descending from grandfather, great-grandfather, thus coming down from many successive generations to generations, a name fit and worthy to the family thus :

"As our boy, is the son of king Bala and the uterine son of queen Prabhāvatī, so let the name of this boy of ours be Mahābala[3]".

Then the child, Mahābala was received by five nurses[4], viz. *Khīradhāīe* (Wet-nurse), *Majjaṇadhāīe* (bath-nurse), *Maṁḍaṇadhāīe* (toilet nurse), *Kīlāvaṇadhāīe* (play-nurse), and *Aṁkadhāīe* (lap-nurse) and he grew up day by day with happiness under the undecaying and unhindered conditions.

Next, at proper time the parents of that Mahābala celebrated the following ceremonies of their son in succession, viz the ceremony of crawling on the ground (*Paraṁgāmaṇa*), that of walking (*payacaṁkamaṇaṁ*), that of tasting the solid food (*jemāmaṇa*), that of increasing the quantity of food (*piṁḍavaddhaṇaṁ*), that of the utterance of the first intelligible word from his mouth (*pajjapāvaṇaṁ*), that of the boring of ears (*kaṇṇavehaṇaṁ*), the birth-anniversary (*saṁvaccharapaḍilehaṇaṁ*), tonsure-ceremony (*coloyaṇagaṁ*), initiation with sacred thread (*uvaṇayaṇaṁ*) and many other ceremonies pertaining to the womb, birth, etc.[5]

[1-3] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.

[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. See *Nāyādhammakahāo* I, p. 21. Also refer to the *Divyāvadāna* (XXXII, p 475) which refers to four classes of nurses, viz. *aṅkadhātrī*, *mālā*, *stana* and *krīḍāpanika*; also *Avadāna* 1, V. p 28. Refer to Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain. f. 4. 36, p. 151.

[5] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.

The birth of a male child even in an ordinary family was celebrated by his parents according to the above mentioned prescribed social customs within the limit of their poor means, as it is evidenced by the fact that the poor parents of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, Maṅkhali and Bhadrā performed the birth-ceremony of their child in the cowshed of the *Brāhmaṇa*, Gobahula by name, where he was born, according to their meagre economic resources[1].

The evidences of the celebration of birth ceremony of a child are fully corroborated by other Jaina texts[2].

Thus it is stated in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[3] that the birth of the child, Meghakumāra born of queen Dhāriṇī, was celebrated by king Śreṇika according to the social customs as prescribed in the *BhS*. Then this prince was handed over to the charge of the foreign nurses for his fostering under their care and attention[4].

Marriage

Marriage was a sacrament in the society as depicted in the *BhS*. After the completion of education the second stage of life of an individual began with his marriage which was a spiritual union of two souls of man and woman.

The terms '*Pāṇiṁ giṇhāvimsu*'[5] used in the *BhS* and other texts denote marriage which means the holding of the hand (of the girl), a symbol of *Sva karaṇa*, i.e. formal transfer of the father's dominion over the girl to the husband.

[1] *BhS*. 15, 1, 540

[2] Cf *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1, p 21; *Ovaiyā Sutta* 40, p. 185; *Kalpa Sūtra* 5, 102-108.

[3] *Nāyādhammakahāo* 1, p 20-21.

[4] *Ib*. I, p 21. (The *Nisītha Curṇi*, 13, p. 856 ff) makes a detailed discussion on various classes of nurses, especially the wet-nurse and the effect of her milk on the child. Refer also *Paṇha Tīkā* 418 ff; Cf. also *Suśruta Saṁhitā Śarirasthāna*, Ch. X, see 25, p. 284: see *Magapakkha Jātaka* (538), VI, p. 2f; *Lalitavistara*, 100. Refer to Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina canons by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 151 f. note no. 38.

[5] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.

The text gives a graphic account of the marriage ceremony of a royal family which was performed with great solemnity and pomp and grandeur in accompaniment of music.

It appears that the age for the boy and girl was determined by their capability of enjoying the worldly life at the attainment of their full youth.

Form of marriage

The picture of the marriage-ceremony as depicted in the *BhS* reveals only one form of marriage arranged by the parents of the boy. It may be called a mixed *Brāhma-Prājāpatya-Āsura* marriage of well developed and grown up boys and girls of mature age belonging to the families of equal and same social status, profession and caste, but having the different ancestral families as a rule, for the brides were to be brought from their parents' houses to that of the bridegroom and they were presented rich gifts of dowry.

Thus it is learnt that the parents of prince Mahābala, the king and queen, Bala and Prabhāvatī Devī of *Hastināpura* caused him to accept the hands of eight princesses of a similar complexion and same age and endowed with the beauty, youth and qualifications by bringing them to their own house from the eight royal families of equal status[1].

Marriage Ceremony

The text presents a vivid picture of the marriage ceremony as celebrated by the people of its period in the following manner.

First, the bridegroom took his bath, performed the worship of the house-god (*balikamma*), purified himself by an expiatory sacrifice of charms and auspicious marks (*kaya-kouya-pāyacchitta*) and then adorned himself with all kinds of dresses and ornaments.

Next, he, having performed the rite for averting the evil misfortune by the worship of solemn ceremonies and been presented auspicious articles *Tilaga* and *Kaṁkaṇa*[2] by the married

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.
[2] *Ib*, „ „ (*Tilaga* is the auspicious mark on the forehead, while *Kaṁkaṇa* is the band tied round the wrist of the bridegroom or bride.

ladies (*avidhavāvahu-uvaṇīyaṁ*) with the blessing words in accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music (*gīyavāiya*)[1] was caused to accept the hands of eight brides who also performed similar auspicious ceremonies just before the celebration of the marriage which was solemnized by the holding of their hands by the bridegroom at a time on the same day.

The terms '*Avidhavā-vahu-uvaṇīyaṁ*'[2] used here in connection with the performance of the marriage ceremony of prince Mahābala denote that the auspicious articles such as '*Tilaka*' and '*Kaṅkaṇa* (sacred band) etc. were brought near the bridegroom by the not-widowed housewives (i. e. married ladies). And they clearly imply that the widows were not associated with the marriage ceremony, perhaps with the superstitious belief that some misfortune might befall the married couple due to their participation in the same.

The *BhS* provides a long list of marriage gifts and other necessaries of life presented by the parents of the prince, Mahābala to his eight wives, such as, money, ornaments, dresses, metal images of various goddesses, auspicious articles, palaces with their respective flags and banners, articles of furniture, lights, various kinds of utensils, contingents of palace-staff, different classes of transports, eight herds of cattle, each consisting of ten thousand cows, eight villages, each having ten thousand families[3], etc.

As regards the contingents of palace-staff they have already been discussed in detail in the administrative section of the third chapter on 'Political conditions' under the heading 'palace-staff', while the dresses and ornaments, palaces and articles of furniture, etc. are dealt with in this chapter under the titles 'Dresses and ornaments', 'Houses' and 'Articles of furniture' respectively. And the villages, herds of cattle, images of goddesses, money and various kinds of transports will be

1,2 *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.
3 *Ib.* „ „ The population of ten thousand families in a village seems to be an exaggeration, perhaps it is the favourite figure of those days referred to in the *BhS*.

treated in the chapter on the 'Economic conditions' under the topics 'Agriculture', 'Dairy farming', 'Metallurgy', 'Currency' and 'Transport' respectively.

The marriage gifts and other necessaries of life presented to the eight brides were divided by their husband, prince Mahābala into eight equal shares and each one of them was given to his individual wife.

The account of the marriage ceremony, its form, social customs connected with it and presents to the brides as revealed in the *BhS* is corroborated by other Jaina texts.[1]

In regard to the marriageable age they also laid stress on the maturity of the boy and girl capable enough to lead and enjoy the worldly life. But the *Piṇḍa-Niryukti*[2] warns the guardians thus that if they cannot give their daughter in marriage just after the reaching of the stage of her puberty, they will be born in hell on their deaths.

The same sentiment of this work on the marriageable age is echoed by the *Manu-Smṛti*[3].

Like the *BhS* the *Nāyādhammakahāo* also reveals that the negotiated form of marriage of the boy and girl belonging to the families of equal status was the general custom of the society as prevalent during its period. It was arranged and performed by the parents of the boy by bringing the girl to their house from that of her parents, as it is evidenced in the case of the marriage of prince Meghakumāra, the son of king Śreṇika and queen Dhāriṇī.

Besides this one, there are in the Jaina texts some instances of *Sayaṁvara*[4] (marriage by self-choice), *Gāndharva*[5]

[1] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1, 24. [2] *Piṇḍa-Niryukti*, 509.
[3] *Manu-Smṛti*, IX, 88.
[4] *Nāyādhammakahāo* 16, p. 169.
[5] *Paṇha Ṭīkā* 4, 16, p. 85; *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā* 9, p. 141; 13, p. 190.

(marriage by mutual love), *Rākṣasa*[1] (marriage by forcible method), and other forms of marriage.[2]

With regard to the marriage-gifts like the *BhS* the Nāyādhammakahāo[3] also provides a long list of articles and other necessaries of life presented by the parents of the bridegroom to the newly married brides. In other Jaina works[4] there are references to the dowry system prevailing in the society of their periods.

The description of the marriage system as found in the *BhS* and other Jaina texts is fully supported by those of the Buddhist[5] and Brāhmaṇical works[6] in which the marriage is also treated as sacrament, a union of two incomplete human beings into a spiritual whole. The couple is united together by the religious bond with an ideal for creating compatibility, finally by subordinating their biological necessity to the ethical, intellectual and spiritual demand of a higher self.

Because there are both physical and psychic unions manifested in the entrance of the husband into the womb of the wife in the form of semen and (his) birth as the son.[7]

[1] *Brh. Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā* p. 57.
Kamalāmelā was abducted and married by Sāgaracanda).

[2] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī* II, p. 81 ; also Cf. *Niśītha Cūrṇī* II, p. 81 ; *Āvaśyaka Ṭīkā* (Hari) p. 580a ; also refer to *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. VII, p. 116ff. (Marriage with step-mother) for sister-marriage see *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī* II, p. 178, and for cousin marriage refer to *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā* p. 189a.

[3] *Nāyādhammakahāo Ṭīkā* I, p. 42a f ; *Antagaḍā* pp. 33-35 trans. by Barnett, *Vide* Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 156-157.

[4] *Uvāsagadasāo* 8, p. 61. (The wives of Mahāsayaga of *Rāyagiha* possessed their ancestral property), also refer to the *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā* 4, p. 88, (A king of *Vārāṇasī* presented a dowry of one thousand villages, one hundred elephants & abundant wealth. One lakh of foot-soldiers, and ten thousand horses to his son in-law). See also *Rāmāyaṇa* 1-47. 4 ff. The *Jātaka* refers to the custom of performing the marriage with bath money presented by father to his daughter particularly in the case of royal marriage (Mehta, P.B. 8. 1, p. 281). Refer to Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain for all these details-p. 175.

[5] See Buddhist India, Rhys Davids, p. 32.

[6] *Manu-Smṛti* 9, 8.

[7] *Ib*, 9, 8.

The same sentiment of the *Manu-Smṛti* on the union of the husband and wife is echoed in the *BhS*[1] in a different form. It is stated here that the combined body of the mother and father in the son lasts as long as his worldly body (*bhavadhāraṇīya śarīra*) exists but when it, becoming weaker perishes at last, the combined body of the mother and the father in the son also gets destroyed.

FIFTH SECTION

Position of Women as depicted in the BhS

In the society the women appear in different capacities pertaining to the family and civic life, such as, maiden[2], bride[3], wife[4], mother[5], widow[6], nun[7], teacher[8], queen-regent[9], musician[10], dancer[11], actress[12]. nurse[13], maid-servant[14], slave[15], courtesan[16], prostitute[17], etc.

So their position can be determined by these different status held by them in the family as well as in the society. A woman's life may be divided into three periods in relation to the family, viz. girlhood, stage of wife, and widowhood and thus her position can be studied from these three stand-points, each of which is connected with a distinct stage of her life.

Different stages of Women's Life

Maiden

The term '*Dāriyā*'[18] used in this canonical work denotes an unmarried girl or maiden.

1 *BhS*, 1, 7, 61. 2 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441; 15, 1, 561. 3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
4 *Ib*, 1, 1, 4; 9, 33, 380; 9, 33, 384; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 428; 11, 11, 430; 13, 6, 491; 15, 1, 540; 15, 1, 557.
5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 384; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 428; 12, 2, 441; 13, 6, 491; 15, 1, 540.
6 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441; 11, 11, 430. 7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382; 12, 2, 442.
8 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. 9 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
10 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 11, 11, 429-30.
11 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 11, 11, 429-30. 12 *Ib*, 9, 33, 388; 11, 11, 429.
13 *Ib*, 9. 33, 385; 11, 11, 429-30. 14 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382; 11, 11, 429-30.
15 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382; 12, 2, 442; 11, 11, 430.
16 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383, 385; 11, 11, 429 (*gaṇiyā*).
17 *Ib*, 15, 1, 560 (*Kharittiāe*). 18 *Ib*, 15, 1, 561.

In the first part of her life as maiden the woman remained under the loving care and protection of her parents till her marriage, as it is evidenced by the fact that the eight wives of the prince, Mahābala of *Hastināpura*[1] were brought up under the shade of affection and guardianship of their respective parents before they were wedded to the said prince.

As regards the education of the girls the *BhS* refers to the princess Jayantī[2], who was a highly well-instructed woman and specially capable of arguing on the difficult points in the abstract doctrine of philosophy with Lord Mahāvīra.

But there is no other instance except this one to cite that a particular arrangement was made for imparting education to the girls belonging to all the social grades, although there is the mention of some educated married women and nuns.

It appears that a maiden of marriageable age had no choice left to her in the matter of selection of her husband but to accept the bridegroom selected by her parents as her husband[3].

Wife

The terms *'Bhāriyā'*[4] and *'Bhajjā'*[5] occurring in this text and other works denote a newly wedded bride or a wife.

In connection with the topic, 'Marriage ceremony' it has already been discussed in this chapter that every new bride in the royal family of Bala, the king of *Hastināpura* was presented the gift of one independent palace together with the household establishments furnished with all necessaries of life, quite separate from those of her co-wives who were also married by her husband, the prince, Mahābala[6] along with her at the same time on the same day.

The study of the list of the marriage gifts clearly shows the economic status of those women as wife in the royal family that they enjoyed a certain amount of right to property with

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.
[2] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441-42.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430 ; 15, 1, 561.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384 ; 15 ; 15, 1, 561.
[5] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
[6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.

regard to these presents which they could use independently according to their desires.

But it does not throw any light upon their right of inheritance to their husband's property.

The above evidence further shows that the married woman in the royal family had to bear the presence of her co-wives, because polygamy was the prevailing custom and fashion among the ruling *Kṣatriya* princes of those days, as it is evidenced in the cases of Mahābala[1] and Jamālī.[2]

But in the *BhS* there is not a single instance to cite that the practice of polygamy existed among the members of the other castes belonging to the high,[3] low,[4] and middle[5] class families respectively. On the other hand it is found that the married wife was the sole mistress of the household affairs there as the co-partner of her husband in all conditions of life.

Though the text does not throw any light upon the breach of peace in the royal families of the princes, Mahābala and Jamālī due to polygamy practised by them, yet it may be presumed that the existence and growth of this system might have caused the suppression of the natural freedom of women and thus degraded their position as wife in those ruling *Kṣatriya* families in course of time.

It is to be observed further that the *BhS* does not tell anything about the conditions of the eight wives of the respective princes, Mahābala[6] and Jamālī,[7] after their undertaking of the state of houselessness.

The union of eight wives of different sentiments, behaviours, cultures and education must have changed the whole character of the royal family and consequently lowered their status also, as it is evidenced by the fact of accomodating and

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.
[3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380-82 (Refer to Ṛṣabhadatta and Devānandā).
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540 (Refer to Maṅkhali and Bhadrā).
[5] *Ib*, 12, 1, 438 (Śaṅkha and Utpalā); 15, 1, 557 (Revatī).
[6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

guarding them in separate palaces provided with necessary staff and requisites of the worldly life.

The evidences of polygamy prevailing among the ruling *Kṣatriya* princes are fully corroborated by the other Jaina texts in which many cases of the practice of this system of marriage are found to exist in the society of their periods.

Thus it is found there that like the *Kṣatriya* princes, Jāmālī and Mahābala. the kings—Bharata,[1] Vikramajasa[2] and Seṇiya[3] and his son, prince Meghakumāra[4] figure in the Jaina works as polygamous husbands each of whom maintained a large establishment for his individual wife in the harem.

As a result of supporting a big contingent of the palace-staff there was certainly a heavy drainage of money on the financial resources of the family, however wealthy and prosperous it might have been.

The main idea behind the practice of polygamy by the ruling *Kṣatriya* princes was probably the sensual gratification of their desires, combined with the power of wealth, social position, priviledge, vanity, and political alliance.

Similarly there is found the existence of the widely prevalent system of polygamy among the *Kṣatriya* princes of the society depicted in the two great Epics—the *Mahābhārata*[5] and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[6]

In this connection the views of the prince, Jamālī on the sensual gratification of desires with his eight wives, expressed during his arguments advanced to his parents for obtaining their permission to undertake the state of houselessness in the presence of Lord Mahāvīra, should be taken into consideration to determine the position of woman as wife in the family of those days of the *BhS.*

1,2 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 18, p. 239. 3 *Antagaḍa*, 7, p. 43.
4 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1, 24, p 23.
5 *Mahābhārata* "Arjuna and other princes were polygamous husbands.
6 *Rāmāyaṇa*, King Daśaratha himself was polygamous.

On being told by his mother to enjoy the wordly life of pleasure with his eight young beautiful wives, the prince advanced the following arguments to cross her plea by showing the futility and transitoriness of the worldly enjoyments and pleasures thus :

"Human gratifications of sensual desires are impure and non-eternal. Like the discharge or flow of vomitting, bilious fever, phlegm, rheum, semen, blood and passing of excreta, urine, etc, they are full of unpleasant ugly urine and excreta, inauspicious inhaling and exhaling of the smell of the dead, short-lived and light natured. They are the causes of pain, hardship, unhappiness, always condemned by the saints, infinite worldly bondages and consequences of bitter fruit (of sinful acts). Like the lightning and pile of grass they are bound by unending sufferings and hindrances to attaining liberation[1]".

This observation of Jamālī throws a side-light on the position of the women in the family.

But it cannot be generalized from this particular case of this *Kṣatriya* prince, because this canonical work bears ample evidences to show that the married women, like the queen, Prabhāvatī Devī, the wife of king Bala[2], Devānandā, the *Brāhmaṇī* of Ṛṣabhadatta[3], Utpalā, the wife of Śaṅkha *Śreṣṭhī*[4], Revatī of *Meṇḍhikagrāma*[5], Bhadrā, the wife of Maṅkhali[6] and others were regarded by their respective husbands as equal partners in their work and worship.

The picture of the conjugal life of Ṛṣabhadatta and Devānandā[7], as already depicted in this chapter, clearly reveals that the wife in a rich aristocratic family held a dignified position as a partner of her husband in the path of his work and worship of life sanctified by the touch of love and bound by the union of their hearts.

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384.
[2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380-82.
[4] *Ib*, 12, 1, 438.
[5] *Ib*, 15, 1, 557. Revai's husband does not appear on the scene, but her position in the family is determined by her freedom of activity.
[6] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380-82.

Similarly in the middle class family, Utpalā, the wife of Śaṅkha *Sreṭṭhi* of *Srāvasti* occupied an honourable position as the co-partner of her husband in his life and religion, while in the houseless roving family of the Maṅkha couple Bhadrā[1] is found following her husband, Maṅkhali as a devoted companion in the up and down journeys of his life by experiencing all kinds of hardship[2].

All these evidences from the *BhS* clearly show that the woman held a position of honour and dignity as wife in the family as well as in the society.

Institution of Guarding Women

The *BhS* shows that the 'Institution of guarding women' was maintained by the royal and rich aristocratic families where a veil of privacy was forced on the ladies who lived in the inner famale appartment *(aṁteura = antaḥpura)*[3] provided with a large retinue of their respective attendants and other paraphernalia.

It is learnt further that a married lady of the royal family could not appear at the outer assembly hall in public prior to her attainment of motherhood, as it is evidenced in the case of Prabhāvatī Devī, the queen of king Bala of *Hastināpura*[4].

There is no doubt about it that a restriction was put on the social freedom of the women by not allowing the right of free movement to them before the attainment of their motherhood.

Behind this system of their seclusion there was probably the prevailing theory that the woman should be kept at home throughout her life under the protections of her father in childhood up to the stage of marriage, then her husband in youth after marriage and her son in old age respectively.

But there are the evidences to show that the ladies in the royal and aristocratic families appear in public in the company

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 540.
[2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[3] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 9, 33, 380 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 11, 428.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.

of their respective husbands, as it is evidenced in the cases of queen Cellanā,[1] queen Prabhāvatī Devī,[2] Devānandā[3] and others[4] as mother.

In this connection it should be observed that the women belonging to the common family enjoyed the freedom of coming out to receive guests and even to move in public as their husbands' companions in the journeys of life, as it is found in the cases of Utpalā[5], Revatī[6] and Bhadrā[7] respectively.

These facts make it clear that there was a certain amount of restriction on the free movement of the newly married young ladies as evidenced in the conditions of the eight wives of the prince, Mahābala[8] who were provided with all necessaries of life and separate establishments.

Mother

As mother the woman was the virtual mistress of the family, enjoying a unique position in all the internal household affairs assigned to her care and attention.

It has already been pointed out that the mother is mentioned before the father (*ammāpiyaro*,[9] in the list of the family relations as given by the *BhS*. This grouping of words clearly suggests that more reverence was paid to the mother than that to the father in the family.

But this picture does not show a relatively lower position of the latter than that of the former, because it was a patriarchal family[10] under the headship of the father.

Moreover, there was the prevailing custom of attributing a name of a new born male child after that of his father, as it is found in the cases of Mahābala, the son of king Bala[11], Gośala Maṅkhaliputra, the son of Maṅkha Mankhali[12] and also the prince Śivabhadra, the son of king Śiva.[13]

1 *BhS* 1, 1, 4. 2 *Ib*, 11, 11, 431. 3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382.
4 *Ib*. 12, 1, 441–42. 5 *Ib*, 12, 1, 437. 6 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557.
7 *Ib*, 15, 1, 540. 8 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. 9 *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.
10 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 11, 428 ; 13, 6, 491.
11 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. 12 *Ib*, 15, 1, 540. 13 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

In this connection a reference may be made to the queen, Mṛgāvatī[1], the mother of king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī*, who appears to have acted as the queen-regent of her minor son for some period in the absence of her husband, king Śatānīka.

Widow

In connection with the marriage ceremoney of the prince Mahābala it has been mentioned that only the married ladies (*avihavāvahu*)[2] could bring and present the auspicious articles to the bridegroom.

This evidence of the prevailing marriage custom clearly implies that the widows were not associated with this ceremony.

Thus the reference to the terms '*Avihavāvahu uvaṇīya*' occuring in the *BhS* reflects upon the degraded position of the widows in general in the family as well as in the society of its period.

Civic Status of Women

The women appear also outside the pale of the family as members of a wider circle of the society in different capacities in the civic life.

Women as religious students

Two classes of the female students, studying the Vedas and other sacred texts are found here—the one class prosecuted studies till the marriage,[3] while the other one remained unmarried throughout the life and continued the life-long studies of religious texts as prescribed by the ascetic order.[4]

It has already been mentioned in connection with the topic '*Āśrama*' that the princess, Jayantī,[4] the daughter of king Sahasrānīka, the sister of king Śatānīka and the aunt of king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī* belonged to the latter class of students.

At the *Candrāvataraṇa Caitya* in the city of *Kauśāmbī* she took part in the abstruse philosophical discussion with Lord

[1] *BhS*, 12, 2, 441-42.
[2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[4,5] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441-43.

Mahāvīra on the doctrine of *Karma*, binding of *Karma* and attainment of liberation of the being which was under the influence of the five senses. She was pleased and satisfied with the holy teachings of explanation of the great Master and eventually she got herself initiated by him to *Nirgrantha* religion and was admitted to the ascetic order.[1]

Similarly the *BhS* provides the information that the married woman, like Devānandā[2], also joined the *Nirgrantha* order as nun, together with her husband, Ṛṣabhadatta, after getting initiated by Lord Mahāvīra and by Āryā Candanā,[3] the nun respectively to *Nirgrantha* religion. She also attained *Śramaṇahood* and liberation by studying the prescribed religious texts, practising various acts of austerities and meditation.

Here is found an instance of an exhalted position of the woman held by the nun, Āryā Candanā as religious teacher who was well-versed in all the *Aṅgas* and the *Upāṅgas*.[4]

It is said in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[5] that she was formerly a slave girl of a king, but she was released on the intervention of Lord Mahāvīra and subsequently was initiated and admitted by him to the *Nirgrantha* order. Under the guidance and holy teachings of the Master she rose to such a stature of highest honour and glory as nun and religious teacher in the

[1] *BhS*, 12, 2, 441-43. [2-4] *Ib*, 9, 33-380, 81, 82,

[5] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*—p. 318; see also *Āva. Niryukti*—520 f. *Āva Ṭīkā*—p. 294 f.; for other version see *Mahāpurāna*—II. LL. 343-347, p. 466. (It is stated here that Candanā was the daughter of king Ceṭaka. Once while playing in the forest, she was captured by a lascivious Vidyādhara, but was left by him in the forest out of fear from his own wife. There some forester (*Vanacarapatiḥ*), finding her in such a state offered her to a merchant named Vṛṣabhadatta with the intention of getting money. Candanā was tortured by Subhadrā, the wife of that merchant in various ways lest her husband fell in love with her. She was given bad food and was chained. One day some time Lord Mahāvīra went to the city of *Kauśāmbi* for begging alms. Having seen him coming she tried to approach him from her chained condition and to honour and worship him. Immediately all fetters got broken automatically and her desire was fulfilled. Later on she reunited with her relatives and friends.

Saṅgha that she had the privilege to initiate Devānandā, the *Brāhmaṇī* and to teach her the prescribed religious texts, various acts of austerities and meditation.

Next, the *BhS* gives an account of the participation of the women in the public life as the members of the household staff in the royal and rich aristocratic families in different capacities, such as, chamber-lain[1], nurses[2], attendants, maid-servants, slaves[3] etc., courtesans[4], musicians[5], dancers[6] and actresses[7] and as prostitutes in the larger society.

It has already been discussed in connection with the topic 'Personal and Palace-staff' in the third chapter and 'Family servants' in the third section of this chapter respectively that a large number of the female members formed the rank of the contingent of the staff of the inner female apartment in the royal house[8] as well as in the aristocratic family[9].

Female servants and slaves also appeared in the domestic service of the wealthy merchants, as they are found serving the families of the well-to-do bankers of *Tuṅgikā*[10].

A clear distinction has been made between the female slaves and servants of all categories by using the term '*Dāsī*'[11] in the *BhS*.

The fact of the employment of the female slaves in the household service is also corroborated by the *Uttarādhyayana* commentary in which a reference is made to "a festival of the female slaves" (dāsīmaha)[12].

The *BhS* thus clearly shows that there was the existence of slavery of the women, but it makes no reference to the maltreatment meted out to them by their masters. On the other hand there are instances to show that the female slaves along

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 430. 2 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 11, 11, 429-430.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382; 11, 11, 428, 430; 12, 2, 441-42.
4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 9, 33, 385; 11, 11, 429.
5,7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 11, 11, 429, 430. 8 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
9 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. 10 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107. 11 *Ib*. 2, 5, 107.
12 *Uttarādhyayana* commentary, 3, p. 124.

with the other maid-servants of all ranks were integrated into the household and treated as members of the family, although they held an inferior position in the domestic relation.

There is an instance of the removal of slavery of some female slaves by king Bala of *Hastināpura* on the occasion of the birth of his son, Mahābala, as already mentioned in connection with the celebration of 'birth ceremony'.

But the fact remains there that the slavery was a recognized institution maintained by the kings, rich aristocrats and wealthy merchants of the society as known to the *BhS.* Though there was this general prevailing custom, yet the evidence of manumission of slavery shows that a moral consciousness was growing in the society.

Thus the text presents a picture of position of women appearing in their different capacities in the civic life.

Women as Courtesan and prostitute

The women figure also as courtesan[1] and public prostitute[2] in the civic life as depicted in the *BhS.*

The term *Gaṇiyā*[3] as used here denotes a courtesan who had the privilege to be the member of the royal retinue. Formerly it signified a female member of the *Gaṇa* (clan) who was the beauty-queen for the enjoyment of the whole assembly of the people, united together by a common social, economic and political relationship.[4]

This view seems to be supported by the *Vinayavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*[5] which states that Āmrapāli was the common courtesan of the *Gaṇarājas* of the *Vaiśālian* Republic as the object of enjoyment of the *Gaṇa* (*Gaṇabhogyā*).

Manu also associates together the *Gaṇa* and the *Gaṇikā* whose food is condemned by the scholars.

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 383 ; 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 11, 429.
2 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330 (*Asati*) ; 15, 1, 560 (*Kharitiā*).
3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429 (*Gaṇiyāvara*).
4 Cakladar-Studies in *Vātsyāyana's Kāma-Sūtra*, p. 199 f. *Vasu.*, p. 103.
5 *Vinayavastu* of *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, p. 17 f.

"Gaṇānāṁ Gaṇikānāṁ ca viduṣā ca jugupsitaṁ[1]."

The *BhS* refers to a number of young beautiful ladies employed as courtesan in the service of the royal families, like those of Jamālī, the *Kṣatriya* prince[2] and Bala, the king of *Hastināpura*.[3]

They had the privilege to hold the royal umbrella, golden water-pitcher, fan, chowrie and golden stick during the pilgrimage of the prince Jamālī to Lord Mahāvīra at the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* to undertake the state of houselessness.[4]

They also formed the music and dramatic parties of the royal family where they entertained and gladdened its members, particularly the young princes and their wives by the presentation of their songs and performance of dance-drama in the theatre hall,[5] as it is evidenced in the cases of Jamālī[6] and Mahābala.[7]

It has already been mentioned in connection with the birth-ceremony of the royal child, Mahābala that it was provided with the best artist-courtesans (*gaṇiyāvara*) followed by many classes of actors to entertain the people by their presentation of songs and performance of various kinds of dances and dramas (*nānāvidhaprekṣhācāruscvitā*).[8]

Besides these courtesans employed in the service of the royal family, there is an incidental reference in the *BhS* to an actress who exhibited her art of dance-drama before many thousands of the audience in a public theatre hall.[9]

These evidences clearly reveal that the courtesans were highly qualified in the art of music, dance and dramatic performance and they were the essential part of the palace staff.

Thus they occupied a privileged and honoured position, though inferior to that of the royal ladies in the king's court.

[1] *Manu Smṛti*, IV, 209.
[2] *BhS*, 3, 33, 383, 385. [3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[5] *Ib*, 1, 11, 429. [6] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. [7] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[8] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429, (Comm). [9] *Ib*, 11, 10, 422.

Women as prostitute

The women appeared also as public prostitute in the society of the period of the *BhS*, as it is clearly suggested by a pointed reference to the running of brothel (*asatīposaṇayā*)[1] by a class of people for earning their livelihood.

It is further stated that in the process of births and rebirths Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra was twice born as prostitute (*kharittāe*)[2] due to the consequences of his sinful acts.

These evidences make it clear that prostitution was a public institution existing in the society as depicted in the *BhS*.

A critical examination of the above facts clearly determines that the women occupied three positions in the society as known to it; the first one was the exalted position of honour and dignity as maiden, wife, mother, religious student, teacher and nun; the second one was inferior to that of the first one as members of the staff of the inner female apartment belonging to all grades including the female slaves and courtesans; and the third one was the most humiliating status as prostitute in the larger civic life.

As similar account of the position of women is also given by other Jaina texts where they appear as maiden, wife, mother, religious student, members of the palace-staff and public prostitute in different stages and stations of their life.

In some cases a darkest picture of their life has been depicted to reveal the ugly nature of womanhood with a view to warning the lustful monks.

The same injunction of the *Manu Smṛti*[3] regarding the guarding of woman is also echoed in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*[4] in which it is laid down that a woman should be under the protection of her father in her childhood, her husband in youth

[1] *BhS*, 8, 5, 330. [2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 560.
[3] *Manu-Smṛti*, V, 147, 49.
("Pitā rakṣati kaumāre bharttā rakṣati yauvane/ rakṣanti sthavire putrāh na strī svātantryamarhati").
[4] *Bṛhat. K. Bhāṣya*, 1, 125 f.

after marriage, her sons in old age or widowhood, as she does not deserve to have freedom.

In the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*[1] there is a reference to the punishment of a daughter-in-law by abusing and turning her out of the house as she did not give up her habit of witnessing a procession or of running to see a commotion caused by a stray horse or a chariot through the window in spite of repeated prohibition to do so.

In the same work the women are painted as "faithless, ungrateful, treacherous, untrustworthy" and they bring sorrows and sufferings to the village or town in which they exercise their supremacy over men[2].

Different synonyms of 'woman' in *Prākrit*, such as, *nārī, mahilā, pamadā, mahiliyā, ramā, aṅganā, lalanā*, etc., have been given new interpretations and derivations in *Taṇḍula*[3] to paint the character of the woman as hellish, for example, she is called *nārī* as she is the worst enemy of man, etc.

The degraded position of women is further revealed in *Agaḍadatta*[4] in which it is stated that "the intelligent may know the sands of the *Ganges*, the waters in the sea and the size of the *Himavat*, women's heart they may not know." "They weep and make you weep, they tell lies and make you believe them and decietfully they eat poison, they die, but they do not conceive a true affection." "Woman indeed as soon as she has fallen in love is all sugar like a piece of sugarcane ; the very same woman surpasses the bitter nimba, as soon as her love is gone."

"In a moment women fall in love but in another moment their love grows cold. Delighting in various love sports and unstable in their affection, they are like the colour of turmeric."

"Cruel in their hearts and charming in body, speech and glance, girls resemble a knife inlaid with gold."

1 *Vyavahāra Bhaṣya*, 3, p. 233. 2 *Ib.* 1, p. 130.
3 *Taṇḍula*, p. 50. For all these details see 'Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons, by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 152.
4 *Agaḍadatta* (Translation in Hindu Tale by Meyer, p. 286 f.) *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 152.

These traits of women's character were depicted only to warn and guard the lascivious and feeble-minded monks with the apprehension lest they fell victim to the temporary charms of young ladies by breaking the ascetic discipline and self-control.

The same idea regarding the position of women as Jaina nuns is reflected in their rigorous life of monastic order as depicted in some Jaina texts,

Thus it is stated that the nuns[1] were forbidden to study the *Dṛṣṭivāda* which contained the magical farmulae, because they were not strong-minded to stand the influence of those principles on their ascetic life and character.

It was the same case with the Buddhist nuns who were also not permitted to study the chapters on *Mahāparijñā* and *Aruṇopapāta*.[2]

The most humiliating position of the Buddhist nuns is described by the *Cullavagga*[3] in which it is stated that the first of the eight main vows before admission to the order enjoins upon a *Bhikkhuṇī*, even of a hundred years' ascetic life to stand up and show respect to a '*Bhikkhu*' who has just been initiated.

It is further said that a Buddhist monk of three years' asceticism could become a religious teacher of a nun who practised austerities for thirty years, while a monk having the practice of asceticism for five years could have been an *Ācārya* (religious preceptor) of a nun with the experience of sixty years' austerities.[4]

Some Jaina texts make references to a few cases of infidelity of women, such as, that of Mayaṇamañjarī, the wife of prince Agaḍadatta[5] and another of the wife of a banker.[6]

But side by side the brightest picture of womanhood has equally been depicted with a brilliant touch of honour and glory.

1 *Bṛhat. Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā*, 146. Cf. *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 5, 139.
2 *Vide* Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 153.
3,4 *Cullavagga*, X, 1, 4. 5 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 4. pp. 84-93.
6 *Daśa Cūrṇi*, pp. 89-91 ; See also *Śuka Saptati*, 15, p. 56, Ed. by Richard Schmidt, Leipzig. 1893 ; for details see 'Life in Ancient India' p. 153 by Dr. J. C. Jain.

Like the *BhS* the other Jaina texts have assigned a dignified position to the women by raising them on a highest pedestal of the society where they figured as devoted and chaste wife and were regarded as one of the fourteen jewels of a *Cakkavattin* (sovereign king).[1]

According to the *Svetāmbara* tradition it is stated in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[2] that Malli, a woman attained the state of Tīrthaṅkara, which was considered as one of the ten unexpected things.

This instance clearly shows the highest position of honour and glory ever occupied by any woman in the society of ancient India.

It is laid down in the *Bṛhat kalpa Bhāṣya*[3] that a woman must be delivered first from the trouble caused by the natural or unnatural phenomena, such as, water, fire, robber or famine, etc., which may befall her.

As regards the character of the women there are many references to the cases of their fidelity occurring in the other Jaina texts where they appear as the most devoted wives following the footsteps of their respective husbands in their work and worship.

Thus it it learnt that Rājīmatī joined the ascetic order as nun, together with her husband Ariṭṭhanemi like Devānandā of the *BhS* and once she foiled the criminal attempt of her husband's brother, Rahanemi to court her during her austerity by clever means[4].

1 *Jambu. Sū*, 3. 67 ; refer also to the *Digha-Nikāya* (II, p. 172-177) in which there is the mention of *Cakka-ratanaṁ, hatthi-ratanaṁ, assa ratanaṁ, maṇi-ratanaṁ, itthi-ratanaṁ, gahapati-ratanaṁ*, and *pariṇāyaka-ratanaṁ*.

2 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8. The *Digambara* tradition tells that Malli was a male, because according to it no woman can ever attain liberation (*Mokṣa*). See Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 134, foot note 12.

3 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* 4, 4348f.

4 *Daśa-Sūtra* 2, 7, 11 ; *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXII. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 154.

While Subhadrā[1], another married woman was a symbol of chastity, though she was intricated by others with a false accusation of faithlessness to her husband on the ground that the red lead (*cīṇapiṭṭha*) of her forehead got stuck on that of a Jaina monk, while she was picking out a rice-speck from the inside of his eye with her tongue.

Life and Position of Nuns as revealed in other Jaina texts

As regards the life and position of the Jaina nuns as depicted in other Jaina texts, they were not safe and secure in the order and the society at large. Because they were sometimes fascinated by the *Kāpālika* ascetics,[2] followed and annoyed by young men of loose moral,[3] lured and rapped per force by the lustful householders,[4] kidnapped by the king,[5] merchants[6] and robbers.[7]

So they had to lead a very hard life of rigorous discipline always under the protection of the monks or of their own vigilance to resist the fowl attempts of miscreants.

Position of Courtesans in other texts

The same picture of the life and position of courtesans is also found in other Jaina texts in great details. In addition they provide much informations regarding their qualifications, devotedness to particular lovers and different aspects of their life.

The young beautiful and highly accomplished courtesans graced the royal court by holding the official and social status as a member of the palace-staff. Moreover, their company was greatly sought by the kings and rich people for the sensual

1 *Daśa Cūrṇī* 1, p. 49f.
2 *Bṛhat Bhāṣya* 3, 4106 ff ; 1, 2443, 2085.
3 *Ib*, 4, 5254-5259 · Cf. *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (No 536) V. M. 424-8.
4 *Bṛhat Bhāṣya* 1, 2670-2 ; Cf. *Therigāthā* (139-144) where it is stated that the nun Khemā was invited to enjoy sensual pleasures.
5 *Kālakācārya Kathānaka*.
6 *Bṛhat Bhāṣya* 1, 2054.
7 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* 7, 418.
See 'Life in Ancient India by Dr. J. C. Jain for all the details about this topic.

gratification of human desires in their individual and social enjoyments and pleasures.

Thus it is stated in the *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*[1] that a *Gaṇikā* (courtesan) was considered as the jewel (*rayaṇa*) of the capital of a king, while the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[2] tells of a wealthy courtesan of *Campā* who was highly accomplished and well-versed in sixty four arts and science of erotics, different dialects, music and dance and other qualifications. She found favour with the court and enjoyed the privilege and honour of carrying the royal umbrella, chowries and fans and also the right of moving in *Karṇīratha* (a kind of chariot used by the high persons) as the chief of many thousand courtesans.[3]

It is known from the other Jaina works that the maintenance of a chief courtesan[4] by the big cities of those days for the social entertainment of the rich and aristocratic peoples was a prevailing custom.

Thus it is stated in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[5] that once two merchants of *Campā* enjoyed the water-sports, picnic, natural beauty and other meriments with *Devānandā*, the chief courtesan of the city and they offered her rich presents at the end of their sensual gratification of desires with her.

The evidences of the *BhS* regarding the life and position of the courtesans are also corroborated by the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical works in great details.

It is the well-known account of the life of Aṁbapālikā[6] endowed with beauty, charm and high accomplishments that she was the great courtesan of *Vaiśālī* as already mentioned in connection with the denotation of the term '*Gaṇiyā*'. She afterwards became the lay disciple of Lord Buddha and offered abundant gifts to the Buddhist *Saṅgha*.

[1] *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā* 3, p. 64. [2] *Nāyādhammakahāo* 3, p. 59.
[3] *Ib*, 3, p. 59. [4] *Acarāṅga Cūrṇi* p. 71.
[5] *Nāyādhammakahāo* 3, p. 60.
[6] *Dīgha-Nikāya* II, pp. 95-8; *Therīgāthā*-252-70; *Mahāvagga* VI, 30, p. 231-3.

There are also other proofs to show that the social position of the courtesan has been depicted in the Buddhist texts[1] with a certain degree of honour for their virtues and natural qualities.[2]

The Brāhmaṇical texts[3] also have dealt with the status of the courtesans in the society at great length and assigned a similar position to them as depicted in the Jaina and Buddhist works.

All these evidences from the different sources clearly show that there was a recognized social institution of maintaining the courtesans for the private and public entertainments in those days of ancient India.

In this connection it should be observed that the courtesans held a better social position than that of the ordinary prostitutes in the civic life.

SIXTH SECTION

Food and Drink

Food

The *BhS* provides a good account of the production and consumption of food and drink by the people of the society as depicted in it.

The terms '*Āhāraṁ*'[4] and '*Bhoyaṇaṁ*'[5] used in this canonical work signify the general meal which can be classified into two groups, viz. eatable solid and drinkable liquid foods.

Friends, kinsmen, relatives, guests and even the attendants of the family were entertained by the householders with the

[1] *Milindapanha*, p. 121 for the courtesan Bindumatī; *Kurudhamma Jātaka* II, No. 276, p. 380; *Kathāsarit-Sāgara* Vol. III, Ch. XXX VIII, pp. 207-217.

[2] Refer to Life in Ancient India, p. 165, 91 f. note, for the details of virtues and character of Bindumatī and other courtesans as mentioned in the Buddhist works

[3] Studies in the *Kāma-Sūtra*—H. Chakladar; *Arthaśāstra*—Book II, Ch. XXVII, 124, Vedic Index 1, p. 457.

[4] *BhS*, 3, 1, 134. [5] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134; 11, 9, 417; 15, 1, 541.

following four kinds of the enjoyable meal, viz. *asaṇa*, *pāṇa*, *khāima* and *sāima*.[1]

The term '*Asaṇa*' used here denotes solid food, while the other ones, '*Pāṇa*', '*khāima*', and '*sāima*' stand for drink, sweets, and dainties respectively.

Thus it appears that these four classes of food come under the general category of the above two kinds of the eatable solid and drinkable liquid foods.

According to different conditions, such as, geographical and physical factors the social status and richness of the person, and the availability of the articles of food, there is the further classification of the general meal into several categories, viz. *kaṁtārabhatta* (food prepared in the forest), *dubbhikkhabhatta* (food prepared in the famine time), *vaddaliyabhatta* (food prepared during the rain), *gilānabhatta* (food prepared for a patient), *sejjāyarapiṇḍa* (meal given by the owner of the *Upāśraya*), and *rāyapiṇḍa* (meal given by the king)[2].

Besides these, the *BhS* mentions the following kinds of cooked food, viz *caru* (rice prepared with the mixture of honey and clarified butter for sacrifice)[3], *Paramāṇṇa* (best rice prepared with honey and clarified butter for guests)[4], *kummāsapiṇḍiya* (rice gruel or bean)[5], *suddhodaṇa* (pure boiled rice)[6], and *aṭṭhārasavañjaṇa* (eighteen kinds of sauce)[7].

The words '*Thālipāgasuddha*'[8], '*Uvakkhaḍa*'[9] and *Aṭṭhārasavaṁjaṇa*[10], occuring in this canonical work clearly denote cooked food, as is ready for serving direct from the kitchen (*Thālipāgasuddhaṁ aṭṭhārasavaṁjaṇākulaṁ bhoyaṇaṁ*[11].

[1] *BhS*, 3, 3, 134; 3, 2, 144; 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 429; 11, 11, 430; 12, 1, 438; 15, 1 541. The term '*Bhatta*' is also sometimes used instead of '*Asaṇa*' e. g. *Bhattapāṇa* (15, 1, 547).
[2] *Ib*, 5, 6, 210; 9, 33, 384.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
[5] *Ib*, 15, 1. 545.
[6] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
[7-8] *Ib*, 7, 10, 306; 12, 6, 456.
[9] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
[10] *Ib*, 7, 10, 306; 12, 6, 456.
[11] *Ib*, 12, 6, 456.

The use of '*Vyañjana*' (sauce or condiment) was imperative to make the food palatable, as it is indicated by the words '*āsāemāṇā*' (tasting)..................*paribhumjemāṇā* (enjoying) and *paribhāemāṇā* (giving or distributing) *asaṇaṁ* (food), *pāṇaṁ* (drink), *khāimaṁ* (sweets) and *sāimaṁ* (dainties).[1] Food was also mixed up with the other eatable articles to make it more tasteful.[2]

Different kinds of food

The *BhS* gives a list of the following staple foods and their prepared products used by the people of the society as depicted in this work.

Cereals

Sāli (a kind of rice harvested in the winter season), *Vīhī* (a best type of rice), *Godhūma* (wheat), *Java* (barley), *Javajavā* (a kind of Jowar), "Sālīṇaṁ vīhīṇaṁ Godhūmāṇaṁ javāṇaṁ-java-javāṇaṁ eesi ṇaṁ dhannāṇaṁ"[3] and *Nipphāva* (a kind of wheat).[4]

Pulses[5]

Kalāya, *Masūra* (a sort of lentil), *Mugga* (Phaseolus Mungo), *Māsa* (a valued kind of pulse having seeds marked with black and grey spots, Phaseolus Radiatus), *Kulattha* (*cabalikākārāḥ*, Dolichos Uniflorus), *Ālisaṁdaga*[6] (*cabalaka prakārāḥ*), *Satīṇa* (*tubar canā*, Pisum Arvense) and *Palimaṁthaga* (*maṭara*), *Vṛtta caṇakāḥ* (Round pulse).

Other grains[7]

Ayasi (*bhangi*, linseed); *Kusuṁbhaga* (*latta*, Safflower, Carthamus Tinctorius); *Koddava*, a species of grain eaten by the poor people (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*); *Kangu* (millet, a kind of parric seed); *Varaga* (*Varatto* or *tubari*, a king of grain); *Rālaga* (*Kanguvisesa*, the resin of Shorea Robusta); *Kodūsaga*[8]; *Sarisava*[9]

[1] *BhS*, 12, 1, 438. [2] *Ib*, 7, 1, 268. [3,5] *Ib*, 6, 7, 246; 21, 2, 691.
[6] According to Webber '*Ālisaṁdaga*' was a grain imported to India from Alexandria after the name of which it is called *Ālisaṁdaga*. See Indian Antiquary Vol XIX.
[7] *BhS*, 6, 7, 246.
[8] The *Mahābhārata* refers to *Karadūsaka* as best corn (III. 193.19.). [9] *BhS*, 6, 7, 246; 18, 10, 647; 23, 5, 693.

(*siddhārthakaḥ*, mustard seed); and *Tila* (sesame[1], Sesamum Indicum).

Vegetables

Aluga (Ebony, Arum Campanutum or a kind of tuberous root[2]); *Mūlaga* (raddish)[3], *Siṅgavera* (ginger)[4], *Addae* (*adraka*)[5], *Piṇḍahaliddā* (yellow turmeric)[6], *Palaṇḍu* (Onion)[7], *Lhasaṇa* (garlic)[8], Kandamūla[9], *Lāuya* (bottle gourd, Lagenaria Vulgaris)[10], *Tuṁbī* (Gourd, Gourd Lagenaria Vulgaris)[11]; *Tausī*[12] *Vāluṁkī*[13] and *Vāiṁgaṇi* (*Vṛntaki*, Brinjal)[14].

Spices

Jīra(ka) (Cumin seed, Panicum miliaceum)[15]; *Mariya* (pepper),[16] *Pippala* (long pepper),[17] *Lavaṅga* (Clove),[18] *Elā* (any species of cardamom),[19] *Jāru*[20] and *Suṇṭha* (dry ginger).[21]

Fruits

Aṁba (mango, Mangifera Indica)[22], *Jaṁbu* (black berry, Eugenia Jambolana)[23], *Kosaṁba*,[24] *Kadalī* (banana, Musa Sepientum)[25], *Pūyaphala* (areca-nut),[26] *Khajjurī* (date, Phœnix Sylvestris)[27], *Nālierī* (cocoanut),[28] *Tāla* (Palm),[29] *Tetalī* (Tamarind),[30] *Nivāyaga* (*Karañjaka*, pongamia glabra or Verbesina Scandens)[31], *Atthiya* (*Asthika*-guava), *Tiṁduga* (*Tinduka*, Diospyros Embryopteris), *Bora* (the jujube), *Māuliṅga* (citron), *Billa* (wood apple, Aegle Marmelos), *Āmalaga* (the fruit of Emblic Myrobalam), *Phanasa* (*panasa* = jack fruit or bread-fruit, Artocarpus Integrifolia), *Dādima* (the Pomegranate), *Satara* (a kind of reddish grapes),[32] *Kākalī* (a kind of grape),[33] *Khīra* (Cucumber),[34] *Riṭṭha* (a kind of fruit), *Baheḍaga* (the fruit of Terminalia Belerica), *Haritaga* (the fruit of Terminalia Chebula) and *Bhallāya* (*Bhallāṭa*, the fruit of the marking-nut-plant, Semecarpus Anacardium).[35]

[1] *BhS*, 6, 7, 246.
[2] *Ib*, 7, 3, 277; 8, 3, 324; 23, 1, 693. [3] *Ib*, 7, 3, 277; 8, 3, 324.
[4] *Ib*, 7, 3, 277; 8, 3, 324; 23, 1, 693. [5-6] *Ib*, 7, 3, 277.
[7-8] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330. [9] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330; 22, 6, 692.
[10] *Ib*, 1, 1, 19. [11-14] *Ib*, 22, 6, 692.
[15-17] *Ib*, 21, 8, 691. [18-19] *Ib*, 22, 1, 692. [20-21] *Ib*, 23, 1, 693.
[22-23] *Ib*, 15, 1, 554; 22, 2, 693. [24-27] *Ib*, 22, 2, 693.
[28-30] *Ib*, 8, 3, 324; 22, 2, 692. [31-33] *Ib*, 22, 2, 692.
[34] *Ib*, 23, 5, 693. [35] *Ib*, 22, 2, 692 (from *Riṭṭha* to *Bhallāya*).

In addition to these cereals, pulses, other grains, vegetables, spices and fruits, the *BhS* refers to various kinds of cooked food (*uvakkhaḍa*) as already mentioned, different kinds of sweets and milk products which were generally taken by the people of its period. They are as follows :—

Cooked food—*Odaṇa* (rice), *caru* (rice prepared with clarified butter and honey), etc.[1]

Sweets—*Mahu* (honey),[2] *Phaṇiyagula* (flowing molasses),[3] *Mahurakhaṇḍa* (sweet sugar)[4], and *Ukkhu* or *Ikkhu* (sugar cane).[5]

Milk and its by-products—*Khīra* (Milk),[6] *Dadhi* (curd),[7] *Navaṇīya* (*navanī*, butter),[8] and *Ghaya* (*ghṛta*, clarified butter).[9]

Oil—*Tella* (oil).[10]

A similar account of food classified into different categories as given in the *BhS* is also found in other Jaina texts.

In addition, they provide a long list of various kinds of food generally taken by the people of the society as depicted in them. They are as follows :—

Uncooked food-stuffs—Different varieties of salt, viz. sochal salt (*sovaccala*), rock salt (*sindhava*), ordinary salt (*loṇa*), mine-salt (*roma*), sea-salt (*sāmudda*), earth-salt (*paṁsukhāra*) and black salt (*kālāloṇa*)[11].

Cooked foods—*Sakkuli* (*lucis* in Hindi), *pūya* (a meal of parched wheat), *siharinī* (a mixed food of curd and sugar with spices),[12] *Sattuga* (fried barley),[13] eighteen varieties of seasoned food (*aṭṭhārasa vaṁjaṇa*),[14] as already referred to in the *BhS*.

These are the eighteen kinds of cooked food clearly mentioned in the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* : "*Sūpa* (soup)), *odaṇa* (rice) *java*

1 *Vide supra*, p. 232.
2 *BhS*, 11, 9, 417; 15, 1, 541.
3,4 *Ib*, 18, 6, 631.
5 *Ib*, 21, 5, 691.
6,7 *Ib*, 16, 6, 581.
8 *Ib*, 18, 6, 631.
9 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417 ; 15, 1, 541 ; 16, 6, 581.
10 *Ib*, 8, 6, 335 ; 18, 6, 631.
11 *Daśavaikālika Sūtra*, 3. 8 ; also see *Caraka* Ch. 27, p. 815 ff. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J.C. Jain, p. 123.
12 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* II, p. 319.
13 *Ib*, p, 317.
14 *Sthānāṅga-Sūtra*—3.135, also refer to *Caraka*, *Kṛtānnavarga* Ch. 27, p. 800 ff.

(boiled barley), three kinds of meat, cow-milk, *jūsa* (water of boiled pulse), *bhakkha* (*khaṇḍakhādya* or sweets in which candy was applied in sufficient quantity, com.), *gulalāvaṇiyā* (*gola-pāpaḍa* in *Gujarāti*), *mūlaphala* (bread fruit), *hariyaga* (cumin), *sāga* (vegetable), *rasālu* (*majjika*, a royal preparation made of the mixture of two *palas* of ghee, one *pala* of honey, half an *āḍhaka* of curds, twenty pepper corns and ten *palas* of candied sugar, com.), *pāṇa* (wine), *pāṇiya* (water), *pāṇaga* (a drink made of grapes) and *sāga* (a preparation seasoned with butter-milk, such as, *dahībaḍā*, etc. com).[1]

Besides these, other palatable foods are also mentioned, such as, "*Pejja* (made of gruel or decoction of some kind of pulse or rice), *ghayapuṇṇa* (*ghevara* in Hindi), *Pālaṅgamāhuraya* (a sweet liquid preparation of the mango or lemon-juice),[2] *sihakesara*[3] (a sweet), *moraṇḍaka* (a sweet made of oil seed),[4] *maṇḍaka*, (a cake stuffed with molasses and *ghee*),[5] *āhaḍiyā*,[6] (a special sweet), *pulāka*[7] (a special dish), *guliyā* (tablets made from the powder of the *tubara* tree, which were used by the monks) and the *kholas* (dried pieces of cloths moistened with milk, the washing water of them was used as drink)."[8]

Fish and meat eating

We learn from the *BhS* that fish and meat-eating was prevalent in the society. Thus it is stated here that in *Dusama-Dusamākāla* (a period of crisis according to the *Nirgrantha* religion) the people of *Bhāratavarṣa*, having come out of their respective holes before one instant of the sunrise and after one instant of the sunset will cause to take fish and tortoise to the land (or will cause to bury them into the ground); they will pass time up to twenty-one thousand years by carrying on livelihood with those lifeless fish and tortoises seasoned by cold

1 *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*—3. 135, *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 123.
2 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 1, p. 8.
3 *Antagaḍadasāo*, p. 10.
4 *Bṛhat. Bhāṣya*, 1. 3281.
5 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, II, p. 695.
6 *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra*, 2, 17; *Bhāṣya*, 2. 3616.
7 *Ib*, 5. 6048 ff.
8 *Ib*, 1. 2882; 2892. See 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J.C. Jain. pp. 123-24, for details.

and heat. And "those eaters of meat and fish (*maṁsāhārā, macchāhārā*), honey-drinkers (*khoddāhārā*), and eaters of the dead body (*kuṇimāhārā*), will be born in hell"[1].

In connexion with the holy teachings of explanation of Lord Mahāvīra on the doctrine of '*Karma*' there is another instance of meat-eating found in this canonical work where it is said that the hunter and fowler earned their livelihood by the occupations of hunting deer with the bow and arrow and net, and killing birds etc. in different places and then selling them to the other peoples of the society.

"Purise ṇaṁ bhaṁte kacchaṁsi vā dahaṁsi vā 2 udagaṁsi vā.................miyavittīe miyasaṁkappe miyapaṇıhāṇe miyavahāe gaṁtā ee mietti-kāuṁ...uddāı[2]". "Purise miyavittīe miyassa vahāe usuṁ nisirai"[3]. "Ye miyaṁ mārei"[4].

The above evidences of taking fish and flesh of tortoise make it known that the people had to sustain their lives with them for a long time under the economic distress, because sometimes famine visited this land of *Bhāratavarṣa* in the distant past, as it is evidenced by one incidental reference to the meal taken in famine (*dubbhikkhabhatta*)[5], occurring in the *BhS*.

The mention of the egg of hen (*kukkuḍī-aṇḍaga*)[6] suggests that perhaps the eating of eggs was prevalent in the society, but it is not evidently clear whether they were actually taken by the people of that period.

Vānaprastha Monks and Meat-eating

There is a direct evidence that a class of forest ascetics called *Vānaprastha Hastitāpasas* (*Hatthitāvasā*)[7] used to live on the elephant's flesh as explained by Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri in his commentary.

The practice of fish and meat-eating by the people is also corroborated by other Jaina texts. They give a full account of the preparation[8] of various kinds of flesh, such as, those of

[1] *BhS*, 7, 6, 288. [2] *Ib*, 1, 8, 65. [3] *Ib*, 1. 8, 67.
[4] *Ib*, 1, 8, 68. [5] *Ib*, 5, 6, 210. [6] *Ib*, 7, 1, 269.
[7] *Ib*, 11, 9, 471. [8] *Vivāga Suya* 2, p. 14 ; 3, p. 22; it refers to different kinds of cooking of meat, such as, frying (*taliya*), roasting (*bhajjiya*), drying (*parisukka*), etc. See 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 126. f. n. 46.

cāsaya (a kind of bird), deer, tiger, frog, animal having claws and some acquatic animals on the occassion of particular constellations[1] and those taken by the people and served to guests on the days of special festivities.

There is also a reference in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[2] to the entertaining of marriage party with meat, while the *Uvāsagadasāo* mentions the regular meat-eating by *Revaī* (*Revatī*), a housewife.[3]

Drink

It appears from the frequent references to *pāṇa*[4] (drink) together with '*asaṇa*' (food) that drink was an essential part of the meal served to one's friends, kinsmen, relatives and others on special occasions.

This popular enjoyment of drink is also evidenced by the fact that a class of private merchants used to carry on a regular trade in wine (*rasavāṇijja*),[5] although it was disapproved by the *Nirgrantha* religion as revealed in this canonical work.

It mentions the following kinds of drink, viz. honey (*Mahu*),[6] milk (*khīra*),[7] liquor (*surā*[8] or *majja*[9]).

Besides these, Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, the *Ājīvika* leader refers to four kinds of drink on the eve of his death in a state of mental disequilibrium as described in it, viz. *Gopuṭṭhae*, *hatthamaddie*, *āyavatattae* and *silāpabbhaṭṭhae* (water excreted by the cow, i.e. urine, water soiled or rubbed with the hand, water heated by the sunshine, and water fallen from the stone).[10]

It is said that he himself drank liquor (*majjapāṇam piyamāṇe*) before his death in the workshop of the potteress, Hālāhalā in *Śrāvastī*.[11]

1 *Sūriyapaṇṇtti* 51, p. 115. 2 *Uttarādhyayana* 22, 14 ff.
3 *Uvāsagadasāo* 8, p. 63 ; See also Vedic Index-11, p. 145. For details refer to 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain.
4 *BhS*, 3, 1, 134 ; 5, 6, 204 etc. 5 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.
6 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417 ; 15, 1, 541. 7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 11, 430.
8 *Ib*, 5, 2, 181. 9,11 *Ib*, 15, 1, 554.

The evidences of drinking are also corroborated by other Jain texts. In addition, they mention different kinds of liquor, such as, *surā, majja, sīdhu, pasannā*,[1] *kāyambarī*,[2] etc.

There occurs a reference in the *Uvāsagadasāo*[3] to the drinking of wine by the woman, while one passage of the *Kalpa Sūtra*[4] states that "Monks or nuns who are hale and hearty and of a strong body are not allowed during the *pajjūsaṇa* frequently to take the following nine drinks : milk, thick sour milk, fresh butter, clarified butter, oil, sugar, honey, liquor and meat."

It appears that the monks or nuns were permitted to take these drinks under special circumstances, such as, sickness (*gilāṇa*).

Thus it is clearly stated in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[5] that the drinking of liquor (*majjapāṇagaṁ*) is prescribed for a sick monk on medical advice.

The same view of the *Nāyādhammakahāo* on the taking of liquor by the monk is also expressed by the *Bṛhat-Kalpa Bhāṣya*[6] in which it is said that this drink may be taken by him as medicine for recovering health and energy.[7]

These evidences show that as a rule the monks or nuns were not allowed to drink liquor or other intoxicating drinks except under special circumstances.

Besides these accounts of drink, various kinds of wine are mentioned in different ancient literatures of India, such as, *candraprabhā, maṇiśilākā, varasīdhu, varavāruṇī*, etc.[8]

The evidences of drinking wine are also supported by the Brāhmaṇical works.

1 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 16, p. 179.
2 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 2, p. 36a f. There is a reference to it in the *Harivaṁśa*; See Indo-Aryans of R. L. Mitra (11. 41. 95). It is explained that *Kāyambarī* is prepared from the ripe fruit of *Kadamba*; *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' p. 125.
3 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 8.
4 *Kalpa Sūtra*, 9, 17.
5 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 5, p. 80 f.
6 *Bṛhat K. Bhāṣya*, 5, 635.
7 *Bṛhat. K. Bhāṣya* 5, 6035.
8 See 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 125. Cf. Indo-Aryan I. by R. L. Mitra—pp. 411, 412, 132.

The history of drinking can be traced back from the *Ṛg-Vedic* period[1], when the people used to take *soma* (a kind of drink), *surā* (wine) and *madhu* (honey) as the most favourite drinks on different occasions, such as, war-festivals and sacrifices, etc.

It is learnt from the Brāhmaṇical sources that it was the prevailing custom among the common people of the society of ancient India to drink *surā* (wine) and other kinds of liquor "on the occasions of festivals, fairs and pilgrimage."[2]

Cooking

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon the development of the art of cooking during its period by refering to different varieties of food, drink, other dainties and eighteen kinds of sauce (*aṭṭhārasasaraṁjaṇa*)[3] and cooks generally employed in the service of the royal family.

The terms '*uvakkhaḍae*'[4] and *pāriyāsie*'[5], (*upaskṛta* and *pārivāsita*) used in this canonical work stand for cooking, while the cook was designated as '*mahānasinī*'[6] (female cook).

It appears that only the female cooks were appointed for preparing food, drink and other dainties, as it is evidenced in the case of the family of king Bala of *Hastināpura*[7].

Utensils

In this connection the text provides a list of different kinds of cooking vessels and serving plates, such as, *thālī* (cooking vessel)[8], *lohakaḍāha* (iron pan)[9], *kaḍuccha* (spoon)[10], *thāla* (dish)[11], *pattī* (plates)[12], etc.

It also mentions the dining hall (*bhoyaṇamaṇḍava*)[13] and time (*bhoyaṇavelā*)[14] where and when the rich aristocratic peoples and

[1] *Ṛg-Veda*, see the Vedic Age p. 393.
[2] *Arthaśāstra*, p. 134 ; Cf. *Dhammapada A.* III. p 100. See also *Rāmāyaṇa* II, 91, 51 ; V. 36—41 ; *Mahābhārata* (1, 177, 13 ff ; 1, 174 ; 13 ff ; 1, 177, 10f ; II, 4, 8 f). Refer to Indo-Aryan by R L. Mitra Vol. I, pp. 396 ff.
[3] *BhS*, 7, 10, 306 ; 12, 6, 436 ;
[4] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
[5] *Ib*, 15, 1, 557.
[6,7] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[8] *Ib*, 7, 10. 306 ; 12, 6, 456.
[9,10] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
[11,12] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[13,14] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.

kings generally used to take their meals together with their friends, relatives and kinsmen on special occasions.

Invitation to dinner

The text refers to two kinds of welcome to dinner, viz. invited (*āmaṁtita*)[1] and uninvited (*anāhūyaṁ*),[2] as it is evidenced by the fact that whenever the kings and rich householders organized any feast on special occasions, they invited their friends, kinsmen, relatives and others, and entertained them with food and drink prepared in their honour. While the monks[3] and other floating guests[4] were uninvited but they were equally welcomed to dinner, entertained and honoured with abundant food and drink free from nine kinds of faults (*navakoṭiśuddha*).

One particular feature of the family life is to be observed that even the servants[5] were invited to dinner to enjoy it together with the friends, kinsmen and relatives of the host.

SEVENTH SECTION

Dresses and Ornaments, Art of Decoration, and Houses and articles of Furniture

Dresses

Four kinds of physical decorations of man, viz. decoration of hair, that of body with cloth, that of neck with garland and necklace, and that of arms, waist, legs (ankle) and feet with ornaments, came into existence from the time immemorial.

With the inventions of the art of wearing cloth and of metallurgy respectively various kinds of cloth have taken the place of the ancient bark-cloth and skin-garment, while the crown, necklace, bracelets, ring and anklets have occupied those of the flower-wreaths and garlands, natural bracelets and other ornaments of flowers made first by man in the beginning of civilization.

1 *BhS*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.
2 *Ib*, 7, 1, 270.
3 *Ib*, 7, 1, 270 ; 15, 1, 541
4 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
5 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.

But the wild beauty of Nature is still embroidered on the cloths and dresses and engraved on the plates of ornaments.

It is an artistic attempt inspired with the aesthetic sense to make a communion with the sublime beauty of Nature.

Similarly the sense of cleanliness and beauty caused man to wash himself and take bath and to toilet his body with various scented products and roots, such as, sandal wood, aloe, etc.

The *BhS* presents a graphic picture of dresses and ornaments, decorations and toilets used by the people of that period.

The mention of different kinds of dresses and ornaments, decorations and toilets reminds one of their origin in the hoary past and their evolution upto its period, as it is known from the traces of the blending of distinct modes of living of the people in the society as depicted here.

Thus the text refers to four kinds of decorations made by the men and women of its society with four varieties of adorning articles, viz. crown (*mauḍa*, the ornament of hair), cloth (*vattha*), garland (*malla*), and ornament (*abharaṇa*) [1]

It provides a long list of colourful dresses and costly ornaments worn by the members of the rich aristocratic and royal families, particularly the ladies of the high society who adorned themselves with various kinds of gorgeous cloths, garments, ornaments of low and high prices (*appamahaggha*), garlands and flowers, etc.

Side by side with these fine dresses and ornaments, there are also in this text references to the bark-cloth (*vāgala-vattha*)[2], flowers, perfumes and garlands[3].

Words for clothing and decorating

Various terms, such as, *Vattha*[4], '*dūse*'[5], '*śāḍiya*'[6], '*bhūsaṇa*'[7], '*alaṁkāra*'[8], etc. are used to denote clothing and decorating of the

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 385.
[2] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[4] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90; 9, 33, 380; 9, 33, 385; 11, 9, 417, 418; 11, 11, 429.
[5] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384; 15, 1, 541.
[6] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383.
[7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380; 9, 33, 384.
[8] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.

household people, while the words '*dhāturattavattha*'[1] and '*vāgala-vattha*'[2] are applied to signify the robe of an ascetic or a *Brahmacārin*.

The term '*cela*'[3] denoted in general the garment of a layman or of a householder or of an ascetic.

DRESSES

Male dress

In the society the males used to put on generally two clothes—one lower garment and one upper garment (*egasāḍiyaṁ-uttarāsaṁgaṁ*)[4], a girt or waist-band (*nijjoya*)[5], shoes (*vāhaṇāo*)[6], and umbrella (*āyavattaṁ*)[7] to protect his head from the heat of the sunshine, while going on any journey.

Female dress

The women belonging to the royal and rich aristocratic families used to wear generally four or five kinds of dresses, viz. different varieties of long lower garment (i. e. *Sāḍī*), such as, *cīṇaṁsuyavattha* (chinese silken cloth),[8] *khoma* (cotton linen), *vaḍaga* (tussar silken cloth), *paṭṭa* (silken cloth), *dugulla* (cloth made from the fibres of the *Dugulla* plant),[9] *pavara* (a kind of lower dress),[10] a soft upper garment (*uttarijja*) ;[11] *jacket* (*kaṁcuya*);[12] girdle (*maṇimekalā*)[13] and inner or under garment (*saṁdhibandhaṇa*).[14]

Dresses of the Monks

The *BhS* clearly shows that the monks of all religious sects used various kinds of dresses. There is no instance in the text to cite that complete nudity was observed by them in their ascetic life. On the otherhand it bears ample evidences to show that even the *Nirgrantha* monks used to wear clothes, as it is revealed by the fact that Lord Mahāvīra himself renounced the world by putting on one piece of divine cloth

[1] *BhS*, 2, 2, 90. [2] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417–418.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417 ; 15, 1, 541. [4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 15, 1, 541.
[5] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. [6] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. [7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[8] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. [9] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [10] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
[11] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380 ; 9, 33, 384. [12] *Ib*, 9, 33, 381.
[13] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380. [14] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

(*devadūsa*)[1] and his disciples, Skandaka and Siṁha are found wearing a *cīvara* (monk's robe)[2] and a *muhapattiya* (a piece of mouth covering cloth)[3] respectively.

Dresses of the monks belonging to the heterogenous religious orders usually consisted of one or two clothes, such as, *pottiya* (a kind of monk's dress)[4] or *dhāturattavattha* (red-coloured robe)[5] or *vāgalavattha* (bark-cloth)[6] or *cela* (monk's robe),[7] etc. while those of the *Nirgrantha* ascetic comprised one *dūsa* or *devadūsa* (one piece of divine cloth),[8] *cīvara*[9] (robe) and one *muhapattiya* (i. e. *mukhavastra*).[10]

Besides these, other articles, such as, *tidaṁḍa* (tripple staves), *chattayaṁ* (umbrella), *vāhaṇāo* (shoes), *pāuā* (wooden sandals), *kesariyā* (duster),[11] etc. also formed the part of the general dress of the *parivrājaka* monks and other ascetics and the *rajaharaṇa* (duster)[12] and blanket (*kaṁbala*)[13] that of the *Nirgrantha* monks.

The accounts of dresses as given in the *BhS* are also corroborated by the other Jaina texts.

In addition, they provide a long list of various kinds of dresses used by the householders, Jaina monks and nuns

Thus the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*[14] mentions four kinds of garments worn on four occasions, viz. dresses for daily use, after bath, on the days of festivals and fairs and at the time of going to visit the king, nobles and others.

The other Jaina works refer to various kinds of fine fabric used by the people of their periods, such as, wollen-cloth

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 541. 2 *Ib*, 2, 1, 96. 3 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557.
4 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417 (See com). 5 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
6 *Ib*, 11, 9. 417. 7 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417 ; 15, 1, 541.
8 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541. 9 *Ib*, 2, 1, 96.
10 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557. 11 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
12 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. 13 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107.
14 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya-Pīṭhikā*, 644. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 123 f. n. 62.

(*jangiya* or *jānghika*)[1], *bhaṅga* (*bhaṅgiya*)[2], hemp cloth (*sāṇiya*), palm-leaf-cloth (*pottaga*)[3], linen (*khomiya*)[4], tūla (*tūlakaḍa*)[5], etc.

Besides these, many varieties of costly cloths are also mentioned in them, such as, *āiṇaga* (com. *ajina*, cloth manufactured from skin)[6], *sahiṇa* (com. *sūkṣma*, fine cloth), *sahiṇa-kallāṇa* (superfine), *āya* (cloth made from goat's hair)[7], *kāya* (cloth made from blue cotton)[8], etc.

There is a reference in the *Anuyogadvāra*[9] *Sutra* to cloths manufactured from eggs (*aṇḍaga*)[10], cotton stalks (*boṇḍaya*), insects (*kīḍaya*), hair (*vālaya*) and bark (*vāgaya*).

Like the *BhS*, the *Ācārāṅga cūrṇi*[11] makes reference to another kind of cloth called '*dusa*' or *devadūsa* (divine cloth) which was put on by Lord Mahāvīra at the time of his renouncing the world. It is stated that the value of this divine cloth was estimated to be one hundred thousand pieces of coins (*sayasahassamollaṁ*)[12].

1 Refer to 'Life in Ancient India' p. 123; *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* II 5, 1, 364, 368.

2 A kind of cloth produced from the fibre of *bhaṅga* plant; it is still manufactured in the *Kumāon* district of U.P., and is known as *bhaṅgelā*; refer to Dr. Motichand's article in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. 1 pt. 1, p. 41; also see the *Vinayavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, p. 92.

3 According to the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (2.3661), *Pottaga* is cotton.

4 It is cotton cloth, see *Mahāvagga* VIII, 3-1. Refer to Indian culture Vol. 1, 1-4, p. 196 f.

5 The *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra* (2.24), and the *Ṭhāṇāṅga Sūtra* (5,446) refer to *Tiriḍapaṭṭa* instead of *tūlakaḍa* manufactured from the bark of the *tiriḍa* tree. Refer to *Vinayavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, p. 94.

6 Skin was used for clothing (*Mahāvagga* V. 10 63).

7 The *āya* cloth was produced from the moss that grew on the goats hoofs in the country of *Tosali* (*Niśitha Cūrṇi*, 7, p. 467).

8 The *Niśitha Cūrṇi*, 7, p 467 states that the *Kāya* cloths were manufactured from *Kākajangha* (Abrus precatorious) in the *Kāka*-country.

9 *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* (com.) 37.

10 It was manufactured from the egg of a swan (*haṁsa*), refer to 'Life in Ancient India' for details of dresses, p. 130.

11,12 *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*, p. 263, also 'Life in Ancient India,' p. 130 f. n. 92.

The other Jaina texts mention various kinds of *dūsa* cloths, such as, *vijayadūsa*[1], *kovaya*, *pāvāraga*[2], *dāḍhiāli* (clean white cloth like the row of teeth), sacks, elephant-housing, etc., woven with coarse yarn (*pūri*) and cloth woven with double yarn (*virali*)[3].

As regards the dresses of the Jaina monks and nuns a good account of them is found in different Jaina texts.

Thus in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[4] two garments—under and upper (*santaruttara*) are found to have been prescribed by Lord Pārśvanātha for the use of a monk (i. e. Jaina ascetic), while in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*[5] there is the reference to three robes—two linen (*kṣomika*) under garments (*oma cela*) and one woollen cloth (*aurṇika*).

It further states that a *kaṭibandha*[6] (also called *aggoyara*), having the size of four fingers broad in width and one hand in length was allowed to be put on to cover the private parts in the case of those monks who felt shy to go without clothing.

This *Kaṭibandha* was substituted by *Colapaṭṭaka* in later times.

In the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*[7] only the garment without flinges (*dasā*) is prescribed for the use of the Jaina monks.

Similarly there are many references in the Jaina texts to various kinds of dresses used by the Jaina nuns, e.g. *Uggahaṇantaga* (a piece of cloth to cover their privities, tied with a *paṭṭa* round the waist), *addhoruga* (it is worn over the *uggahaṇantaga* and *paṭṭa* to cover the waist), unsewn *calanikā* (covering knees), *abbhintar-aniyaṁsiṇī* (it covered the part from the waist to half length of the thighs) and *bahiniyaṁsiṇī* (it was tied to the waist with

1 *Rāyapaseṇiya Sūtra*, 43, p. 100.
2 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 3, 3823 f. *Pāvāra* is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 71. 48).
3 *Ib.* (See also 'Life in Ancient India' for details, p. 130).
4 *Uttarādhyayana*, 23, 29.
5 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 7, 4, 280.
6 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 7, 6, 220.
7 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 3,3905 f.

string and used to cover the part from the waist down to the ankles).

Their upper garments consisted of the following, *viz.* *kañcuka* (jacket), *ukkacchī* (*aupakakṣikī*, like *kañcuka*, square in shape on the right side), *vegacchiyā* (*vaikakṣikī*, like the *aupakakṣikī* but knotted on the right shoulders), four *saṅghāṭīs*, the first one was to be put on in the cloister (*pratiśraya*), the second and the third ones outside the residence and the fourth one for attending the religious congregation (*samavasaraṇa*)[1].

Besides these upper garments, the nuns used to wear *kandhakaraṇī* (wrapper-like cloth) together with the *aupakakṣikī* and *vaikakṣikī*[2] to cover the shoulder and the body and to protect themselves from the blow of strong wind.

Shoes

According to the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*[3] the Jaina monks were allowed to put on shoes under special circumstances, such as, tours, diseases, tenderness of feet of some monks, fear of wild animals, etc.[4]

There are references to different types of shoes used by the Jaina monks such as *Taliya* shoes (for night journey), *egapuḍa* (single-soled shoes), four soled shoes, *puḍaga* or *khallaka*[5] (winter shoes) to cover foot-sore (*vivacci*), *vāgurā* (to cover the ties and feet), *kosagas* (for protecting nails), etc.[6]

Ornaments

The *BhS* reveals that both the men and women belonging to the upper stratum of the society as known to it, used to adorn

[1] The *Ācārāṅga* (11, 5, 1, 364) refers to four *Saṅghāṭis*.

[2] *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 3,4082-91 & com. See also *Ācā*. II,5,1,364.

[3,4] *Ib*, 3,3862.

[5] See *Mahāvagga* V, 2, 3 where the *Khallakabandha* and other types of shoes are mentioned.

[6] Refer to Dr. Motichand's article in the 'Journal of the Indian society of the Oriental Art' Vol. XII. 1944. Dr. J. C. Jain thinks—"Perhaps it is the same as the Iranian kāfis, and kāpis-kipis of Central Asia" (Life in Ancient India, p. 133 f.n. 120).

themselves with costly ornaments of many kinds, particularly the ladies of the royal and rich aristocratic families put on various ornaments to beautify the different parts of their bodies from the head to the ankle.

Ornaments of the male persons, especially the kings and princes, consisted of crown (*mauḍa*)[1], necklace (*hāra*)[2] and other articles and garlands[3], while those of the women were as follows :—

Crown (*mauḍa*)[4], ear-ring (*kuṁḍala*), necklace of pearls (*hāra*), half-necklace (*addhahāra*), one-stringed necklace of gems (*egāvalī*). Thus that of pearl (*muttāvalī*), that of gold (*kaṇagāvalī*), that of jewel (*rayaṇāvalī*),[5] torque round the breast (*urattha*)[6] in addition to the flat triangular necklace, necklace (*kaṇṭhasutta*),[7] bracelets (*kaḍagajoe*),[8] white bracelets (*dhavala-valaya*),[9] ring (*khuḍḍāga*),[10] girdle of gems (*maṇimehalā*),[11] a string round the loins (*soṇisuttaga*),[12] anklet (*neura*),[13] and various ornaments of precious metals[14].

The account of the ornaments of the male and female is also found in the other Jaina texts.

The *Uvāsagadasāo* mentions the minimum requirement of most essential ornaments for a person like Ānanda of *Vāṇiyagrāma* after his taking the vow before Lord Mahāvīra to observe the religious rules as his lay disciple.

It is stated there that he used to wear various kinds of costly ornaments[15] previously, but after the taking of the vow he "limited himself to his use of personal ornaments," saying, "Excepting smoothly polished ear pendants and a finger ring engraved with my name, I renounce the use of every other kind of ornament"[16].

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 11, 428. [2,3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[5] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [6,7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380. [8] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[9] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384. [10-13] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380. [14] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[15] *Uvāsagadasāo* 9, p. 9 (Lec. 1, 6, 9).
[16] *Uvāsagadasāo* 31, 25-35, p. 17.

Bath and Art of Personal Decoration

The *BhS* shows that the observance of cleanliness of the body was a regular practice with the people. The art of personal cleaning and decoration was highly developed at that period, as it is known from the fact that the members of the royal and rich aristocratic families used to take regular bath in a special bathroom (*majjaṇagharа*)[1] and to adorn their bodies with various kinds of decorations.

For this purpose some specialists, like the female massagers and rubbers of limbs (*aṅgamaddiyāo, ummadiyāo*), bath-makers (*ṇhāviyāo*),[2] decorators (*pasāhiyāo*), grinders of sandal wood (*vaṇṇagapesīo*) and fragrant powder (*cuṇṇagapesīo*), etc. were employed by them in the service of their families.[3]

So the bath was followed by the art of decoration and toileting in those days of the *BhS*.

There are also evidences to show that the men and women of all social grades used to take bath before beginning any kind of work, such as, going to attend the religious discourse,[4] marriage ceremony[5] etc.

Even to-day, in *Rājasthāna* the barber is made to take bath first before cutting hair of any member of distinguished families.

It appears that the original derivation of the word '*Nāpita*' (barber) has been made from 'bath' (*ṇhāna* or *ṇhāya*)[6], as he was associated with it. In course of the linguistic evolution the first form of the term (*ṇhāviya*) has undergone variations, such as, *ṇhāviya, snāpita*, etc. in local dialects of India till it attained the modern form '*Nāpita*' and '*Nāī*' respectively.

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 383.
2 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. *Majjaṇadhāyī* (special female nurse) for causing the child-prince to bathe was also employed.
3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. 4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380 ; 9, 33, 383.
5 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
6 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 9, 33, 385 (Here it is *nāṇhesīti*).

Bath

There were two kinds of bath, viz. private and ceremonial. The first one was an essential part of the regular daily duty of an individual for maintaining cleanliness of his body, while the second one was given to those who resolved to renounce the worldly life or who were chosen as new rulers to ascend the throne.

It has been a sacred thing and synonym for ascending the throne (*abhiṣeka*) since the birth of kingship in ancient India.

The *BhS* presents a few colourful pictures of pompous ceremonial consecrations of some princes, like Jamālī[1] and Mahābala[2], and kings, like Śiva of *Hastināpura*[3], and Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*[4] on the eve of their renouncing the world to undertake the state of houselessness.

Similarly there are evidences to show that the princes Śivabhadra[5] and Mahābala[6] of *Hastināpura* and Keśīkumāra[7] of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* were given ceremonial baths by the retiring kings, Śiva, Bala and Udāyana in their respective cases.

Here are presented the features of this ceremonial bath in connection with the leaving of the worldly life by the prince, Jamālī and others[8].

The parents of this prince caused him twice to bathe with the water of eight hundred golden and earthen jars each time and made his limbs dry with a very soft hairy fragrant scented towel and then besmeared his body with the juicy essence of *gośīrṣa* sandal and caused him to put on an auspicious white silken cloth embroidered with gold and endowed with the chief colour and touch. Next he was decorated with various kinds of ornaments and garlands[9].

Exactly in the same manner, prince Mahābala[10], kings Śiva[11] and Udāyana[12] were given ceremonial baths and adorned with

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385.
2 *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
3 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
4 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
5 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
6 *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
7 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
8 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 11, 9, 417.
9 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
10 *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
11 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
12 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.

four kinds of decoration on the eve of their leaving the world for undertaking the state of houselessness.

The same features of royal consecration are also found to have been observed in the cases of princes—Śivabhadra[1], Mahābala[2], and Keśīkumāra[3] in regard to the ascendency to their respective thrones.

On the occasion of marriage also a kind of ceremonial bath followed the presentation of eight auspicious articles (*aṣṭamaṅgala*), such as, *tilaka* (mark on forehead), *Kaṅkaṇa* (a sacred band tied round the wrist), etc. was given to the bride[4], as it is evidenced in the case of prince Mabābala.

Art of Decoration

It is already mentioned that the bath was followed by the art of decoration which was the natural expression of the aesthetic sense of man.

The *BhS*[5] presents a graphic account of the personal decoration of the princes, rich and cultured citizens of its period, who could afford the luxury of adorning themselves with various kinds of costly silken clothes embroidered with gold, ornaments of gems, pearls and jewels, perfumes, rich toilets of *Gośīrṣa* sandal paste and black fragrant aloe (*kālāgaru*, Aquilaria Agalloch).

The decoration was applied to the different parts of the body in an artistic style from the head to foot.

After taking bath, the male members belonging to the royal and rich aristocratic families besmeared their limbs with the essence of sandal paste, put on fine silken clothes embroidered with gold and adorned themselves with various kinds of costly ornaments, such as, crown (*mauḍa*), necklace (*hāra*), etc., garlands[6] and shoes.[7]

Similarly the ladies of the royal and rich aristocratic families also decorated their bodies with various kinds of orna-

[1] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417. [2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 431. [3] *Ib*, 13. 6, 491.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [5] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 11, 11, 428; 11, 11, 430.
[6] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. [7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 385.

ments, such as, crown, necklaces, bracelets, armlets,[1] rings,[2] anklets[3], etc.

It is already pointed out that a class of special female decorators (*pasāhiyāo*), grinders of sandal wood (*vaṇṇagapesio*) and fragrant powder (*cuṇṇagapesio*) were employed in the service of the royal family for decorating the ladies, particularly the young married princesses.[4]

In addition, the following requisites for keeping up the standard of the art of decoration, toileting and luxury were used, viz. mirror (*dappaṇa*),[5] collyrium (*khaṁjaṇa*),[6] flowers of five colours, black aloe (*kālāgaru*), best perfume (*cīḍā*), olibanum (*silhaka*), incense (*dhūva*) and scented pills (*gaṁdhavaṭṭi*)[7].

The evidences of the taking of private and ceremonial baths and the art of personal decoration are fully corroborated by other Jaina texts also.[8]

Houses and Articles of Furniture

The *BhS* presents an account of the houses and articles of furniture generally used by the members of rich aristocratic and royal families, but it does not throw much light upon the dwellings of common men, probably because they had no conspicuous features to be mentioned. Moreover, there were some houseless peoples in the society as known to this text.

So here is given a picture of the royal palace consisting of lofty mansions,[9] inner female apartment (*aṁteura*),[10] outer assembly hall (*uvaṭṭhāṇasālā*),[11] theatre hall (*pecchāghara*),[12] bath house (*majjaṇaghara*),[13] gymnasium (*aṭṭaṇasālā*),[14] treasury-house (*kosa*),[15] kitchen (*mahāṇasa*),[16] dining hall (*bhoyaṇamaṇḍava*),[17] store house

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.
2,3 *Ib*, 9 33, 380.
4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
6 *Ib*, 6, 1, 229.
7 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
8 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1, 26, p. 24 ; 1, 29, p. 29.
9 *BhS*, 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 11, 429.
10 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
11 *Ib*. 11, 11, 428.
12 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
13 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383.
14 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
15 *Ib*, 11, 9 417, (it may be treasure also).
16 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. The word is '*Mahāṇasio*', it is clear that *Mahāṇasī* is derived from *Mahāṇasa*.
17 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.

(*koṭṭhāgāra*)[1], bed-chamber (*vāsagharaṁ*),[2] furnished with various articles of furniture.

On the burning of fire the *BhS* makes an indirect incidental reference to the common thatched house having the floor (*kuḍḍā*), roof (*kaḍaṇā*), supporting wood (*dhāraṇā*), curved (horizontal) wood (reeds, *balaharaṇa*), bamboo (*vaṁsa*), another kind of supporting wood (*mallā*), bark (*vaggā*), thin plank of green wood (*chittarā*) and thatched covering (roof, *chāṇa*).[3]

There is also the mention of a hermitage (*uḍae*)[4] made of wood grass, leaves and creepers in the forest on the bank of the *Ganges*.

Besides these, the text refers to the fort (*duggaṁ*)[5], temple (*devaulaṁ*)[6], stūpa (*thūva*)[7], caitya-temple (*ceiya*)[8], pillar (*jūya*)[9], and discus (*cakka*)[10], which also formed the parts of house-building.

The terms '*Giha*'[11], '*Āgāra*'[12] and '*Ghara*'[13] occurring in the *BhS* stand for house, while the other ones '*Pāsāya*'[14] and '*Bhavana*'[15] denote palace.

The word '*sālā*' as used in conjunction with the other words signifies many types of buildings, e. g. *uvaṭṭhāṇasālā* (assembly hall)[16], *aṭṭaṇasālā* (gymnasium)[17], *gosālā* (cowshed)[18], *taṁtuvāyasālā* (weaver's workshop)[19], *posahasālā* (fasting house)[20], and *kūḍāgārasālā* (simple conical shaped tent-like house)[21].

Palace

The text presents a colourful picture of the inner apartment of the palace, particularly the bed-chamber (*vāsaghara*)[22] the inside of which was decorated with various kinds of pictures and the outside was whitened (i. e. white-washed with limestone), rubbed and polished "abbhiṁtarao sacittakamme bāhirao dūmiyaghaṭṭhamaṭṭhe".

1 *BhS*, 11, 9, 417. 2 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428. 3 *Ib*, 8, 6, 335.
4 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. 5 *Ib*, 15, 1, 552. 6 *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.
7-8 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. 9,10 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
11 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380 ; 12, 1, 438 ; 15, 1, 541 ; 15, 1, 557.
12 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 84. 13 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 84 ; 11, 11, 429.
14-15 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 11, 429. 16 *Ib*, 9,33,380; 83; 84; 11,11,428.
17 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428. 18 *Ib*, 15, 1, 540. 19 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
20 *Ib*, 12, 1, 438. 21 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134. 22 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.

It had a variegated roof (i. e. the ceiling had a canopy of painted cloth) *"vicitta-ullogacilliya"* with lotus-flowers and shining floor having the darkness dispelled by the studded jewels and pearls (*cilligatale maṇirayaṇapaṇāsiyaṃdhayāre*) and with many equally divided parts ; it was furnished with the presents of heaps of flowers of five colours, juice, fragrance ; and it was made beautiful (*abhirāma*) by the production of spreading smell of black fragrant aloe wood and best perfume (*cīḍā*), olibanum (*silhaka*) and incense full of pleasant odour and excellent smell.

The bed chamber was also provided with the scented pills (*gaṁdhavaṭṭibhūe*) and furnished with a bed having cushion equal to the size of the human body, pillows on both sides ; it was high on both sides, sunk (low) in the middle like the pressed down sand of the bank of the *Ganges*, covered with a sheet of adorned covering cloth of linen and woven silk and *dukūla* (*dugulla*) cloth, and then a well-worked bed-sheet (*rayattāṇa*) and a covering of red cloth (*rattamsuya*) having the soft touch like that of fur, cotton, fibres and fresh butter.

It was furnished with the presents of layer of fragrant, excellent flowers, powders and scented pills.[1]

Outer assembly hall

The outer assembly hall[2] was well furnished with one throne (lion-seat) and other seats covered with the auspicious white cloths.

Likewise the inner assembly hall[3] was equipped with the seats for the royal ladies whose privacy was maintained by drawing a curtain (*javaṇiyā*)[4] in between the two halls.

This curtain was embroidered with jewels and gems and was much visible, very costly, produced in a best city (*mahagghavarapaṭṭaṇuggayaṁ*), furnished with the beautiful fillets, and it was a fine fabric decorated with many hundreds of devotional pictures, images of wolves, bulls, men, dolphins (or shirk), birds, snakes, *kinnaras* (a class of *vyantaras*), yaks, elephants, shrubs and plants[5] and other pictures.

1,5 *BhS*, 11, 11, 428.

The *BhS* gives a graphic account of the royal harem consisting of eight crown-palaces (constructed for the eight newly married princesses), which looked like the rising smiling moon in the sky. In the centre of these lofty mansions there was a great palace (*bhavana*) for the crown prince and also a theatre hall supported on many columns (*aṇegakhaṁbhasaya-saṁnivitthaṁ-peechāgharamaṁḍavaṁsi*).[1]

Articles of Furniture

These eight palaces of the harem were furnished with the following articles of furniture one for each, viz. eight best palace-banners and eight flags, embroidered with jewels (*savvarayaṇāmae ṇiyagavarabhavaṇakeū* and *jhae*), eight golden hanging chained lights, eight silver hanging lights, eight golden-silver hanging lights, eight golden high-shining lights, thus and the same three also.[2]

There is also an incidental reference to the oil lamp (*padīva*).[3]

There were eight golden mirrors[4] (*aṭṭha sovaṇṇiyāiṁ thāsayāiṁ*), eight golden foot-stools (*pāyapīḍhae*), eight golden seats (*bhisiyāo*), eight golden couches (*pallaṁke*), eight golden sofas (*paḍisejjāo*), eight swan-seats (*haṁsāsaṇāiṁ*), eight curlew seats (*koṁcāsaṇāiṁ*), eight eagle-seats (*garulāsaṇāiṁ*), eight high seats (*unnayāsaṇāiṁ*), eight low seats (*paṇayāsaṇāiṁ*), eight long seats (*dīhāsaṇāiṁ*), eight feather-seats (*pakkhāsaṇāiṁ*), eight crocodile (or shark) seats (*magarāsaṇāiṁ*), eight lotus-seats (*paumāsaṇāiṁ*), and eight *dikṣauvastikāsanas* (*disāsovatthiyāsaṇāiṁ*, it may be a kind of revolving seat).[5]

Besides these articles, there is the mention of eight chowries (*cāmarāo*), and eight palm-leaf fans (*tāliyaṁṭe*),[6] which formed the part of furniture.

A similar account of the houses etc. and the articles of furniture is also found in other Jain texts. In addition to them,

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11. 429. [2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [3] *Ib*, 8, 6, 335
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. According to Abhayadeva Sūri the word '*thāsaya*' signifies both mirror and mirror-like plate. I have taken the first meaning. [5,6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.

they deal with the construction of various types of buildings and articles of furniture in great details.

Thus the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*[1] refers to three kinds of buildings, viz. *khāya* (an underground cell), *usiya* (a palace), and *ubhaya* (a combination of the two), while the *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta*[2] throws much light upon the architectural development which will be discussed later on in the section on 'Fine Arts' in the chapter on 'Education' in details.

Besides these, the other Jain works mention the buildings made of stones and bricks (*kāṇitta*),[3] mirror-house (*āyaṁsagiha*),[4] cool-house of a *cakravartin*,[5] underground house (*bhūmihara*),[6] lack-house (*jauhara*),[7] *sayaṁvara* hall (hall for the performance of marriage by self choice)[8] supported on hundred columns and adorned with sportive statues (*sālabhañjikā*), etc.

Town-Planning

It appears from the names of a large number of important cities and towns, e. g. *Rājagṛha*[9], *Vaiśālī*,[10] *Campā*,[11] *Śrāvastī*,[12] *Kauśāmbī*,[13] *Hastināpura*,[14] *Vītībhaya*,[15] *Vārāṇasī*,[16] *Tāmralipti*,[17] etc. that there was a great development of the art of town-planning and also architecture which will be discussed later on in great details in connection with the topic 'Fine Arts.'

The reference to the existence of fort (*duggaṁ*)[18] clearly suggests that there was the construction of fortified cities which acted as the bulwark of defence against the enemy forces in times of war, if it broke out.

1 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 1, 827.
2 *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta* 97 f.
3 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 3, 4768.
4 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 18, p. 2329.
5 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 10, p. 559. 6 *Ib*, 13, p. 188 a.
7 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 13, p. 188.
8 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 16, pp. 179-82. See 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain for details pp. 187-190.
9 *BhS*, 1, 1, 4. etc. 10 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303.
11 *Ib*, 9, 33, 386 ; 13, 6, 491-92.
12 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90 ; 9, 33, 386 ; 15, 1, 539.
13 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441. 14 *Ib*, 11,9,417; 11,11,428.
15 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. 16 *Ib*, 15, 1, 550. 17 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
18 *Ib*, 15, 1, 551.

The pictorial descriptions of the town, such as, *Siṁghāḍaga* (crossway or a place where several roads meet)[1], *Caccara* (a place where four roads meet or a quadrangular place)[2], etc. and the graphic accounts of the stream of the people, going through the streets to attend the religious discourse of Lord Mahāvīra[3] at different *Caityas* reveal the well-planned cities of that period.

EIGHTH SECTION

Sports and Amusements, Manners and Customs.

Sports and Amusements

Sports and amusements are the marks of vitality of a healthy and strong social life endowed with the richness of the body and mind of the people, as it is manifested in their direct participation in these important arts of entertainment and their collective enjoyments.

They create a spirit of activity and generate fresh energy in an individual, give a new impetus and add a fillip to his work and that of the society in general.

The *BhS* throws some light upon these aspects of the social life of the people enjoying sports and amusements as developed and cultivated at that period. But it does not present a clear systematic picture of these important social entertainments.

Sports

The term '*kīlā*' of the word '*Kīlāvaṇadhāīe*',[4] occurring in this canonical work denotes the general sport or play enjoyed by the youngsters.

This reference to '*kīlāvaṇadhāīe*' (*Krīḍāpanadhātrī*) clearly suggests that a special class of female nurses expert in various games was employed in the service of the royal family to coach the young princes in varieties of sports during their boyhood.

Besides this evidence, the *BhS* mentions the taking of physical exercise by a king in his gymnasium (*aṭṭaṇasālā*)[5] before

1,2 *BhS*, 11, 9, 318.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.
4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
5 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.

his bath. It clearly shows that a special care was taken by the kings of those days in physical culture to keep themselves healthy, strong and active in order to carry on their duties of the daily life without falling victims to diseases.

There is also an indirect reference to wrestling as a part of sports, made in connection with the greetings of the people of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma* to prince Jamālī on his way to the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* to undertake the state of houselessness after getting initiated by Lord Mahāvīra.[1]

They paid him their spontaneous ovations by addressing him thus: "Kill the wrestler-like attachment and jealousy by austerity in the midst of perfection"[2].

Amusements

Besides these sports, the people of that period used to entertain themselves with various kinds of individual and social amusements on different occasions, such as, birth-ceremony, marriage, etc.

It has already been mentioned in connection with the topic 'Birth and its celebration' in the fourth section of this chapter that the birthday of the prince Mahābala[3] became a public holiday of festivity for all the citizens of *Hastināpura*. It was celebrated for ten days with various kinds of amusements and social entertainments, such as, songs and dances and was made delightful and sportive together with the peoples of the city and of the country side.[4]

Similarly the marriage ceremony[5] of the same prince was accompanied by both vocal and instrumental music which solemnized the occasion and created an atmosphere of joy and happiness for all the people attending this function.

For the continuation of a happy life of the young married couple in cheerful surroundings they were provided with the best actors and dancers together with the composed dramas etc.[6]

1, 2 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385. 3, 4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
5, 6 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.

The reference to the theatre hall (*pecchāghara*)[1] supported on many hundred columns (*aṇegakhaṁbhasayasaṁṇiviṭṭha*) inside the palace clearly shows that the members of the royal family entertained themselves with dances, dramas and songs presented by the professional dancers, actors and musicians respectively in that hall.

The *BhS* presents a vivid picture of amusements enjoyed by the ruling *Kṣatriya* princes by referring to the cases of the princes Jamāli[2] and Mahābala[3] in their respective residences at *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma* and *Hastināpura.*

It is stated that both of them passed time by enjoying thirty-two kinds of dramatic representations in the company of very beautiful young ladies, singing and singing, dancing and dancing, by fondling them in the upper palace and experiencing five kinds of sensual gratification of human desires, i.e. sound, touch, taste, object of beauty and smell, througout the nights of all the six seasons of the year.

There is also an evidence to show that the young man moved along with the young lady, holding her hand in his hand and enjoyed the pleasure of her charming association, beauty and youth.

"Juvatiṁ juvāṇe hatthenaṁ hatthe............"[4].

Besides these, the members of the royal and rich aristocratic families organized feasts and entertained themselves and their friends, kinsmen, relatives, attendants and the peoples of the city and of the country together with abundant food and drink on various occasions, such as, birthday,[5] marriage[6] ceremony, at the time of renouncing the world,[7] on the day of *Kārttika-Cāturmāsika*[8] *pratipadā* and *Pauṣadha-vrata* day[9] (*pauṣadha-vrata* = fasting vow) was observed by one class of householders after enjoying first abundant food and drink.

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. [3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.
[4] *Ib*, 5, 6, 208. [5] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. [6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[7] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134; 11, 9, 417. [8] *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
[9] *Ib*, 12, 1, 437.

The general people enjoyed pleasure and felt the efficacy of joy by performing different religious festivals, such as, festival of *Indra* (*Indamaha*), that of *Kārttika*, that of *Vāsudeva*, that of *Nāga*, that of *Yakṣa*, that of *Bhūta* (*Vyantaras*), that of *Kūpa* (well), that of *Taḍāga* (tank)...... that of *Stūpa*[1], etc.

It appears from the *BhS* that a special arrangement was made for the social entertainment of the people with the dance-drama, performed by an accomplished artist in a public hall.

An indirect reference is made in the text to the public theatre hall where hundreds and thousands of people assembled to witness and enjoy the dance-drama presented by a young beautiful well-dressed actress[2].

The comparison of the Universe with a theatre hall, made by the greeters and eulogists of prince Jamālī in connection with their greetings and instructions to him on his way to the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* in order to get himself initiated by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma*, clearly suggests that the threatre was a great resort of the pleasures and amusements for the people.

Thus it is said, "hold the flag of worship inside the theatre hall of the three worlds."[3]

Last of all, the study of the references to the drinking of liquor[4] and wine business (*rasavāṇijja*)[5] clearly shows that the suppressed desire of the individuals for joy and happiness was given a free satisfaction by this way.

The account of the sports and amusements is also found in the other Jaina texts. In addition they refer to various sports and amusements enjoyed by the people, such as, games of lac marbles (*vaṭṭaya*), tip cat (*aḍaliyā*), ball (*tindusa*), doll- (*pottulla*), cloths (*sāḍollaya*)[6], bow (*sarapāyaya*), race of bullock cart

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 383.
2 *Ib*, 11, 10, 422.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
4 *Ib*, 5, 2, 181; 15, 1, 554.
5 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.
6 *Nāyādhammakahāo* 18, p. 207.

(*gorahaga*), the play with ball of cloth (*oelagola*)[1], cock and peacock fights[2], etc.

Manners and Customs

Manners and customs of a society are the reflections upon the true nature of its culture as manifested in various forms of the individual and social behaviour and relation of the people as a whole. They are the most essential factors for determining the cultural standard of the entire community, because they reveal to a great extent the real picture of the prevailing social conditions with their all brightness and shortcomings.

Hospitality to Guests

As already pointed out in the third section of this chapter, the *BhS*[3] throws a welcome light upon the manners and customs of welcoming, honouring and entertaining friends, relatives, kinsmen, guests and monks on various occasions, such as, birth-ceremony, marriage, departing ceremony for undertaking the state of houselessness, etc. Here an attempt will be made to study them in regard to the manner of hospitality to guests.

Whenever any guest, whether a familiar neighbour or a monk, arrived at the residence of a householder, it was the social custom to welcome him in the following manner.

On the approach of the guest to the house, the host immediately got up from the seat, advanced seven or eight steps forward towards the guest, worshipped and saluted him and offered him a seat. In the case when a monk happened to be the guest, the host, after getting up from the seat, put off the sandals, put the *uttarāsaṁga* (upper garment) on the left shoulder,[4] placed the hands in the form of *añjali* salutation

1 *Sūyagaḍaṅga*–2. 13f; for others refer to *Dīgha Nikāya* 1. p-6, *Majjhima Nikāya* 1. p. 266; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, pt. 1. pp. 84f.
2 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā* 13. p-191; See 'Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons' by Dr. J. C. Jain for detailed accounts of various games, amusements, p. 238-41.
3 *BhS*, 12, 1, 438 ; 15, 1, 541 ; 15, 1, 557.
4 The meaning of the phrase '*egasāḍagaṁ uttarāsaṁgaṁ karttvā*' is not quite clear. The above meaning has been adopted in accordance with the *Pāli* phrase 'ekaṁsaṁ uttarāsaṁgaṁ karitvā'. Cf. *Pāli* Mahāvagga, Brahma-yācana-kathā etc.

(closed like a bud), advanced seven or eight steps towards him, circumambulated him thrice from the left to right, worshipped and saluted and offered him a seat.[1]

Next, the host or hostess inquired about the welfare of the guest, entertained him with food, drink and other dainties and honoured him with the flowers, cloth, perfume, garland and ornaments, in case the guest was an invited householder,[2] particularly on the occasion of renouncing the world.

If a monk[3] was a guest, his host welcomed him in the same manner and entertained him with food, drink, etc. which fulfilled the following conditions, viz. purity of thing (*dravya-śuddhi*), purity of giver (*dāyakaśuddhi*), purity of possession (*pratigrāhakaśuddhi*), three kinds of purity of *trikaraṇa* (*krta*, *kārita* and *anumodita*) by three acts of mind, speech and body (*manovākkāyaśuddhena*).[4]

It was the custom of the society that the householder should take his meal, together with his friends, kinsmen, relatives and guests.[5] But if the host was a monk, he should take his food after entertaining the ascetic guests, as it is evidenced in the case of the royal sage Śiva[6] in his *Vānaprastha* stage of life.

Different customs

The *BhS* reveals that it was the general custom of the people of its period, from a king down to a palanquin bearer, to take bath, to worship house-gods and to perform auspicious expiatory rites and ceremonies before starting any kind of work, e.g. going to war[7] by a soldier, pilgrimage to a saint,[8] or a king,[9] attending the royal court,[10] carrying palanquin by the palanquin-bearers,[11] performing birth-ceremony by the parents,[12] marriage of the bridegroom and bride[13] and consecration before renouncing the world and initiation,[14] etc.

[1] *BhS*, 12, 1, 438. [2] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134, 15, 1, 541. [3-4] *Ib*, 15, 1 541.
[5] *Ib*, 3, 1, 133; 11, 9, 417. [6] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
[7] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300; 301; 303. [8] *Ib*, 9, 33, 1; 383.
[9-10] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428. [11-12] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. [13] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[14] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134; 9, 33, 381; 9, 33, 385; 11, 9, 417.

At the time of the consecration (ceremonial bath), the same custom was observed by the retiring householder who was seated facing the eastern direction[1] or forward[2] on a bathing seat. While going by palanquin on the way to his undertaking the state of houselessness he sat always facing eastwards or forward.

Observance of auspicious moment of stars, dates, etc.

The people of that period followed the rule of auspicious stars, dates (*tithis*), etc. in the matter of the performance of their different ceremonies with the belief that their actions, if begun at those moments, would be fruitful and lead to prosperity and happiness. Thus it is found in the case of Mahābala that at the moment of constellation of star of auspicious lunar day[3] his parents caused him to accept the hands of eight princesses after the performance of due ceremonies. Similarly, there are instances of observance of auspicious dates by the householders on various occasions.

It is stated in the *BhS* that a *Brāhmaṇa*, Bahula by name, entertained other *Brāhmaṇas* with abundant best food mixed with honey and clarified butter on the day of *pratipadā* (first moon) of *Kārttika*[4].

Further, the custom of observing auspicious festivals is evidenced in the lamenting utterances of the mother of the prince Jamālī at the time of his leaving the worldly life to undertake the state of houselessness. She, shedding unbearable tears due to the pangs of separation of her son, said thus: "This tuft of hair of our Jamālī (cut off by the barber) will be the last sight (*apacchima-darisaṇa*) in many *tithis* (dates), *parvaṇīs* (festivities) *utsavas* (festivals), *yajñas* (sacrifices) and *ehaṇas* (Indrotsava = festival of Indra, etc.)."[5]

It follows from this account that the people believed in and observed the custom of preserving the hair of the departed dear ones to keep up their remembrance and to have consolation from the sight of their cut off hairs.

1 *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. 2 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385. 3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
4 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541. 5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.

It is stated here that the mother of the prince Jamālī put the tuft of his hairs (*aggakesa*) in a jewelled casket and placed it under the pillow (*osīsagamūle*)[1], after taking it first in a piece of white cloth, washing it with the fragrant-scented water, then worshipping it with the most excellent incense and flowers and binding it in a piece of pure cloth to preserve it.

Festivals

The *BhS* shows that the people of its society celebrated many kinds of festivals and ceremonies on different occasions, as already referred to, such as, festivals of *Indra*, *Kārttika*, *Vāsudeva*, *Nāga* (Snake-deity), *Yakṣa*, *Bhūta* (*Vyantaras*), *Kūpa* (well, i. e. opening ceremony of well), *Taḍāga* (tank), *Nadī* (river), *Hrada* (lake), *Vṛkṣa* (tree), *Caitya* (temple), *Stūpa* (relic worship), etc.[2] in the performance of which the entire community participated with great enthusiasm and joy.

Besides these, the people observed the ceremonies of the birth[3] and marriage[4] and the other incidents of life of an individual with the prevailing social customs of that period according to the economic prosperity of the family.

The customs of ceremonies of the birth and marriage have already been dealt with in the fourth section of this chapter in connection with the topics—'Birth and its celebration' and 'Marriage Ceremony'.

Death

The *BhS* presents a picture of various classes of deaths caused by different factors, such as, natural and unnatural, accidental and suicidal, murderous and voluntary, etc.

According to the text there are two main categories of death, viz. unsaintly (*Bālamaraṇa*) and saintly (*Paṇḍitamaraṇa*) deaths[5].

Under the first one come the following twelve kinds of death caused by the individual and social factors, viz. *Valataḥ*

1 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385. 2 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. 3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. 5 *Ib*, 2, 1, 91.

maraṇa (death caused due to fall from self control, being subject to senses, because of starvation); *Vaśārtta-maraṇa* (death caused by the tortures or torments of the senses, i.e. due to being overpowered by the sensuous objects); *Antaḥśalya-maraṇa* (death caused by the non-extraction of extraneous objects like pikes and thorns etc. or under the influence of passions); *Tadbhava-maraṇa* (death which leads to the previous life due to some action); *Giripatana-maraṇa* (death caused by the fall from the hill, i. e. accidental); *Tarupatana-maraṇa* (death caused by the fall from tree, i.e. accidental); *Jalapraveśa-maraṇa* (death caused by drowning oneself, i. e. suicide); *Jvalana-maraṇa* (death due to burning, entering into fire, i. e. suicide); *Viṣabhakṣana-maraṇa* (death by swallowing poision, i. e. due to drinking of poison, it is a suicidal death); *Śastrāvapātana-maraṇa* (death due to the striking of weapon, i.e. murderous); *Vehāyasa-maraṇa* (death due to hanging from a tree, i.e. suicidal); *Gṛddhaspṛṣṭa-maraṇa* (death caused by the piercing or eating or devouring by the vulture or wild animals i. e. unnatural death)[1].

Under the second category come the two voluntary saintly deaths, viz. *Pādapopagamana-maraṇa* (death embraced by the saint by becoming immobile like a tree in his meditative state), and *Bhaktapratyākhyāna-maraṇa* (death embraced by the saint by giving up food).

Pādapopagamana is further divided into two groups, viz. *Nīhārima* (when the dead body is disposed of and some ceremony is performed by the fellow monks for his liberation) and *Anīhārima* (when the dead body is left out in the forest or cave without burning and ceremony).[2]

Thus from the above account of the different classes of death an idea may be formed about various social forces which operated during the period of this canonical work to bring the life of an individual to an end in this mundane world.

[1,2] *Bhs*, 2, 1, 91.

Death-Ceremony

The *BhS* throws some light upon the customs of the funeral ceremony observed by the people of its society as revealed in its stray references, but it does not present a complete picture of this important social function.

Thus it is said that king Śiva performed the work (worship) of gods and his dead father (i. e. manes) (*Devayapitikayakajje*),[1] plunging himself into the *Gangeā*, while taking bath during the stage of his *Vānaprastha* ascetic life.

In the case of death of a *Nirgrantha* monk, his fellow brethren of the order performed the *kāyotsarga* ceremony for the liberation of his soul (*parinirvāṇa*) and brought his begging bowl (*patta*) and robe (*cīvara*) with them to report this matter to their religious preceptor.[2]

In this connection the two kinds of death as already explained, viz. *Nīhārima* and *Anīhārima* throw some light upon the funeral ceremony of a monk. In the case of *Nīhārima* death the dead body was disposed off by the performance of some funeral rite, but in that of *Anīhārima* the corpse was left out in the forest or any lonely place without burning it and observing any ceremony.

It appears that there was also a custom of taking out the dead body of a religious leader in a palanquin in a colourful funeral procession, after having given it a ceremonial bath and decorated it with the *Gośīrṣa* sandal paste, silken robe and all kinds of ornaments, as it is said to have been observed by the *Ājīvika* monks in the case of their teacher, Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, on his death according to his instruction.[3]

A similar account of the manners and customs in regard

[1] *BhS*, 12, 9, 417.
[2] *Ib*, 2, 1, 96. Here Skandaka is meant. On his death his fellow ascetics brought his begging bowl and robe (*patta & cīvara*) to Lord Mahāvira after performing due funeral rite.
[3] *Ib*, 15, 1, 556.

to bath,[1] auspicious moments and days,[2] festivals,[3] ceremonies of birth[4] and marriage,[5] and funeral rites[6], is also found in the other Jaina texts.

In addition, they provide informations regarding these and other manners and customs in great details.[7]

Conclusion

The study of the above social conditions clearly reveals that the society of that period was based on the traditional *Varṇāśrama Dharma* with the ideal of *Mokṣa* (liberation). But it was not rigid, as it is evidenced by the fact of the gradual absorption of different tribes and nationals into the wider social system, resulting in the racial synthesis.

Spiritualism dominated the whole individual, social, political, economic and cultural life of the people and the society. An equal attention was paid by them to both the secular and religious duties. Thus a balance was maintained to attain the goal of life which helped them to renounce the material enjoyments and desires and guided them towards the spiritual realization.

[1] Cf. *Nāyādhammakahāo* 16, 181 ; 2, 51 ; See *Rāya*. 148 ; *Kalpa*, 4, 67.
[2] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1, 24, p. 23.
[3] *Ib*, 1, 25, p. 24. [4] *Ib*, 1, 20, p. 20. [5] *Ib*, 1, 24, p 23.
[6] See 'Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons', by Dr. J. C. Jain for various funeral rites as revealed in the Jaina texts, pp. 241-42.
[7] *Ib*, pp. 227-242.

FIFTH CHAPTER

Economic Conditions

FIRST SECTION

Agriculture

The very material necessity of human life has led men to devote their time very much to the earning of their livelihood, accumulation and distribution of wealth in different forms in various ways from the time immemorial. Since then the whole economic activity of the human society has been concentrated on the production, consumption and preservation of food and other necessaries of life for the present and future days.

Thus the Science of Economics (*Vārtā*) evolved itself out of the economic pursuits (*Vitti=Vrtti*)[1] of men, such as, agriculture (*phoḍikamma=Sphoṭiḥ*—'bhūmeh sphoṭanaṁ hala-kudālādibhih saiva karma sphoṭikarma. comm.)[2], arts and crafts (*sippa*)[3], industry, trade and commerce (*vāṇijja*)[4], etc.

It is clear from the *BhS* and the other literary works that the main factors of production of the requisites of economic life are land (*khetta*), labour, capital (*dhana*), and organization (*negama*), which formed the basis of the 'Science of Economics' in the socio-economic evolution of human civilization in the distant past.

The text throws a welcome light upon the different aspects of the economic conditions as reflected in its stray references, beginning from the hunting and agriculture upto that of a developed economy of trade, industry and banking, organized and run by the private guild of merchants.

Thus the text presents a detailed account of various arts and crafts, trades and industries and professions adopted by the

1 *BhS*, 7, 6, 288.
2 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.
3 *Ib*, 17, 5, 525.
4 *Ib*, 3, 5, 330.

different sections of the people of its society for earning their livelihood, such as, hunting of deer (*miyavittīe*)[1], fishery (*macchaka-cchehim...... ...vittim kappemāṇā*)[2], charcoal-making (*iṁgālakamme*), cutting and selling of forest plants (*vaṇakamme*), making and selling of carts (*sāḍīkamme*), transport business (*bhāḍīkamme*), cultivation (*phoḍīkamme*), ivory business (*daṁtavāṇijje*), lac-business (*lakkhavāṇijje*), traffic in hair (*kesavāṇijje*), e.g. wool-business[3], wine business (*rasavāṇijje*), poison-business (*visa-vāṇijje*), act of crushing (e.g. sugarcane, etc. with machine, *jaṁtapīlaṇa-kamme*)[4], castration of bulls (*nīllaṁchaṇakamme*), act of setting fire to the woods (*davaggidāvaṇayā* i.e. clearing off jungles), act of draining or drying up the big tank, lake, etc. (*sara-daha-talāya-parisosaṇayā*) and act of running brothel (*asaīposaṇayā*)[5].

Besides these, a flourishing trade was carried on by the merchants in gold, bell-metal, cloth, jewel, gem, pearls, conch, coral, red jewel[6], etc.

These evidences clearly show that the economic structure of the society as depicted in this canonical work was based on agriculture, arts and crafts, trade and industry and banking business[7] partially controlled by the state, as it is already discussed in connection with the fiscal administration in the sixth section of the third chapter that there were well-organized revenue and commerce departments with their various activities connected with finance of the Government, such as, the land settlement, taxation, raising the standard of weights and measures, money-lending business, etc. Moreover, one rich merchant (*Satthavāha*)[8] was always associated with the administration along with the other high dignitaries of the state, probably as economic adviser to the Government.

1 *BhS*, 1, 8, 65; 67. 2 *Ib*, 7, 6, 288.
3 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330. (Abhaya Deva Sūri explains that *Kesa-vāṇijja* means cattle-business "*Kṛsavajjīvānāṁ gomahiṣistri-prabhṛtikānāṁ vikrayaḥ*")
4,5 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330. 6 *Ib*, 8, 5, 328. 7 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107.
8 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.

Agriculture

From the above list of trades and professions it appears that the agriculture (*phoḍīkamme*)[1] was the mainstay of a large section of the people for earning their livelihood.

The centre of this agro-economy was in village consisting of ten thousand families (*dasakulasāhassieṇaṁ gāmeṇaṁ*),[2] cattle, cultivable land, pasture (*goyara*)[3] tank, garden, forest, etc.

Beyond the arable land of the village lay the grazing field common for its cattle and those belonging to the state in some cases.[4]

Besides the pasture, the village had its own groves (*ārāma*) and gardens (*ujjāṇa*)[5] and ended in the unfrequented and uncleared jungles and forests (*aḍavīe*).[6]

Thus it is clear that a village had both cultivated and uncultivated lands (*goyara*)[7] for producing crops and grazing cattle respectively and also some waste lands and forests.

The text thus gives an idea of the face of the country as existing at that period.

Measurement and Survey of Land

In connection with the fiscal administration in the sixth section of the third chapter on 'Political conditions' it has already been discussed that the land was measured, surveyed, and recorded by a class of settlement officers as suggested by the words "(a) *mijjaṁ*" and "(a) *dijjaṁ*" occurring in the *BhS*.[8]

So this reference to the measuring and transfer of land in this canonical work throws an important light upon the system of land tenure as existing during its period.

1 *BhS*, 8, 5, 330.
2 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. The population of ten thousand families in a village seems to be inconceivable and an exaggeration when it is compared with that of the modern village. It may be a popular figure used by the author of the *BhS*.
3 *Ib*, 12, 7, 457. 4 *Ib*, 11. 11, 430. 5 *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.
6 *Ib*, 14, 7, 525. 7 *Ib*, 12, 7, 457. 8 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.

But the picture of this problem is, however, incomplete, as these evidences are concerned only with the royal amnesty declared on the occasion of the birth ceremony of a new born prince.[1]

Moreover, it does not convey a clear idea of ownership of the land whether the particular individual or the whole village was the owner of the same.

But it is apparently clear from the evidences of the private possession of wealth and property by the individual householders,[2] that the holdings of land by the cultivators were governed by a law which was a kind of tenure by which the purchaser obtained the right of permanent enjoyment over it and of selling or donating it, if he desired to do so at any time.

On the basis of these holdings of land by the tenants taxes were assessed and collected by the revenue officials of the Government from them in kind or cash.

Thus the stray references to the land settlement occurring in this canonical work give an idea of the presentday-proprietorship and of the officials who were concerned with the works of measuring and recording lands, collecting and sometimes remitting taxes under the royal orders.

Classification of Land

According to the *BhS* the land may be classified into three groups, viz. field (*kṣetra*), garden (*udyāna*), and forest (*aṭavī* or *vaṇa* or *kāntāra*) as distinguished by the names of different crops, flowers and fruits respectively, e. g. *Asojavaṇa, Sattavaṇṇavaṇa, Campayavaṇa, Cūyavaṇa, Tilagavaṇa, Chattovavaṇa, Asaṇavaṇa, ... Siddhatthavaṇa, Bandhujīvagavaṇa*[3], *Ambavaṇa*[4], etc.

Implement and Agricultural Operation

The *BhS* makes incidental references to some implements used in the cultivation of the fields and harvesting of the crops

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.
[2] *Ib*, 1, 1, 19.
[3] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134; 3, 2, 144.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

and gives an idea of the method of agricultural operations, etc. as revealed in its scattered evidences.

Agricultural Implements

The text mentions the following implements, viz. a newly sharpened and tempered sickle (*navapajjaṇaeṇaṁ asiyaeṇaṁ*)[1] and a sharp axe (*tikkheṇa parasuṇā*).[2] Besides these, the plough and spade, the two main agricultural tools were also used in cultivation, as it is suggested by the denotation of the word '*Phoḍīkamma*'[3] i. e ploughing and spading. The plough was drawn by the bullocks as distinguished from the others employed in the service of drawing the carts.[4]

The ripe crops were harvested with the sickle, while the trees were felled by the axe.

Methods of Agricultural Operation

The agricultural operation consisted of ploughing the fields, sowing the seeds, transplanting the seedlings, reaping the ripe crops and storing the grains of corns in a well-built store-house.[5]

Ploughing

The act of ploughing and spading (cultivation) is denoted by the word '*Phoḍīkamma*' as used in the *BhS* in connection with the holy teachings of Lord Mahāvīra on the fifteen occupations disapproved by the *Nirgrantha* religion (*karmādānas*).[6]

Besides these, there is a direct evidence of ploughing the land by the cultivators, as revealed in reference to the effects of *Kriyās* (actions) arising out of the accidental killing of some beings by a man, while digging the earth.[7]

Sowing of Seeds

Some incidental references in this text to the storing of grains[8] show that a great care was taken by the farmers for the

[1] *BhS*, 17, 7, 525.
[2] *Ib*, 16, 4, 573.
[3] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
[5] *Ib*, 7, 6, 246.
[6] *Ib*, , 8, 5, 330.
[7] *Ib*, 7, 1, 263.
[8] *Ib*, 6, 7, 246.

preservation of the germination-capacity (*yoni*) of the seeds of rice, wheat, barley, pulses, etc. kept in a well-built store before sowing them by the broadcasting method in a cultivated field at proper time and season.

The mention of some crops, such as, sugarcane[1], tuberous root, ginger etc. clearly suggests that the method of transplanting the germinated cuttings and seedlings was also adopted by the cultivators for growing certain crops whose plant life exists in their adventitious buds or roots.

Reaping

The terms '*Lavae*' and '*Luejjā*'[2] occurring in the *BhS* denote ear or stalk of corn and its reaping by a sickle respectively. When the crops, *śālī* (rice), *Vrīhi* (a kind of rice), *Godhūma* (wheat), *Yava* (barley), etc. became mature and ripe, they were reaped by the cultivator holding and compressing together the scattered stalks of those yellow-stemmed crops in arms with a newly sharpened and well-tempered sickle (*nava-pajjaṇaeṇaṁ asiyaeṇaṁ*)[3] (*dātrena*).

Storing

A great precaution was taken by the cultivators to store the harvested corns, such as, different kinds of cereals, pulses, oil seeds[4] and other grains for the future use, as already pointed out. The method of storing grains of these crops is described thus that they were kept in granaries made of the *palya* (grass), sack of corn, straw and bamboo on an elevated platform without walls (*maṁcaa*) and also on the roof of the house (*mālā*) (*abhittiko mañco mālaśca gṛhopari bhavati*, comm.)[5], besmeared with the cow-dung at the door together with the lid, and covered with the cow-dung from all sides, closed (*pihitā*) and completely sealed up with the mud and marked with the lines (*laṁchiyā*), in order to main-

[1] *BhS*, 21, 5, 691, ; 23, 6, 693.
[2,3] *Ib*, 14, 7, 525. [4] *Ib*, 6, 7, 246
[5] *Ib*, 6, 7, 246. Dr. J. C. Jain has translated the word '*Mamca*' & '*Mālā*' as a granary standing on pillars (*mañca*) & the upper storey of the house (*mālā*). But it appears that '*mālā*' was the granary made on the roof of a building as it is found in Bengal.

tain their food value and to preserve their germination-capacities (or viability) upto the maximum periods of three, five and seven years respectively.[1]

It appears from this evidence of the system of storing grains that the germination-capacities of the cereals, like rice wheat etc., those of pulses (*kalāi*) and others, and those of oil-seeds like linceed (*alasī*), mustard (*sarṣapa*) and others, lasted in the minimum for one *antarmuhūrta*, and in the maximum for three, five and seven years respectively. After that (period) their individual germination-capacities withered and got destroyed and the seeds became unseeds.[2]

It is to be carefully observed that the knowledge of the germination-capacities of these cereals, pulses and other oil seeds as revealed in this canonical work almost agree with the results of germination-capacities obtained by the experiments of the agricultural researches of the present day.[3]

Rainfall

The terms '*pāusa*' and '*vāsa*'[4] used in the *BhS* denote the rainy season and rain respectively, which are most essential for growing rice and other crops of this season.

The reference to the duration of '*Udakagarbha*'[5] (change or transformation of matter into water), upto one *samaya* in the minimum and six months in the maximum shows that the phenomena of Nature operated in causing the rainfall within a shortest period or after a long period of six months.

There is no direct evidence in the text to cite that the process of irrigation of the cultivated fields was adopted by the peasants for growing crops, but the allusion to the act of drying up (or draining) the big tank, lake, etc., (*saradahatadāga parisosanayā*)[6] by a class of people clearly suggests that the system of irrigation was in operation as it was well-known in ancient India.

[1] *BhS*, 6, 7, 246 [2] *Ib*, 6, 7, 246.
[3] Plant physiology. 2nd. Ed. Bequard S. Myor and Donald S. Anderson p. 715.
[4] *BhS*, 9, 33, 383. [5] *Ib*, 2, 5, 101. [6] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.

Agricultural Produce

In connection with the topic 'Different kinds of food' as already discussed in the sixth section of the fourth chapter, it has been pointed out that the *BhS* presents an account of staple foods, such as, cereals, pulses, other grains, vegetables, fruits, etc.

Here an attempt will be made to give a list of varieties of the field crops and other agricultural produces raised by the cultivators of the society of that period.

Both the accounts are almost the same, for the agricultural produce is consumed by the people as food for the sustenance of life.

So the varieties of field crops and other agricultural produces as presented in the *BhS* are given below :—

Cereals[1]

Sāli (a kind of rice harvested in winter), *Vīhi* (a best type of rice), *Godhūma* (wheat), *Java* (barley), *Javajavā* (a kind of *jowar*) and *Nipphāva* (a kind of wheat).[2]

Pulses[3]

Kalāya, Masūra, Mugga (Phaseolus Mungo), *Māsa* (a valued kind of pulse having seeds marked with black and grey spots, Phaseolus Radiatus), *Kulattha* (*cabalikākārah*, a kind of pulse, Dolichos Uniflorus), *Ālisamdaga*[4] (*cabalakā prakārāh*), *Satīna* (tubar cānā, Pisum Arvense) and *Palimamthaga* (*matara*), *vṛtta caṇakā* (round pulse).

Other crops[4]

Ayasi (*bhangi*), Linseed ; *Kusumbhaga* (*lattā*), Safflower, Carthamus tinctorius ; *Koddava* (*kodrava*), a species of grain eaten

[1,2] *BhS*, 6, 7, 246 ; 21, 2, 691. *Nipphāva* is also called *Valla*. See *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 5.6049. According to Jacobi it is Dolichos Senensis (Jain Sūtras XIV, p. 374).

[4] According to Weber '*Ālisamdaga* was a grain imported from Alexandria after the name of which it is called *Ālisamdaga*. See Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX.

[4] *BhS*, 6, 7, 246.

by the poor people (Paspalum Scrobiculatum); ***Kaṅgu*** (millet), a kind of parric seed; *Varaga* (*varaṭṭa*) or tubari; ***Rālaga*** (*kaṅguviśeṣa*), the resin of Shorea Robusta; ***Kodūsaga***[1] (***kodra viśeṣa***); ***Sarisava***[2] (*siddhārthakaḥ*, mustard seed) and ***Tila***[3] (sesame), Sesamum indicum.

Vegetables

Āluga (Ebony,[4] Arum Campanulatum); ***Mūlaga*** (raddish)[5]; *Siṅgavera* (ginger)[6]; *Addae* (*ārdraka*, ginger)[7]; ***Piṇḍahaliddā*** (yellow turmeric)[8]; *Palaṇḍu* (onion),[9] *Lhasaṇa* (garlic)[10]; ***Kandamūla*** (a kind of tuberous root)[11]; *Lāuya* (bottle gourd),[12] ***Tumbī*** (gourd),[13] *Tausī* (a kind of cucumber)[14]; ***Vālumkī*** (a kind of cucumber)[15] and *Vāiṅgaṇi* (*Vṛntaki*-brinjal).[16]

Other field crops—*Ikkhu* (sugarcane)[17] and ***Tambola*** (betel).[18]

Fibre-Crops—*Saṇa* (a kind of hemp, cannabis sativa)[19] and ***Kappāsa*** (cotton)[20].

Dye-produce—(1) ***Mamjiṭṭha*** (*mañjiṣṭha*, Indian Madder)[21] and (2) ***Kaṇhadala*** (Indigo)[22].

It appears from the above list of the field crops that most of them were grown in Eastern India where there are still found positive evidences of their cultivation in abundance.

Flora

The *BhS* clearly shows that its author was well-acquainted with the plant kingdom of India, particularly that of North India, and her flora and developed horticulture and arboriculture, as it is revealed by the fact that this canonical work presents a colourful description of the forests, groves, and gardens, endowed with different varieties of trees, creepers, grasses, flowers and fruits. These natural products of the

1 The *Mahābhārata* refers to *Karadūsaka* as best corn (III, 193, 19).
2 *BhS*, 6, 7, 246 ; 18, 10, 647 ; 23, 5.
3 *Ib*, 6, 7, 246 ; 15, 1, 547.
4 *Ib*, 7, 3, 277 ; 8, 3, 324 ; 23, 1.
5 *Ib*, 7, 3, 277 ; 8, 3, 324.
6 *Ib*, 7, 3, 277 ; 8, 3, 324 ; 23, 1.
7-8 *Ib*, 7, 3, 277.
9-10 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.
11 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330 ; 22, 6.
12 *Ib*, 1, 1, 19.
13-16 *Ib*, 22, 6.
17 *Ib*, 21, 5.
18 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383.
19-21 *Ib*, 8, 6, 334.
22 *Ib*, 21, 5.

plant kingdom had enriched the wild beauty of the landscape and supplied the necessary economic needs of the society to some extent.

Forests

The term '*Vaṇa*'[1] used in the *BhS* denotes two meanings, viz. the natural forest *aḍavī*[2] and the well-cultivated groves and gardens full of trees, flowers and fruits.[3]

Thus it gives a list of different classes of *vaṇas*[4] as already pointed out in the beginning of this section, such as, *Asogavaṇa*, *Sattavaṇṇavaṇa* (*Saptaparṇavana*)...... ..upto *Bandhujīvagavaṇa*,[5] *Aṁbavaṇa*,[6] etc.

A deep trackless forest is called '*aḍavī*' (*aṭavī*),[7] while the groves and gardens were known as *ārāma* and *ujjāṇa*[8] respectively where the wandering monks sometimes used to take shelter for a short period of their stay.

The plant kingdom as found in this text may be classified into the following main groups, viz. trees, (*rukkha*), herbs, grasses (*taṇa*), creepers (*layā*), and field crops which have already been discussed. The natural products of the plants may be divided into two broad categories on the basis of the economic use, namely, eatable and non-eatable natural products.

Eatable Natural Products

Of the eatable natural products grown in the gardens and forests varieties of fruits and spices, as already mentioned in connection with the topic 'Different kinds of Food' in the sixth section of the fourth chapter, are recorded in the *BhS*.

Fruits

Aṁba (mango)[9] (mangifera Indica), *Jaṁbu* (rose apple or black berry)[10] (Eugenia Jambolana); *Kosaṁba*[11]; *Kadalī* (banana or plantain)[12] (Musa Sapientum); *Pūyaphala* (Arecanut)[13]; *Khajjūrī*

[1] *BhS*, 1, 1, 19 ; 8, 5, 330.
[2] *Ib*, (*Vana*), 8, 5, 330 ; 15, 1, 547 (*Aḍavi*).
[3] *Ib*, 18, 10, 647. [4,5] *Ib*, 1, 1, 19. [6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[7] *Ib*, 15 1, 547. [8] *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.
[9] *Ib*, 15, 1, 554 ; 22, 2, [10] *Ib*, 8, 3, 324 ; 22, 2.
[11] *Ib*, 22, 2. [12,13] *Ib*, 22, 1.

(date)[1] (Phoenix Sylvestris); *Nālierī* (coconut)[2] *Tāla* (Palm)[3]; *Tetalī* (Tamarind)[4]; *Nivāyaga* (*Karañjaka*)[5] (Pongamia glabra or verbesina scondens); *Atthiya* (asthika = guava); *Tiṁduga* (tinduka) (Diospyros embryopteris) (Ebony)[6]; *Bora* (the jujube); *Māuliṅga* (citron); *Billa* (wood apple) (Aegle Marmelos); *Āmalaga* (Emblic Myrobalan); *Phanasa* (*Panasa* = bread-fruit or jack fruit) (Artocarpus Integrifolia); *Dāḍima* (the Pomegranate); *Satara* (a kind of reddish grapes)[7]; *Kākalī* (a kind of grape)[8]; *Khīra* (Cucumber)[9]; *Riṭṭha*; *Baheḍaga* (the fruit of Terminalia Belerica); *Hariṭaga* (the fruit of Terminalia chebula) and *Bhallāya* (*Bhallāta*) (the fruit of the marking-nut-plant, Semecarpus Anacardium)[10].

Spices

Jīra (cuminseed)[11] (Panicum miliaceum), *Mariya* (pepper)[12], *Pippali* (or long pepper)[13] *Lavaṅga* (Clove)[14], *Elā* (any species of cardamom)[15], *Jāru* (a kind of spices)[16] and *Suṇṭhi* (dry ginger)[17].

Non-Eatable Natural Products

Besides the fruits and spices, the *Bh*S presents a long list of different classes of the plant kingdom, such as, trees, plants having tuberous roots (*kanda*), shrubs, herbs, creepers, flowers, etc.

Some of them supplied the economic needs of the society in the forms of bark-cloth (*vāgalavattha*)[18], raw stuffs of medicine, firewood, house-building materials, articles of decoration, lac, etc, while others added to the natural beauty of the land and gave shelter to the wild denizens.

As a whole they checked the soil erosion and also contributed to the cause of rainfall which has always been one of the most essential factors for agriculture in India.

1,3 *BhS*, 8, 3, 324; 22, 1.
4 *Ib*, 22, 2.
5 *Ib*, 22, 3.
6 *Ib*, 22, 3. (*Atthika* to *Tinduka*).
7 *Ib*, 22, 3. (from *Bora* to *Satara*).
8 *Ib*, 22, 6.
9 *Ib*, 23, 5.
10 *Ib*, 22, 2.
11 *Ib*, 21, 8.
12 *Ib*, 21, 8.
13 *Ib*, 21, 7.
14 *Ib*, 22, 1.
15 *Ib*, 22, 6.
16 *Ib*, 23, 1.
17 *Ib*, 21, 5.
18 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

A list of trees, plants and flowers, etc. is given below :—

Trees

Campaya (*Michelia Campaka*—a kind of tree bearing a yellow fragrant flower), *Chattova*, *Asaṇa* (the tree Terminalia)[1], *Bhaṇḍiya* (*Śirīṣa* tree)[2] *Āsāḍhaga*[3], *Rohiyaṁ*, (Andersonia Rohitaka)[4], *Uduṁbara*[5], *Pāḍalirukkha*[6], *Tamāla*[7] (Xantho-chymus), *Takkoli* (Pictorius), *Tetalī* (Tamarind tree)[8], *Sāla*[9], *Sarala* (a species of pine tree)[10], *Masaragalla*, *Keyatī* (the tree pondanus odoratissimus)[11], *Cammarukkha*[12] (the parchment tree, the bark of it is used for writing upon), *Guṁdarukkha*[13] (Saccharum Sara, the plant pataraka), *Hiṅgurukkha*[14] (Ferula, Asa Foetida or cyporus rotundas), *Lavaṅgarukkha*[15] (the clove tree), *Pūyaphala*[16] (arecanut tree), *Khajjūrī*[17] (the date tree, Phoenix sylvestris), *Nālierī*[18] (coconnut tree), *Sālakallāṇa*, *Jāyai* (a kind of flower tree, Jasminum grandiflorum), *Bhuyarukkha*[19], *Saya* (the Teak tree)[20], *Aṁbila* (Tamarindus Indica)[21], *Jīra*[22] (Cumin tree, Panicum miliaceum) and *Sāga*[23]. Niṁba[24] (Azadirachta Indica), *Aṁba* (Mango tree, Mangifera Indica), *Jaṁbu* (black berry tree, Engenia Jambolana), *Kosāṁba* (*Kośāṁra*), *Tāla* (Palmyra tree), *Aṁkolla* (the Plant Alangium, Hexa-petalum) *Pīlu* (Careya Arbonea or Salvadora persica), *Selu* (cordia Myxa), *Sallai*, *Moyai* (Mopiringa-pterygosperma or Mussa Sapientum), *Mālluya* (Ocimum Sanctum), *Baula* (Mimusops Elengi) *Palāsa* (Butea frondosa), *Karaṁja* (the tree Pongamia glabra, a medicinal plant), *Putraṁjīra* (Roxburghii), *Riṭṭha* (Sapindus Detergens), *Baheḍaga* (Terminalia Belerica) *Haritaga* (Terminalia Chebula), *Bhallāya* (the Acajou or Cashew-nut tree or the marking nut tree, esp. acid quicea for medicine), *Khīra* (Asclepia rosea, Mimosakauki), *Nidhāī Piyāla* (the tree Buchanania Latifolia, Commonly called piyala), *Pūiya* (Bonduc), *Nivāyaga* (Pongamia glabra), *Seṇhaya* (*Ślakṣaṇa*,

[1] *BhS*, 1, 1, 19 (*Campaya* to *Asaṇa*).
[2-4] *Ib*, 21, 6, 528. [5-6] *Ib*, 14, 8.
[7-10] *Ib*, 8, 3, 324 ; 22, 1, 692.
[11-14] *Ib*, 22, 1.
[15-18] *Ib*, 22, 1. [19] *Ib*. (*Sālakallāṇa* to *Bhuyarukkha*), 8, 3, 324,
[20-23] *Ib*, 21, 7. [24] *Ib* 22, 1.

Bauhinia Tomentosa), *Pāsiya*[1], *Sisava* (Śiṁśapa, the tree Dalbergia *Sissoo* or *Aśoka*), *Puṇṇāga*, *Nāgarukkha* (Orange). *Sivanna* (*Śrīparṇa*, Premna Spinosa or Longifolia), *Asoga* (the Jonesia Aśoka). *Atthiya* (the guava), *Tiṁduya* (Diospyros embryopteris), *Bora* (*vadara*, zizyphus jujuba), *Kaviṭṭha* (*kapiṭṭha*, Feroma Elephantum), *Aṁbaḍaga* (the hogdrum or Spondias Mangifera)), *Māuliṁga* (*mātuliṅga*, a citron), *Billa* (the wood apple tree, Aegle Marmelos), *Āmalaga* (emblic Myrobatan), *Phanasa* (Jack fruit or bread fruit, Artocarpus Integrifolia), *Dāḍima* (the Pomegranate), *Āsattha* (aśvattha, Ficus religiosa),, *Vaḍa* (*Vaṭa*, the Banyan, Ficus Indica, Indian figs), *Naggoha* (*nyagrodha*, Ficus bengalensis), *Nandīrukkha*, (Cedrela Toona), *Pippalī* (Long pepper, Piper Longum having the waved leaf), *Pilakkharukkha* (*plakṣavṛkṣa*, Figtree, Ficus Infectoria), *Kāuṁvariya* (*Kāḍumvarika*, the opposite-leaved fig, Ficus opposite folia) and *Kucchuṁbhariya*[2] (*Kaustombharika*).

Devadāli[3] (Pinus *Devadāru*), *Tilaga* (Clerodendrum Phlomoides or Symplocos racemosa), *Lauya* (a kind of bread fruit tree, Artecarpus Lacucha), *Chattoha* (Pterospermum Suberi folium), *Sirīsa* (Minosa sirisa), *Sattavaṇṇa* (Alstonia scholaris, Seven leaved tree), *Dahivaṇṇa*, *Loddha* (Symplocos Racemosa), *Dhava* (Grislea Tomentosa or Anogeissus Latifolia), *Candaṇa*, *Ajjuṇa* (the tree terminatia, Arjuna),[4] *Nīva* (Nauclea kadamba), *Kuḍuga*, *Kalamba* (*Kadamba*) *Gaṁja* (Abrusprecatonins, *guñjā*), *Pāḍala* (the tree bearing the trumpet flower, Bignoma Suaveolens), *Vasi* (gendaruessa), *Aṁkolla* (aṅkoṭa[5], the plant vulgaris or Adhatoda vasica or Alangium Hexa patalum), *Kāliṅgī* (the plant wrightia antidysen terica), *Phollai*, *Akkavaṁdina* (arkavondika, the plant calotropis Gigantea).[6] *Kaṁḍariya* (*kaṇṭarikā*, *Kiṭṭhi*, *Mahu* (Bassia Latifolia or Jonesia Aśoka), *Payalai*, (*Mahu*) *Siṁyiniruha* (Trapa Bispinosa), *Sappa-sugaṁdhā* (*Sarpa-sugandhā*, the ichneumon plant) *Chinnaruha* (clerodendrum phlomoides)[7] *Āyākāya* (Myrobalanus chebula), *Kuhaṇa Rukkha*(Olibanum or thorn apple, Mesua Roxfurghii), *Uvvehalyā*, *Saphāsajjā*, *Chatta* (Andropogon or Mushroom), *Niya*, *Kumāra* (the teee capparis

[1] *BhS*, 22, 2.
[2,3] *Ib*, 22, 3.
[4] *Ib*, 22, 3.
[5] *Ib*, 22, 4.
[6] *Ib*, 22, 6.
[7] *Ib*, 23, 1.

trifoliata).[1] *Pāḍhāmie* (*Pāṭhāmrga*) *Modhari*, *Danti*, *Caṁḍī* (Andropogon-aciculatus), *Bhaṁgi* (it may be *bhaṅga*-hemp ? Cannabis sativa), *Nahi*, *Kimirāsi*, *Naṁgalai* (*Uraria*, Lagopodioides), *Peyuya*, *Kiṁṇapauyala*, *Vāteha*, *Reṇuya* (medicinal plant)[3-4] *Timira* (a sort of acquatic plant), *Sata* (Anethum Sowa), *Poraga* (pomegranate tree), *Samutava*, *Bhusa*, *Kurūbha* (a Shrub), *Karavada*,[5] *Vayaṇa* and *Thuraga*[6].

Abbharūha (Calamus Rotung or Cyperus Rotundus), *Voyāna* (*Vodāna*), *Taṁdulejjaga*, *Coragga*, *Majjarārayāi* (Plumbago Rosea), *Lakkha* (lac), *Dagapippaliya*, *Davvi*, *Sutthiya* (ka) (Marsilea Quadrifolia), *Maṁḍukki*[7], *Tulsi*[8] (Roly-basil, a small shrub venerated by the *Vaiṣṇavas*), *Kaṇhadalla*-(Indigo plant ?), *Araṭa*, *Phaṇejja*, *Ajjae* (the plant Ocimum Gratissimum), *Cora*, *Jīrā* (Panicum Miliceum), *Damanā* (Artemisia Indica ?) and *Maruyā* (Bignonia Suaveoleus ?[9] or a kind of flower plant).

Plants having tuberous roots (Kandas)

Hirilī Sirilī, *Sissirilī*, *Kiṭṭhiyā*, *Chiriyā*, *Chirivirāliyā*, *Kaṇhakanda*, *Vajjakanda*, *Sūraṇakanda*, (Amorphophallus Camp anulatus), *Kheluḍa*, *Bhaddamutthā* (a kind of Cyperus, a medicinal root), *Lohī* (Symplocos Racemosa), *Nihū* (a kind of medicinal plant), *Thihū*, *Thirūgā*, *Muggakaṇṇi* (Phaseolus trilotus), *Assakaṇṇī* (the tree Vatica Robusta, called from the shape of its leaves), *Sīhaṁḍhī* (the shrub Abrus precatorius) and *Musuṁḍhī*.[10]

Herbs

Eriṁḍa (castor oil plant,[11] Ricinus communis or Palma Christi), *Haritaga*, (a green herb),[12] *Taṇa* (any gramineous plant), *Vatthula* (a fibrous green plant)[13] *Cilliyā* (a kind of pot herb)[14] and *Kadali* (the banana plant)[15] (Musa Sapientum).

[1] *BAS*, 23, 3. [2] *Ib*, 23, 4.
[3] *Ib*., 23, 5. [4] *Ib*·, 21, 5. [5-6] *Ib*, 21, 6.
[7] *Ib*, 21, 7. [8-9] *Ib*, 21, 8.
[10] *Ib*, 7, 3, 277 ; 8, 3, 324 (*Lohī* to Musuṇdhī, 23, 2,)
[11-12] *Ib*, 21, 7 (Terminalia Chebula also).
[13-14] *Ib*, 21, 7 (it may be a kind of vegetable).
[15] *Ib*, 8, 3, 324 ; 22, 1.

Different kinds of Bamboo plant[1]

Cāvavaṁsa (Shorea robusta), *Veṇu*, *Kaṇaka* or the plant Butea Frondosa or Cassia Sophora, *Kakkāvaṁsa*, *Vārīvaṁsa*, *Daṁḍā*, *Kuḍā* (it is found in East Bengal, Aegle maremelos ?), *Vimācaṁḍā* (a kind of plant of the bamboo group, probably it is Andropogon aciculatus) and *Veṇuyā* a kind of bamboo with poisonous fruit).

Grasses

Vīraṇā (a kind of fragrant grass, Andropogon Muricatus), *Ikkaḍa* (*ekkaḍa*[2]), *Nala*[3] (a species of reed, Amphidonax Karka, 18-12 feet high; it is found in East Bengal), *Seḍiya*[4], *Dabbha*[5] (Saccharum Cylindricum), *Kaṁtiyadabbha* (another kind of *Dabbha*)[6], *Kusa* (*Kuśa* grass,[7] poa cynosuroides), *Podai* (*Ponukā*)[8] *Vibhaṅgu*, *Sippiya* and *Suṁkalitaṇa*,[9]

Reeds and creepers

Bhamasa, *Vetta* (*Vetra*),[10] *Satta*,[11] *Allai* (*allakī*)[12] *Go-poida*[13] *Virālī*[14] and *Rāyavalli* (Momordica Charantia)[15]

Flowers

Utpala (the blossom of the blue lotus, Nymphaea caerubea)[16], *Pauma* (*padma*, lotus, Nelumbium speciosum)[17], it closes towards the evening often confounded with water-lily. *Nalina* (water-lily, Nelumbium Speciosum)[18]; *Uduṁbara flower*[19] (the flower of the tree Ficus Cilomerata) *Pāḍali* flower[20] (trumpet-flower of Bignonia Suaveoleus); *Baula* (*Pakula*), the flower of Mimusops Elengi; *Palāsa* (the blossom of the tree of Butea Frondosa)[21]; *Siriyaka*, *Nara-Nāliya* (fresh lotus); *Koraṇṭaga*; *Baṁdhujīvaga* (red coloured-flower of Pentapetes phoenicea)[22]; *Kunda* (a kind of Jasmine, Jasminum Multiflorum)[23], *Avayā* (*abjā*,

[1] *BhS*, 21, 4. [2,3] *Ib*, 21, 5, [4] *Ib*, 21, 6.
[5] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417; 12, 8, 459; 21, 6. [6] *Ib*, 21, 6.
[7] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417; 12, 8, 459; 21, 6 [8] *Ib*, 22, 4.
[9] *Ib*, 21, 6. [10,11] *Ib*, 21, 5. [12] *Ib*, 21, 4.
[13] *Ib*, 21, 6. [14] *Ib*, 22, 1. [15] *Ib*, 23, 4.
[16,18] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 11, (1-8), 416.
[19] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 14, 8, 528.
[20] *Ib*, 14, 8, 528 [21] *Ib*, 22, 2. [22] *Ib*, 22, 5.
[23] *Ib*, 22,6; 23, 1.

lotus)[1]; *Nanda*[2]; *Kalambaga* (*kadamba*)[3]; *Indīvara* (the blossom of a blue lotus, the Nymphaea Stellata and Cyanea); *Sayapupphā* (Anethum Sowa)[4]; *Maṇojja* (a kind of flower which opens at midday and withers away the next morning)[5] and *Pāḍhā* (a kind of red blossoms)[6].

A critical study of the above list of flora reveals the economic resources of the society of its period as derived from the horticulture and arboniculture.

The reference to the occupations, '*Vaṇakamma*', '*Iṅgāla-kamma*' and '*Sāḍīkamma*'[7] adopted by certain sections of the people clearly shows that the trees, the natural products of the forests and gardens supplied the necessary woods for making charcoal, carts and other wooden articles required by the society in its economic life.

Forests

Forest was one of the important sources of the state income as mentioned in the ancient Indian literatures. Moreover, they were the abodes of the wild denizens some of which came to the service of the people after their domestication, e.g. wild elephants. They were also the places of serene and peaceful atmosphere for practising austerities and meditation, as it is evidenced by the fact that a number of the *vānaprastha Tāpasas* including the royal sage, Śiva[8], practised asceticism, living in a forest on the bank of the *Gaṅgā*.

Fauna

Since the hunting age of human civilization upto the present day both wild and domestic animals have supplied the economic needs of the society to a considerable extent in various forms, such as, flesh, milk, skin, bone, wool and other by-products in the peaceful civil life as well as in times of war.

In the economic life of the period of the *BhS* also, the cattle have been considered by the householders and even by the

[1] *BhS*. 23, 1. [2] *Ib*. 9, 33, 381. [3] *Ib*. 23, 1. [4] *Ib*. 11, 9, 417. [5] *Ib*. 21, 8. [6] *Ib*. 22, 5. [7] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330. [8] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

kings as one of the most important parts of the wealth of an individual family, as it is clearly expressed in the self-deliberations of the rich householder, Tāmalī of *Tāmralipti*[1] and king Śiva of *Hastināpura*[2] thus, "I prosper by gold, wealth, rice, sons, cattle",[3] etc.

The term '*Pasu*'[4] used in the *BhS* and other texts denotes both wild and domestic animals in a wider sense. Here in the *BhS* this term signifies the cattle-wealth in general which was most essential for the agricultural operation and the animal husbandry.

It appears from the *BhS* that the usefulness of the service of the domestic animals in the economic life was fully realized and valued by the people of its society. The text gives a list of the domestic and wild animals in its stray references.

Under the category of the first one come the elephants,[5] horses,[6] bullocks,[7] cows,[8] buffaloes,[9] goats,[10] sheep,[11] dogs,[12] etc.

The elephants and horses were used by the kings[13] and nobles[14] in war as the fighting instruments and in the peaceful civil life as means of conveyance in their journeys. On their deaths their tusks and bones, particularly those of the elephants were of great value for the ivory work, as it is evidenced by the fact that a class of merchants carried on the ivory-business (*damtavāṇijja*).[15]

The cows and buffaloes in general came to the service of the agricultural operation and the dairy farming for the production of milk and its by-products, while the bullocks in particular were utilized for the transport purpose to draw the carts, and the sheep and goats supplied wool and meat, skin and sometimes milk also.

1 *BhS*, 3, 1, 134.
2 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
3-4 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.
5 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300 ; 9, 33, 385.
6 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303 ; 9, 33, 383.
7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
8-9 *Ib*, 5, 3, 325.
10-11 *Ib*, 12, 7, 457.
12 *Ib*. 7, 9, 300.
13 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
14 *Ib*, 9,33,385; 7, 9,303 ; 9,33,383.
15 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.

The hides of the dead cows and buffaloes were used in the leather work for making shoes, bags, etc. as it is suggested by the mention of these articles in the *BhS*.[1]

The word '*Kesavāṇijja*'[2] occurring in it denotes the traffic in hair in general, e. g. wool-business. Thus it is evidently clear that the cattle formed an important part of the economic life of the society as objects of trade for their hair (wool) also at that period.

Cattle rearing

The text gives some idea of cattle-rearing by the people by making some indirect incidental references to this occupation of animal-husbandry. It is learnt from this canonical work that ten thousand cows formed one herd (*vaya*),[3] while a flock of goats consisted of one hundred to one thousand heads.[4]

It is learnt from these evidences that they were reared within some enclosure in a particular place provided with sufficient pastures and abundant water for their grazing and roaming, "Pauragoyarāo paurapāṇiyāo."[5]

The text further reveals that the cows were kept in a well-built cowshed to protect them from the rain and scorching heat of the sunshine at mid-day. It was in one such cowshed belonging to Gobahula[6], where Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra was born.

Castration and piercing of noses of bulls

There is an incidental reference in this text to the acts of castration of bulls and perforating of their noses done by some people, definitely for taming and yoking them so that they could be controlled and utilized in the service of the agricultural operation and in drawing the carts for the transport purpose.[7]

The evidences of castration of bulls as revealed in the *BhS* are also corroborated by the fifth pillar edict of Aśoka where the king prohibits this act on certain days, such as, the eighth day

[1] See Section on Arts & Crafts about leather works.
[2] *BhS*, 8, 5, 330. [3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [4,5] *Ib*, 12, 7, 457.
[6] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540. [7] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.

or the fourteenth day or the fifteenth day of the lunar half-month or the *Tiṣya-punarvasu* days or the three *Cāturmāsī* days or on auspicious days.

The following description of the two young bullocks[1] which were yoked to the cart of Ṛṣabhadatta on his pilgrimage to Lord Mahāvīra at the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* throws a side light upon the rearing of the cattle with best care taken by the people of those days.

It is described that the two bullocks were endowed with the power of swiftness and yoked to the cart and they had equal hoofs, equal tails, equally polished horns and were more distinguished by golden ornaments round their necks, silver-bells, the cotton naval ropes inlaid with gold and their heads furnished with the wreaths of blue lotuses.

Wild Animals

The *BhS* presents a list of a number of wild animals. Some of them are injurious, ferocious and dangerous to life, while the others are non-injurious and playful and they are liked by the people.

Injurious wild animals[2]—*Sīha* (lion), *Vaggha* (tiger), *Vagā* (a class of ferocious animals), *Diviyā* (a class of tiger), *Accha* (bear), *Taraccha* (a class of tiger) and *Parassara* (*Sarabha* or a fabulous wild animal which is stronger than the lion and elephant).

Non-injurious wild animals—*Miya* (deer)[3] and *Golaṁgūla* (monkey)[4].

Besides these, the text makes references also to a considerable number of other injurious and non-injurious lower animals of different species, both terrestrial and acquatic, birds, and insects. They are as follows :—

Injurious Poisonous lower animals (Āśīviṣa-Terrestrial)—*Vṛścika-Jāti-āśīviṣa* (scorpion), *Maṇḍūka-Jāti-āśīviṣa* (frog) and *Uraga-Jāti-āśīviṣa* (snake).[5]

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380.
[2] *Ib*, 7, 8, 288 ; 15, 1, 560.
[3] *Ib*, 1, 8, 65.
[4] *Ib*, 12, 8, 460.
[5] *Ib*, 8, 7, 316.

Reptiles—*Ahi* (other class of snake), *Ajagara* (a species of snake of large size), *Āsāliya*, *Mahoragā*[1] (allegator)[2] and *Vilas* (mouse)[3].

Non-injurious lower animals (terrestrial)-*Nakula* (mongoose)[4].

Acquatic animals—*Jalaukā* (leech),[5] *Sisumāra*[6] *Kumma* or *Kacchava* (tortoise)[7] and *Maccha* (fish)[8].

Birds—Birds are classified into four categories[9], viz *Cammapakkhī*, e. g. *valgulīprabhṛtīnām*, (bat, etc.),[10] *Lomapakkhī* e. g. *Hamsaprabhṛtīnām* (swans, etc)[11], *Samuggapakkhī* (*Samudgakākāra pakṣavatām-Manuṣyakṣetrabahirvarttinām*) and *Viyayapakkhī* (*Vistāritapakṣavatām Samayakṣetrabahirvarttināmeva*),[11] *e g. Ḍhaṅka* (crow)[12], *Kaṅka* (Heron), *Maggae* (acquatic crow), *Sikhī* (peacock), *Kukkuḍa* (cock)[14], *Bījabījaka*, *Pakṣī virālika*, *Jīvañjīvaka*, *Samuddavāyasa* (sea-crow) and *Vatta* (Varttaka).[15]

Insects—*Bhamara* (bee),[16] *Masaga* (mosquito), *Damsa* (injurious big type of fly)[17], *Pottiya*[18], *Hallu*[19], *Kunthu*[20] and *Kulimgacchāe* (ant)[21].

Dairy Farming

As already discussed, the cattle constituted an important part of the household property on account of their economic value, as milk and its by-products, such as, curd, butter, etc. formed the most essential items of general food taken by the people of that period.

The evidences of cattle-rearing and the mention of the herd of cows consisting of ten thousand head,[22] the cowshed of Gobahula[23] and the rows of cows and buffaloes[24] clearly suggest

[1] *BhS*. 15, 1, 560. [2] *Ib*, 8, 3, 325 ; 15, 1, 560. [3] *Ib*, 12, 8, 460.
[4] *Ib*, 8, 3, 325 ; 15, 1, 560. [5] *Ib*, 13, 9, 598
[6] *Ib*, 15, 1, 560. [7] *Ib*, 8, 3, 325 ; 7, 6, 288.
[8] *Ib*, 7, 6, 288 ; 15, 1, 560. [9] *Ib*, 15, 1, 560.
[10,11] *Ib*, 13, 9, 498. [12] *Ib*, 15, 1, 560 (Comm.).
[13] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 12, 8, 460. [14] *Ib*, 12, 8, 460.
[15] *Ib*, 18, 8, 644. [16] *Ib*, 18, 6, 631.
[17] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384. [18] *Ib*, 15, 1, 560.
[19] *Ib*, 15, 1, 555. [20] *Ib*, 7, 8, 294.
[21] *Ib*, 18, 8, 640. [22] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[23] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540. [24] *Ib*, 12, 7, 457.

that the dairy farming was a part of the agricultural economy of those days by which a section of the people earned their livelihood, as it is indicated by the incidental references to milk[1] (*khīra*), curd[2] (*dadhi*), butter[3] (*navaṇīya*), clarified butter (*ghaya*)[4] and jars of milk, of curd and of clarified butter respectively.[5]

As regards the poultry farming the text does not give a clear idea about it, but the incidental references to the egg of hen (*kukkuḍi aṁḍaga*)[6], chicken (*kukkuḍapote*)[7], cock (*kukkuḍa*)[8], pigeons (*kavoya*),[9] and swan or duck (*haṁsa*)[10] suggest that there was probably the cultivation of poultry carried on by the private management of some members of the society.

The picture of the agricultural economy as depicted in the *BhS* is also found in other Jaina works.

In addition, they give a clear idea of agriculture which was carried on by the peasants in a systematic way.

Thus the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*[11] shows that the arable land was the very basis of the rural economy and it was counted as one of the ten most valuable external possessions, viz. buildings, gold, seeds of grains, wood-fuel and grass, friends, relations, conveyance, articles of furniture, male and female slaves, and utensils.

It was classified into two groups, viz. *Setu*[12] (the agricultural field having mounds for irrigation from artificially made water sources) and *ketu*[13] (the land where crops may be grown during the rains) on the basis of the two different systems of irrigation, viz. artificial and natural as demanded by the exigencies of the geographical, physical and climatic factors of the region.

The *Setu* land was cultivated by the peasants with the help of artificial methods of irrigation, such as by the Persian

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429 ; 16, 6, 581. 2 *Ib*, 16, 6, 581.
3 *Ib*, 18, 6, 631. 4 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417 ; 15, 1, 541 ; 16, 6, 581.
5 *Ib*, 16, 6, 581. 6 *Ib*, 7, 1, 269. 7 *Ib*, 18, 8, 640.
8 *Ib*, 12, 8, 460. 9 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557. 10 *Ib*, 13, 9, 498.
11 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*—1,825. *Vide* 'Life in ancient India', p. 89.
12 *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, 6. 13 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, I. *Ṭīkā*, 1, p. 1.

wheels (*arahaṭṭā*) etc., while the irrigation of the *Ketu* land was done by the natural process of rainfall.[1]

The agricultural operation was carried on as usual by the man behind the plough in proper time and season with the expectation of getting the better harvests.[2]

In this connection the festival of the ploughing-deity (*Sītā-janna*[3]) was celebrated by the peasants and thus the cultivation of land was sanctified by a religious performance with the hope of obtaining good results in the out-turn of crops.

It appears from other Jaina texts that the agricultural operation was carried on by the farmers on a large scale as it is evidenced by the fact revealed in the *Uvāsagadasāo*[4] that Ānanda, the wealthy householder of *Vāṇijyagrāma*, had five hundred ploughs, each having the capacity of ploughing and preparing a field of one hundred acres (*Niyattaṇa*).

As regards the agricultural implements they refer to three types of ploughs, viz. *hala*, *kuliya* and *naṁgala*.[5] Spade (*Kuddāla*)[6] and the fencing of cultivated plots of land were also known.[7]

There are also references in some other Jaina texts to the pounding of varieties of corns in *Gañjaśālā*,[8] a wooden mortar (*udūkhala*) for cleansing rice and a threshing floor (*Khalaya*),[9] a cattle-feeding-basket (*ogokilañja*) and winnowing sieve (*suppa-kattara*).[10]

Besides these, they make mention of the sugar-cane press

1 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 1, 826. 2 *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 1. p. 109.
3 *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 3, 3647.
4 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 1. p. 7. *Nivartana* is referred to by Baudhāyana. See 'The Economic History of Ancient India'—p. 190 S. K. Das. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' p. 90, f. n. 9.
5 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 81. 6 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 2. p. 23.
7 *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India', p. 90. 8 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 9, p. 511.
9 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 10, 23, *Sūya*, 4, 2, 12.
10 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 2, p. 23 ; *Sūya* 4, 7, 12 *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' p. 90.

(*mahājanta* : *kolluka*)[1] and the house for pressing sugar-cane (*jamtasālā*).[2]

As regards the horticulture and arboriculture a similar picture as revealed in the *BhS* is also found in other Jaina works.

In addition, they make references to the collecting and piling up of fruits in a drying place (*koṭṭaka*) and despatching them to the city-markets for selling purpose.[3] There is also an account of different processes of ripening fruits according to their varieties, such as, mangoes by covering them with the husk or straw (*indhana*), *Tinduka* (the fruit of ebony) by the heat treatment (*dhūma*), cucumber (*cirabhaṭa*) and citron (*bījapūra*) by mingling them with the ripe fruits (*gandha*) of their own kinds etc.[4]

A more definite account of the cattle-rearing and dairy-farming is found in other Jaina texts. It is stated there that the herds of cattle and goats were reared under the care and protection of the cowherds (*gopālaka*) and shepherds (*ajāpālaka*), appointed by the owners of these domestic animals which were regularly taken to the pasture grounds (*daviya*)[5] for grazing.

The *Ābhīras* (*Ahīra*)[6], a particular class of the people of those days were well known for their profession of animal husbandry on a large scale.

In regard to the dairy farming, a picture of a developed state of this side of agro-economy is presented by other Jaina texts in which mention is made of the milk[7] of cows, she-buffaloes, she-camels, she-goats etc., curd, butter, clarified butter and also the milk-house (*khīraghara*)[8] where these products were obtained.

1 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 19. 43 ; *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā* 575.
2 *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 10, 484. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India,' p. 91.
3 *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya*, 1. 872.
4 *Ib.* 1. 841 f.
5 *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*. II, 3. 2. 350.
6 *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 471: *Āva. Cū*, p. 280f.
7 *Āva. Cū.* II, p. 319.
8 *Nisitha Cūrṇi*, 9, p. 511.

SECOND SECTION

Arts and Crafts

Arts and crafts have stood next to agriculture in importance and been correlated with it in the economic life of the society in every age of human civilization.

Agriculture produces the food stuffs and raw materials for the social consumption, but it cannot supply all the requirements of the people, such as, clothing, housing etc., nor can it absorb the entire population in its productive system.

So with the change in Nature, the growth of the population, and the social evolution, the very fundamental economic laws have led the surplus people on lands to discover some ways and means for finding out a solution of this grave problem of maintenance and to learn arts and crafts in order to earn their livelihood and consequently inspired them with a new zeal to render service to the whole society by their occupation in this field of economics.

The *BhS* throws much light upon these aspects of economic system by furnishing ample evidences regarding various arts and crafts which were the sources of earning livelihood of certain sections of the community during its period.

The list of these arts and crafts begins with the hunting operation and ends with the medical profession, the former involved the act of killing peaceful and playful lower animals, like deer, birds and other games for the sustenance of human life; while the latter was carried on to cure diseases, to relieve physical sufferings and to save life, particularly the human life for its continuance.

Thus the hunting of deer by trapping[1] and shooting arrows,[2] bird-catching and fowling,[3] and fishing[4] formed the occupations of some classes of the people for earning their livelihood.

[1] *BhS*, 1, 8, 65. [2,3] *Ib*, 1, 8, 67. [4] *Ib*, 7, 6, 288.

Hunting

The *BhS* reveals that there was a class of professional hunters who lived on by the occupation of hunting deer and other games and probably selling their flesh also, as it is implied by the denotation of the word *'miyavittīe'*.

Method of hunting

The text makes incidental references to two methods of hunting deer—the one by trapping them with the net[1] (*kūḍapāsa*) and the other by shooting them with the arrow (*usumnisirai*) in different hunting grounds, such as, hills, forests, etc.[2]

Fowling

An indirect reference has been made to the fowling of birds in the *BhS* where it is stated that some man holds the bow, takes the position, draws the arrow up to the ear and shoots it in the sky and kills beings in the air, etc.[3]

Fishery

The *BhS* shows that fishery, another occupation, was carried on by a certain section of the population of its society to earn their means of living, as it is evidenced by the fact of the art of making net and catching fish in the river by the people in times of economic crisis for the sustenance of their lives. The text makes an incidental reference to the art of manufacturing net thus :

"One net in which knots are tied in due order which are again gradually tied one after another without any gap and mutually tied with one another by its length, breadth and heaviness (weight), remains in a complete whole by the length, breadth and heaviness due to the tying of one knot with the other.........and thus one full production is made by the completion of knotting (*Samudāya-racanā*)[4]."

"Like the knotted net, thousands of particles of *'āyuṣ karma'* of many beings bound in many lakhs of births remain[5]".

[1] *BhS*, 1, 8, 65. [2,3] *Ib*, 1, 8, 67. [4,5] *Ib*, 5, 3, 183.

The text further reveals that the people had to live on by the occupation of fishery in the hard times of an economic crisis, as it is apparently clear from the statement that during the *Dusamā-Dusamākāla*[1] in *Bhāratavarṣa* the people, having come out of their dwellings at the time of sunrise and sunset would cause the fish and tortoise to reach the land from the axile-deep water of the river and bury them into the earth. Thus they would pass time upto twenty-one thousand years by carrying on livelihood with those lifeless fish and tortoises seasoned by cold and heat.[2]

Besides these low professions, the *BhS* presents an account of a large number of artisans and tradesmen and various arts and crafts which formed an important part of the economic life of the people.

Meaning of Sjppa

The term '*Sippa*' (*Śilpa*)[3] used here and also in the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical texts generally denotes a manual art or craft, or any handicraft or mechanical or fine art including proficiency in military art (*Cheyāyariya*).[4] Such arts or crafts sometimes called *bāhyakalā* 'external' or practical arts are stated to be sixty-four in number, e.g. carpentering, architecture, jewellery, farriery, acting, dancing, music, medicine, poetry, etc., and sixty-four *ābhyantarakalā* 'secret arts' are also enumerated, e.g. kissing, embracing and various other arts of coquetry. The term '*Kalā*' bears the wider denotation, having included *Śilpa* in it in wider sense, but it signifies any mechanical or fine art in particular and sixty-four kinds of *kalā* are also enumerated in the *Śaivatantra* and other Brāhmaṇical works[5], e.g. *gītaṁ* (vocal music), *vādyaṁ* (instrumental music), *nṛtyaṁ* (dance) and the like.

The term '*Kārī*' occurring in the text denotes a worker in handicraft, e.g. *kuṁbhakārī* (potteress)[6].

[1] *BhS*, 7, 6, 288.
[2] *Ib*, 7, 6, 288.
[3] *Ib*, 14, 7, 425.
[4] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
[5] *Vātsyāyana's Kama Sutra* I, 3, 17.
[6] *BhS*, 15, 1, 539.

Classification of artisans

The *BhS* provides a list of the following artisans as distinguished by their respective arts and crafts, viz. Weaver (*taṃtuvāya*)[1], Potter (*Kumbhakāra*)[2] & Blacksmith[3]. Ivory business[4] (*daṃtavāṇijja*) was carried on by some people who got the supply of ivory products from the ivory workers. Wheel-wright (*Rathakāra*)[5], Wood-cutter[6], Cook (*mahāṇasiṇī*)[7], Barber (*kāsavaga*)[8] and others are also mentioned.

The reference to these artisans and other professional men gives an idea of various arts and crafts taken up by certain sections of the people as occupations to earn their livelihood, such as, weaving, dying and cleaning, mining and metallurgy, blacksmithy, ivory work, pottery, building industry, fuel industry, leather work, perfumery and toiletting , etc.

Weaving

The art of spinning and weaving[9] was one of the most important professions in the economic life of the people, as it produced and supplied yarns, cloths of various qualities and screens which have already been discussed in connection with the topic 'Dresses' in the sixth section of the fourth chapter on 'Social Conditions'. Cloths were manufactured by this industry from cotton, wool, silk, dugulla bark, etc. in the weaver's workshop located in the towns and cities.

It is stated that Lord Mahāvīra obtained his residence in one such weaver's workshop outside *Nālandā* to pass the rainy season during the second year of his asceticism[10].

In connection with the holy teachings of the Master on the binding of *karma*-matter, given by way of an example, the *BhS* presents an idea of the art of manufacturing cloth thus :—

As a cloth which is fresh from the loom

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 541.
2 *Ib*, 15, 1, 539.
3 *Ib*, 6, 1, 229; 16, 1, 564.
4 *Ib*, 5, 8, 330.
5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
6 *Ib*. 16, 4, 573.
7 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
8 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
9 *Ib*, 6, 3, 233.
10 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.

(*tamtugayassa*) and is enjoyed (used) binds matter (dirt), just like that *karma*-matters get stuck in the soul.[1]

Cleaning and Dyeing crafts

The *BhS* throws some light on the arts of cleaning and dyeing cloths by making incidental references to them, while dealing with the *karma*-matter as explained by Lord Mahāvīra by way of an example.

Thus it is stated "As the matters (*pudgalas*) of a cloth which is full of dirt, mud, soft and hard dirts and dust get dissolved from all sides, when it is cleaned and washed with pure water, just like that karma-matters also get dissociated, by pure meditation, from the soul".[2]

Dyeing

The art of dyeing cloths is associated with that of cleaning them, as they flourish together side by side with the craft of weaving.

This canonical work gives some ideas about the process of dyeing cloths in a similar way like that of cleaning as already explained by way of analogy. Thus it is stated :—

"As some man throws an unused or washed or fresh cloth just produced from the loom into a pot of colour of Indian Madder (*mamjiṭṭhā doṇīe*), that surely being thrown is thrown, being cast is cast, and being coloured is coloured,"[3] just like that a *Nirgrantha* or a *Nirgranthī* becomes a worshipper (*ārādhaka* or *ārādhikā*) as soon as he or she resolves to perform an atonement for the crime committed by him or her during the journey from one village to the other.[4]

Cloths were also dyed in red ochre (*dhāturattavattha*)[5], while towels were coloured in saffron (*Gandhakāsāie*)[6].

The *Parivrājaka* monks used to wear cloths dyed in red ochre (*dhāturattavatthi*)[7].

1,2 *BhS*, 6, 3, 233.
3,4 *Ib*, 8, 6, 334.
5 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90 ; 11, 9, 417.
6 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
7 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90 ; 11, 9, 417.

Dyeing Industry

It is learnt from the *BhS* that the dyeing industry was fully developed during its period, as it is evidenced by the fact of the process of dyeing cloth and the mention of three kinds of colour, viz. mineral colour (*dhāturatta* = red ochre)[1], organic (*maṁjiṭṭhā* = Indian Madder),[2] and prepared colour (*khaṁjaṇarāgaratta* = collyrium)[3].

The term '*Rāga*' denotes both colour and dye-stuff. So the cloth dyed in red ochre was called '*dhāturattavattha*' (*dhātu-rakta vastra*), while one coloured in collyrium was known as *khaṁjaṇarāgaratta*.

The reference to '*Lakkhāvāṇijja*' (Lac trade) in this canonical work clearly shows that *Lākṣā* (lac) was another dye-product of this industry.

Tailoring

The references to various kinds of dresses, as already mentioned in the seventh section of the fourth chapter on 'Social conditions', clearly show the development of the tailoring profession by which a section of the society as known to the *BhS* used to earn their livelihood.

The existence and continuation of the art of tailoring are further supported by the fact that even the female attendants and waiting maids belonging to different Indian tribes and foreign countries were dressed in their respective national costumes.

"Sadesanevatthagahiyavesāhim"[4].

Mining and Metallurgy

The references in the text to trade in various metals, such as, gold, silver, bell-metal, gem, jewels, pearls, etc., many kinds of ornaments, utensils and weapons used by the people of its society clearly show a highly developed industry of mining and metallurgy of its period. It was one of the most essential parts of the economic structure based on the co-ordinated foundation

1 *BhS*, 2, 1, 90.
2 *Ib*, 8, 6, 334.
3 *Ib*, 6, 1, 229,
4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.

of agriculture, arts and crafts, industry and commerce and determined the scientific age marked by the development of metallic works.

The term '*Āgara*'[1] occurring in this canonical work denotes the mine which was one of the most important sources of the state income as evidenced in all the Jaina, Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist texts.

It is clearly suggested by the denotation of this term that the mining industry was in operation to exploit the mines for extracting various kinds of metal ores, such as, iron (*aya, loha*)[2], silver (*ruppa*)[3], gold (*suvaṇṇa*)[4], copper (*tamba*)[5], tin (*tauya*)[6], etc.

Moreover, there occurs also an indirect reference in this canonical work to the exploitation of the mines of gold and jewel by the four merchants of *Śrāvastī* in a forest, while searching for drinking water there, as it is related by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra to Ānanda, the disciple of Lord Mahāvīra[7].

The study of the list of ornaments as already discussed in connection with the topic 'Dresses and ornaments' in the seventh section of the fourth chapter on 'Social conditions', reveals that there was a great development of metallurgy and the art of goldsmithy during the period of the *BhS.*

Besides these, there is mention of various products of metal works, such as, articles of furniture[8], utensils[9], etc. which have already been mentioned in the seventh section of the fourth chapter in details.

Even the bullocks[10], horses[11], and elephants[12] were decorated with the metallic articles of adornment, while the bullock-cart[13] and palanquin[14] were inlaid with various kinds of precious jewels[15] and gems.[16]

1 *BhS*, 1, 1, 19; 7, 6, 287; 13, 6, 491; 15, 1, 547.
2 *Ib*, 16, 1, 564; 15, 1, 547.
3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430; 18, 10, 647.
4 *Ib* 8, 5, 328; 11, 11, 430; 18, 10, 647.
5.6 *Ib*, 16, 6, 581.
7 *Ib*. 15, 1, 557.
8.9 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
10 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
11 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383.
12 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300; 9, 33, 385.
13 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
14 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
15 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
16 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.

The ceiling and floor of the royal chamber[1] also were studded with many kinds of jewels and gems, the lustre of which dispelled the darkness from it as already described in connection with the topic 'Houses' in the seventh section of the fourth chapter.[2]

Blacksmithy

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon the occupation of blacksmith and his workshop (*ahikaraṇī*)[3] which consisted of iron (*aya*), iron furnace (*ayakoṭṭha*), pliers (*saṁḍāsaṇaṁ*), charcoal (*iṁgāla, iṁgālakaḍḍhiṁ*) furnace (*bhatthā*), leather strap or billowing bag (*cammeṭṭha*), mallet or hammer (*muṭṭhie*), wooden stands (*adhikaraṇīkhoḍī*) and waterpot (*udagadoṇī*)[4].

The text presents also a vivid picture of the working process of blacksmithy. It is described that a man cast and recast some piece of iron ore into the iron furnace with the help of a pair of pliers (*saṁḍāsaeṇaṁ*) for heating it ; then he took it out and placed on the anvil (*adhikaraṇī*) ; next he malletted, cut and tore and filed the mould ; then again he heated and allowed it to get cooled by dipping it into the water pot.

By this process the blacksmith tempered the iron-piece to bring its metallic property, specially the steel-element, to its surface-layer—thus to a state of working condition, as it is suggested by the reference to its dipping into the water pot.[5]

The text further gives an account of the art of this trade by way of analogy thus :—

As some man (blacksmith), striking a particle of iron with a great sound and indistinct noise is not able to remove a gross matter of that article, just like that the *karma*-matters of the infernal beings do not get easily dissociated.[6]

It also throws light upon the process of tempering and normalizing a newly sharpened sickle by dipping it in the salt bath solution[7].

1,2 *BhS*, 11, 11, 428. 3,4 *Ib*, 16, 1, 564. 5 *Ib*, 16, 1, 564.
6 *Ib*, 6, 1, 229. 7 *Ib*, 14, 7, 525.

The text mentions various kinds of iron-products, such as, utensils, iron-pan, iron spoon, etc., agricultural impliments-sickle, etc., and other tools and weapons, axe, hammer, anvil, etc., lance, sword, arrow, coats of mail, etc.

Thus the above account reveals a picture of a developed state of the industry of mining and metallurgy, together with its associated crafts and reflects upon the flourishing economic conditions of the society of that period.

Ivory work

The references to the '*Damtavāṇijja*' (ivory-business)[1] and trade in conch-shell (*śaṃkha*)[2] clearly show that the ivory work was a thriving cottage industry which was carried on by certain sections of the people for earning their livelihood.

Pottery

Pottery was one of the most important handicrafts of the cottage industry taken up by a class of people called '*kumbhakāra*'[3] as distinguished by this occupation.

It produced various earthen wares, such as, earthen water jar (*bhomejjānaṃ kalasāṇaṃ*)[4], earthen utensils, e. g. earthen plate (*udakasthālaka......*), *thālī* (earthen cooking vessel), etc.

The text also gives an idea of the potter's workshop which consisted of the working house, clay-pot (*āyamcani*), earth (*maṭṭiyā*) and water (*udae*)[5]. and other tools.

The mention of the rich potteress, Hālāhalā, the *Ājīvika-upāsikā* of *Śrāvastī*[6] and the description of her workshop clearly show that pottery was a flourishing cottage industry of that period and it occupied an important position in the economic life of the society.

It was in this workshop of Hālāhalā where Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, having attained the round of twenty-four years of his initiation passed time by preaching the tenets of *Ājīvikism* and practising austerity and meditation according to the

1 *BhS*, 8, 5, 330.
2 *Ib*, 8, 5, 328.
3 *Ib*, 15, 1, 539.
4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 11, 9, 417.
5 *Ib*, 15, 1, 552.
6 *Ib*, 15, 1, 552.

Ājīvika doctrine (*Ājīviyasamaesaṇaṃ*)[1] and breathed his last, after propounding the final principles of this religion to his followers[2].

It is learnt from the *BhS* that both the potter[3] and weaver[4] classes were the great supporters of the new movement of *Śramaṇa Dharma* of those days.

Carpentry and Masonry

In the economic field of the society the industries of carpentry and masonry were highly developed, as it is evidenced by the fact of a good account of many kinds of articles of furniture and various types of buildings which have already been discussed in connection with the topics 'Houses and Articles of Furniture' in the seventh section of the fourth chapter in great details.

Besides the articles of furniture, the carpenter-class produced different types of vehicles, such as, bullock cart, chariot, open chariot[5], palanquin[6], boat (*nāvaṃ*)[7], etc.

The reference to '*Śāḍīkamma*'[8] and '*Vaṇakamma*' clearly reveals that a section of the carpenters carried on the occupation of making and selling cart (*Sāḍīkumma*), while the other earned livelihood by cutting and selling woods (*Vaṇakamma*).

Masonry

The evidences of the construction of palaces, lofty buildings[9], temples (*Caityas*)[10], etc. and the colourful descriptions of the royal chambers studded with gems and jewels[11], the outer assembly hall (*uvaṭṭhāṇasālā*)[12], gymnasium (*aṭṭaṇasālā*)[13], bath-room (*majjanaghara*)[14], fort (*dugga*)[15] and other houses show that a highly developed stage of masonry was attained by the architects and the engineering talents of the period of the *BhS*.

Fuel Industry

The mention of '*Iṃgālakamma*[16]' (*aṅgārakarma*) along with the other trades in the *BhS* clearly shows that some people

1,2 *BhS*, 15, 1, 539. 3 *Ib*, 15, 1, 556. 4 *Ib*, 15, 1, 539.
5 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541. 6 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. 7 *Ib*, 1, 6, 55.
8 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330. 9,10 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. 11,12 *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
14 *Ib*, 9, 33, 383. 15 *Ib*, 15, 1, 551, 16 *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.

adopted the occupation of charcoal-making and selling it as a means of living at that period.

An account of different kinds of fuels used by the people of the society is found in the following references. They are :— grass (*taṇa*), wood (*kaṭṭha*), leaf (*patta*), bark (*tayā*), chaff of grains (*tusa*), rubbish or refuse (*busa*), cowdung (*gomaya*), sweepings (*avakara*)[1], charcoal (*iṃgāla*)[2], sacrificial fire-wood (*samidha*), *Saraka* and *Araṇi* wood[3].

Here a vivid picture of hewing wood by some man with an axe (*parasuṇā*) is presented as revealed in its stray references made in connection with the religious discourse of Lord Mahāvīra on the dissociation of *Karma*-matters of the infernal beings and of the houseless monks thus :

"As some old man having a body worn out owing to old age......tired strikes a big, dry, twisted......curved trunk of a *Kośāmra* tree with a blunt (unsharp) axe by making a great sound, while striking it, but he cannot cut it into pieces and big logs, just like that the infernal beings do not become putters of an end to all miseries by dissociating their closely bound sinful Karma-matters".[4]

Side by side, the *BhS* places the opposite picture thus : "As some young and strong man may cut and split a big, raw, untwisted, rough & straight trunk of a *Sāmalī* tree with a sharp axe into pieces without making any great sound, just like that the *Sramaṇa Nirgranthas* become the putters of an end to all miseries by dissociating their Karma-matters which fall asunder".[5]

The text describes also the method of kindling fire by rubbing the wood '*Araṇi*' with '*Saraka*', the other one.[6]

Other Small Cottage Industries :—

The references to the mat of split up bamboos (*viyalakiḍḍaṃ* = *vidalakaṭaṃ*), that of fragrant grasses, that of skin or cot interwoven with leather (*cammakiḍḍaṃ* = *carmavyutaṃ khaṭvādikaṃ*) and of blanket (*kaṃbalakiḍḍaṁ* = *ūrṇāmayaṃ kambalaṃ*)[7] clearly

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 553.
2 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
3 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
4 *Ib*, 2, 1, 92; 8, 5, 330.
5 *Ib*, 16, 4, 573.
6 [illegible]
7 *Ib*, 13, 9, 498.

indicate that the small cottage industries produced these articles as demanded by the social needs of the period of the *BhS*.

The mention of flower basket made from bamboo (*kiḍhiṇasaṃkāiyaga*)[1], palm-leaf-fan (*tāliyaṃtavīyaṇaga*)[2], chowrie (*vālavījaṇa*)[3], umbrella (*chattaya*)[4], bambooo-stick (*daṃḍa or laṭṭhi*)[5], broom (*rajaharaṇa*)[6], etc., shows that the crafts of these articles flourished side by side with the other small cottage industries to produce them in order to supply the requirements of the society.

Leather work

It is known from the text that the leather work was carried on by a class of people, as it is supported by the fact that there are found some incidental references in this canonical work to various kinds of leather-products, such as, shoes (*vāhaṇāo*)[7], leather bladder or skin-receptacle (*vatthimadovei*)[8], blacksmith's tool (*cammeṭṭha*)[9], cot interwoven with the leather (*cammakiḍḍaṃ*)[10], musical drum (*mṛdaṃga*)[11], *gilli* and *thilli* (seats used on the backs of elephant and horse respectively)[6].

Arts of decorating and toileting as profession

It has already been pointed out in connection with the topic 'Art of decoration' in the seventh section of the fourth chapter on 'Social conditions' that the members of the rich aristocratic and royal families were very luxurious and fond of flowers, garlands, perfumes, cosmetics, etc.

The study of the references to various articles of decoration, toileting and luxury, the appointment of decorators and the entertainment of guests with garlands, etc., clearly reveals that there was a regular profession of decorating by which some people earned their livelihood.

1 *BhS*, 11, 9, 417.
2 *Ib*, 9, 33. 384.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
4 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
5 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
6 *Ib*. 9, 33, 385.
7 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
8 *Ib*, 1, 6, 93.
9 *Ib*, 16, 1. 554.
10 *Ib*, 13, 9, 498.
11 *Ib* 11, 11, 430.

Thus it throws light upon this aspect of the economic life of that period.

Other occupations

Besides the above mentioned arts and crafts and industries, the *BhS* makes references to different classes of intelligentsia and professional men as marked out by their respective occupations adopted as means of living, such as, teachers—*Kalāeārya* (teacher of arts)[1], *Śilpāeārya* (technical teacher or expert)[2], *Upādhyāya* (a class of religious teachers)[3], physician (*vijja*)[4], interpreters of signs of dream (*suviṇalakkhaṇapāḍhaga*)[5], musician (*gītavādita*)[6], actor (*naṭṭa*)[7], female dancer (*naṭṭiā*)[8], painter, picture-exhibitor (*maṅkha*)[9], clown (*daviyakārī*)[10], buffoon, (*hāsakāra*) and *Kandappiya*[11], flatterer (*cāṭukara*), and others who supported themselves by their service both to the royal family and the government, e. g. standard bearers (*laṭṭhiggāhā*), sword-bearers (*asiggāhā*), spear-bearers (*kuṃtaggāhā*), foot soldiers (*payāyie*), fetter-careers (*pāsaggāhā*), bow-careers (*caraggāhā*), account book-careers (*potthayaggāhā*), etc.[12]

THIRD SECTION

Labour and Capital

Labour

In the first stage of human civilization physical labour was the main power to provide man with food, cloth and shelter for the continuance of his life.

It has already been discussed in connection with the origin of the state in the third chapter on 'Political conditions' that when the *Kalpavṛkṣas* (the wish yielding trees) got destroyed owing to a sudden change in Nature, the people, being struck with fear, approached Nābhi, the fourteenth *Kulakara*, to have

[1] *BhS*, (Comm.). 11, 11, 423.
[2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 303.
[3] *Ib*, 8, 8, 339; 9, 33, 389.
[4] *Ib*, 16, 3, 572.
[5] *Ib*, 11, 11, 29.
[6,8] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[9] *Ib*, 15, 1, 539.
[10,11] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430; 9, 33, 385 (See Comm. also).
[12] *Ib*. 9, 33, 385.

the explanation of the appearance of these natural phenomena, as, rain, thunder, etc. Nābhi told them that this change in Nature signified that from now on they were to earn their livelihood by the sweat of their brow, i. e. hard labour.

This human labour has produced food, made cloths and such shelters and brought into existence wealth and capital in the society. In a word they are the products of labour, the excess of which has taken the form of capital.

It has already been discussed in the second section of this chapter that certain sections of the people lived on by the occupation of different arts and crafts, such as, hunting, fowling, fishery, weaving, smithy, pottery, etc.

They supplied skilled labour for the production of particular economic requirements of the social consumption.

The evidences regarding the nature of various kinds of jobs of the family servants, female nurses, waiting maids as already mentioned, show that they formed the contingent of unproductive labour.

Besides these, the fifteen disapproved occupations (*karmādānas*)[1] as referred to in the beginning of this chapter involved both physical and mental labour without which they could not be carried on for a day.

Capital

Capital, an important factor in the field of economics, is in a real sense the accumulated product of human labour in different forms, such as, land, cattle, house, wealth, money, precious metals, etc., which have been brought into a very useful state by men from the time immemorial.

It has already been discussed in connection with the origin of the state in the third chapter that with the change in Nature and growth in the population a social evolution began in regard to the earning of livelihood.

[1] *BhS*, 8, 5, 330.

The people gradually took to the occupations of agriculture, arts and crafts, trade and commerce to produce more necessaries of life by hard labour under the clemency of natural forces.

The instinct of possession combined with the necessity of sustaining and continuing their life guided them to accumulate and save their resources and products of labour for the future use in times of economic crisis.

Thus the conception of wealth and capital emerged in the age of the barter system of economics.

The invention of metal and coinage further facilitated the operation of the economic laws with the development of which there arose the problem of possession and inheritance of the earned and unearned wealth and capital in the shapes of land, corn, cattle, house, metal and coins inherited from generation to generation.

The *BhS* presents such a picture of a fully developed economy in which the capital played an important part in the individual and social relations with regard to the material prosperity, power and enjoyments.

Thus it is learnt that the rich householder like Tāmalī of *Tāmralipti*[1] prospered by gold, money, corn, sons, cattle and other abundant wealths, such as, jewel, gem, pearl, conch, precious stones, coral, red jewel, etc.

While a class of merchants[2] carried on trade in gold, bell-metal, cloth, jewel, pearl, conch, etc , the other group[3] doubled its money by a flourishing banking business.

Like Tāmalī, king Śiva[4] of *Hastināpura* also prospered by the same kinds of wealth as possessed by the former, in addition to his kingdom, army, treasury and city.

The opulence of the family wealth of the prince, Jamālī[5] inherited from his father, grandfather, great-grandfather, is

[1] *BhS*, 3, 1, 134. [2] *Ib*, 8, 5, 328. [3] *Ib*, 2, 5, 107.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. [5] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

clearly revealed in the arguments of his mother to dissuade him from his resolution to undertake the state of houselessness. It was so great in quantity that if he enjoyed and distributed it according to his desire, it would not get exhausted even in the seventh generation from him.

It is further known that in the case of marriage in the royal family[1] one crore of gold pieces was the standard amount of dowry for the bride in addition to the other valuable articles.

These evidences clearly show that both the earned and unearned wealths inherited from generation to generation formed the capital of an individual citizen in the economic organization and determined the individual and social relations with one another.

Besides these, the capital, combined with the labour power controlled the fields of agriculture, arts and crafts, industry and commerce, production and distribution of wealth of the entire economic system of the society.

Organization

Organization is a most important factor in the economic field, because it brings the capital and labour power into a mutual relation and employs their collective service in the production of the necessaries of social life and national wealth and their distribution among the people at large. Even a big industry or a flourishing business establishment with a large capital declines and ultimately leads to bankruptcy without its proper guidance.

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon organization by testifying to the existence of a number of economic guilds and corporations formed of many merchants. They advocated private enterprise based on collective system which gave an impetus and an incentive to the growth of industry, trade and commerce and brought material prosperity to themselves and to the economic life of the people as a whole.

Thus it is learnt that a flourishing economic guild of the merchants, Śaṅkha, Pokkhalī and others[2] existed in the city of

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.

[2] *Ib*, 12, 1, 437.

Śrāvastī and played a prominent part in the material prosperity of its citizens.

There is also a mention of a large economic corporation of eight thousand merchants of *Hastināpura* under the presidentship of Kārttikadatta[1] who exercised his authority over them in matters concerned with this great establishment.

Besides these two instances, an incidental reference occurs in the *BhS* to a private limited banking organization, as already pointed out, formed and run by the merchants of the city of *Tuṅgikā*[2] who increased their wealth by money-lending business.

The story of the four merchants of *Śrāvastī* as related by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra to Ānanda, a disciple of Lord Mahāvīra, gives some idea of the co-operative mercantile organization of the high and low class merchants to carry on their inland trade.

Thus it is stated that four merchants of that city, being desirous of gaining wealth took many kinds of abundant saleable articles, sufficient food and drink and other provisions for the journey in bullock carts and went to the distant land and entered into a large forest having no village, no water pond but unfrequented path and struggled with their caravans of bullock carts through it to reach their destination[3]

The existence of such economic groups was represented by the first (chief) merchant (*paḍhama satthavāha*) who was always associated with the administration of the state, probably as financial adviser to the government, for his knowledge and experience in the economic affairs were considered most essential for the material prosperity of the state and the people at large.

Thus it appears that the important branches of the arts, crafts, industry, trade and commerce demanded some sorts of guilds for their successful running and development.

The reference to the existence of '*Negama*' (trade-guild) in the *BhS* reminds one of the *Negama* coins of Taxila, or *Pañca Nikama* coins issued by the independent economic guilds of

[1] *BhS*, 18, 2, 437. [2] *Ib*, 2, 5, 107. [3] *Ib*, 15, 1, 543.

that city which enjoyed the privilege of self-autonomy in economic affairs.

So it is presumable from the mention of *Vāṇijyagrāma*,[1] '*Negama*' (trade-guild) of the eight thousand merchants of *Hastināpura* under the guild-president, Kārttikadatta[2], and '*Paḍhama Satthavāha*'[3] that there were some economic organizations based on trade rules and regulations, recognized and sanctioned by the state to carry on both the internal and external trade and commerce.

It was perhaps through the first merchant or the guild-president and the guild, the king executed the trade and industrial policies of the government.

It was probably for this reason, the first merchant was assigned an important position among the high dignitaries of the state and was considered as a wealthy favourite in the royal court.

FOURTH SECTION

Trade and Commerce

Along with the agriculture, arts and crafts and industries, trade and commerce play a vital role in the economic life of the people, the society and the state for the promotion of their respective material prosperities by causing the flow of various kinds of marchandise to every part of the country and to the foreign land. Thus they help the distribution of the necessary commodities of civic life among the people according to their needs based on the laws of supply and demand.

The *BhS* gives a good account of various kinds of trade and commerce carried on by the different classes of merchants on their private enterprise during its period.

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 424.
2 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 13, 6, 491.
3 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300 ; 303.

In this respect some business terms associated with trade, reveal the different aspects of the general trade and commerce as existing at that period.

The term '*Vāṇijja*'[1] used in the *BhS* and other texts denotes the general trade, while the following ones, *Vaṇiya*[2] or *Seṭṭhī*[3], *paṇiya*[4], *appamahaggha*[5], *uvaṇīya* and *aṇuvaṇīya*[6], *sukka*,[7] *paṇiyabhūmi*[8], *kuttiyāvaṇa*[9], *āpaṇa*[10], *kaṭiya*[11], *vikkiṇa*[12], *sātiejjā*[13], (*satyaṅkara*), *dhaṇa*[14], *āyogapayoga*[15] and *lābha*[16], stand for merchant, saleable commodity, price, purchased article, taken and not taken, customs, market place, emporium, shop, purchase, sale, earnest money, currency or wealth, money-lending and profit respectively.

It is clear from the denotations of these terms that there was a regular system of trade based on some commercial laws and customs sanctioned by the state and observed by the society as depicted in this canonical work.

The main features of trade and commerce were the purchase and sale of goods of all kinds as demanded by social needs.

In the matter of sale or purchase there appears to be a custom of paying the earnest money (*sātiejjā*)[17] by the purchaser (*kaiyassa*) to the seller as a security of good faith or business agreement.

The *BhS* clearly shows that the desire for gaining[18] and increasing[19] wealth was the dominating motive of the merchantile class, as it is evidenced by the fact that some high and low merchants of *Śrāvastī*,[20] "desirous of gaining wealth, greedy of wealth and thirsty for wealth" went abroad, having taken many

1 *BhS*, 8, 5, 330.
2 *Ib*, 11, 11, 424 ; 15, 1, 547.
3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 424 ; 18, 2, 608.
4 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547.
5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
6 *Ib*, 5, 6, 206.
7 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
8 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
9,10 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
11,3 *Ib*, 5, 6, 205.
14 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.
15 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107 ; 5, 6, 205.
16 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
17 *Ib*, 5, 6, 205.
18 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547.
19 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107.
20 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547.

kinds of abundant saleable articles and food, drink and other provisions for the journey in multitudes of bullock carts, while the merchants of *Tuṅgikā* doubled their wealth by a flourishing banking business (*āyogapayogeṇa*).[1]

Trade routes

Thus it is clear that the trade and commerce were generally carried on by land routes, sometimes passing through dense forests.[2] But the reference to the appearance of some foreign female slaves,[3] e. g. *Siṁghalī*, *Ārabī*, *Pārasī* and others in the service of the royal and aristocratic families of North-Eastern India clearly suggests that water-routes were also followed by the merchants. A detailed discussion on this topic will be made later on in connection with the subject "External trade".

Trade centres

According to the *BhS* all the capital cities and small towns appear to be the centres of trade and commerce, as they were closely connected with the economic life of the people.

So a number of these business centres figure in the text, such as, *Campā*,[4] *Rājagṛha*,[5] *Vaiśālī*,[6] and *Vāṇiyagrāma*,[7] *Mithilā*,[8] *Śrāvastī*,[9] *Kauśāmbī*,[10] *Hastināpura*,[11] *Vītibhaya*,[12] *Tuṅgikā*,[13] *Ālabhikā*,[14] *Vārāṇasī*,[15] *Kajaṅgalā*,[16] *Nālandā*,[17] *Siddhārtthagrāma*, *Kūrmagrāma*, *Kollāya*,[18] *Bebhela*,[19] *Śatadvāra*,[20] *Meṇḍhikagrāma*,[21] *Tāmralipti*, etc.[22]

Most of these trade centres are identifiable and are located in the geographical horizon of North-Eastern India, particularly in Bihar and Uttara Pradeśa, the rest are casually

1 *BhS*, 2, 5, 107. 2 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547. 3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 386. 5 *Ib*, 1, 1, 4. 6 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
7 *Ib*, 11, 11, 424. 8 *Ib*, 9, 1, 312.
9 *Ib*, 12, 1, 437; 15, 1, 539. 10 *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
11 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. 12 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
13 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107; 11, 11, 428; 16, 5, 557. 14 *Ib*, 11, 12, 433.
15 *Ib*, 15, 1, 550. 16 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90. 17-18 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541.
19 *Ib*, 3, 2, 144. 20 *Ib*, 15, 1, 559. 21 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557.
22 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.

mentioned outside this zone, e g. *Vītibhaya* and *Tāmralipti* were situated in the far west (*Sindhu*) and far South-Eastern India (Midnapore in West Bengal) respectively. Their proper identifications will be dealt with later on in the geographical section of the eighth chapter.

Articles of trade

The *BhS* provides a long list of articles of various kinds of trades carried on by the merchants of all classes.
They are as follows :—

(1) Food-stuffs—cereals[1] and pulses[2], vegetables[3] and fruits,[4] milk products[5] (curd, butter and clarified butter), sweets (honey and molasses), and drinks (*rasa, surā, majja*=wine and liquor), and others.

(2) Clothes and dresses[6]—cotton, silken and woolen stuff of various kinds as already referred to in connection with "Dresses" in the seventh section of the fourth chapter.

(3) Dye-stuffs[7]—Indian madder, collyrium and lac.

(4) Leather products[8]—leather bladder, shoe, etc.

(5) Ornaments of various kinds[9] as already mentioned in connection with the topic 'Ornaments' in section seven of the fourth chapter.

(6) Perfumes and toilets[10]—aloe, incense, scented pills, sandal, etc.

(7) Utensils[11]—both earthen and metallic—such as, earthen jar, water pitch, iron pot, copper pot, iron pane, etc.

(8) Metal images of gods and goddesses.[12]

(9) Articles of furniture of various kinds[13] as already referred to in the seventh section of the fourth chapter.

(10) Transports of different types[14], such as, palanquin, bullock-cart, chariot, boat, etc.

1,3 *BhS*, 6, 7, 246.
4,5 *Vide Supra* Ch. IV.
6 *Vide Supra* Ch. IV, Sec. 7.
7 *Vide Supra* Ch. V, Sec. 2.
8 *Vide Supra* Ch. V, Sec 2.
9 *Vide Supra* Ch. IV, Sec. 7.
10 *BhS*, 11, 11, 428 ; 9, 33, 385; *Vide Supra* Ch. IV, Sec. 7.
11 *Vide Supra* Ch. IV, Sec. 6.
12 *Vide Supra* Ch. V, Sec. 2.
13 *Vide Supra* Ch. IV, Sec. 7.
14 *Vide Supra* Ch. V, Sec. 5.

(11) Musical instruments of various kinds[1], such as—*Saṅkha, Sṛṅga, Laghuśaṅkha*, etc. They will be discussed later on in connection with the topic 'Music' in the sixth chapter on 'Education' in details.

(12) Weapons of different classes.[2]

(13) Agricultural implements and other tools.[3]

(14) Precious metals[4]—such as, gold, bell-metal, etc.

Besides these, we come across references to other articles of trade, such as, ivory (*daṁta*), lac (*lakkhā*), hair or wool (*kesa*), wine (*rasa*) and poison (*visa*)[5] as they are clearly suggested by the denotations of the words *daṁtavāṇijja, lakkhavāṇijja, kesavāṇijja, rasavāṇijja* and *visavāṇijja* respectively.

Distribution of wealth

The distribution of social wealth and necessaries of household life among the people according to their real needs and demands is the next important factor of Economics on which largely depend the regulation and stabilization of the economic conditions of the society.

It is this process of distribution of the national products of all kinds which helps in bringing plenty and prosperity to an individual member, the public and the state at large by providing them with the essential requisites according to their necessities and demands.

It is sometimes found in the history of social economy that in spite of sufficient productions and storage of consumable goods the people in general suffered from the effects of economic distress, starvation and famine due to a defective commercial policy and maladministration of the government and the anti-social attitude of the mercantile class.

Process of Distribution of wealth

According to the *BhS* the distribution of wealth as

[1] *Vide Supra* Ch. VI, section on fine arts.
[2] *Vide Supra* Ch. VI, section on Military Science.
[3] *Vide Supra* Ch. V, Sec. 1 & 2. [4] *Vide Supra* Ch. V, Sec. 2.
[5] *BhS* 8, 5, 330.

produced in its society may be classified into four groups, viz. tax and customs, wage, interest, and profit.

Tax and customs—One portion of this national wealth went to the state-coffer in the shape of taxes and customs (*karaṁ* and *sukkaṁ*)[1] collected by the government officials from the produces of land and commerce respectively at some rates, not specifically mentioned, as already pointed out in connection with the fiscal administration in the third chapter, while the remainder came to the social use and consumption of the people in general.

Wage—The officials and other servants of the state, family-attendants and different tradesmen received their portion in the form of salaries, according to the nature of their respective jobs and the hired labourers got wages for their labour, as it is suggested by the term *'bhayagattāe'*[2] (hired labourer).

Interest—A class of merchants[3] earned their income by the banking business from the interest on the money invested by them at some rate, as it has already been mentioned that the *Sramaṇopāsakas* of *Tuṅgikā* increased their wealth by the money-lending profession.[4]

Profit—Profit is the surplus wealth produced by the organized power of labour, skill and management of the industry and commerce over the actual cost of the production of goods.

It was the remuneration to the organizers of the industrial and commercial establishments, as it is evidenced by the fact that the merchants[5] went abroad for trade with the desire to gain much wealth and returned home with a large amount of the same after a long period of sixteen years[6].

Measures and Weights

The *BhS* throws some light upon the system of measures and weights used in commercial transaction during its period.

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. 2 *Ib*, 12, 7, 458. 3,4 *Ib*, 2, 5, 107.
5 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547. 6 *Ib*, 12, 6, 456.

The reference to the word '*Māṇummāṇa*'[1] used in this canonical work in connection with the royal amnesty declared by Bala, the king of *Hastināpura* on the occasion of the birth of his son, Mahābala, clearly suggests that the state took some steps to increase the standard of the measures and weights in order to give an economic relief to the people and an impetus to trade and commerce.

The term '*Māṇummāṇa*' as occurring here denotes both the cubic and gravitational measures. It was thought by the king to increase the standard of weights and measures, as it is clearly evidenced by the fact of the mention of *kūḍatulā* and *kūḍamāṇa* (false weight and false measure)[2] in course of the holy teachings of Lord Mahāvīra on the binding of the *āyuṣkarma* of lower animals.

The references to false weights and measures as found in this canonical work are also made to in the *Uvāsagadasāo* in connection with the taking of vow of Ānanda, a wealthy householder of *Vāṇijyagrāma* that "he must know and avoid the following five typical offences against the law of abstention from gross taking of things not given, viz. receipt of stolen property, employment of theives, smuggling into a forbidden country, false weights and measures and dealing with adulterate wares"[3].

Patañjali[4] explains that the term '*Unmāna*' denotes a measure of weight, while the other ones '*māṇa*', '*Parimāṇa*' and '*Pramāṇa*' stand for that of volume or capacity and a lineal measure or dimension respectively.

"Ūrddhvamānaṁ kilonmānaṁ Parimāṇaṁ tu sarvataḥ,
Āyāmas tu Pramāṇaṁ syāt saṁkhyā bāhyā tu sarvataḥ"[5].

1 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429, *māṇa*-signifies both dimension (side, length, height in space and time) and weight also, while *ummāṇa* only stands for measure and weight.
2 *Ib*, 8, 9, 351.
3 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 1, 47, (Translated by Hoernle), pp. 23-24.
4 *Patañjali's Bhāṣya*, V. 1. 19; II. 343.
5 *Ib*, *Bhāṣya*, V. 1. 19: II. 343. *Vide* 'India as known to Pāṇini' by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Ch. IV-Section-8, p. 258.

It appears from the *BhS* that the government took some measure in regard to the measures and weights used in business transaction.

The text gives some idea about the weights and measures of length, volume, figure and time in its scattered statements.

The incidental reference to the "*Suvaṇṇamāsa* and *ruppamāsa*"[1] (gold and silver *māsas*) suggests that this system of weight was also used in the business transaction. One *māsa* denoted a weight, which was equal to five rattis for gold and two for silver[2], but it also signified the name of a coin[3].

Besides these, there is the mention of different kinds of measures, e g. *aṅgulippamāṇa* (length) having the size of a finger[4], *kukkuḍi-aṃḍagappamāṇa* (size of an egg of a hen)[5], *saṇakhapamāṇa* (quantity contained in a nail)[6], *purusappamāṇakāla* (i.e. a *prahara*, the length of shadow having the size of a man)[7], *yojana* (a measure of length of four *krośas* = 4.54 British miles)[8], etc.

Currency

The references to earnest money (*sātiejjā*)[9], wealth (*dhaṇa*)[10], in the *BhS* clearly imply that there was a regular system of currency which facilitated business transaction and regulated the whole economic condition of its period by issuing legal coins as the medium of exchange, for it is suggested by the mention of the word '*Suvaṇṇakoḍīo*'[11] which denotes wealth in terms of gold coins.

Moreover, it has already been pointed out that the *Māsa*[12] may denote the name of a coin of specific weight.

1 *BhS*, 18, 10, 647. 2 *Arthaśastra*, 18, 10, 647.
3 *Pāṇini*, V. 1. 34. *Vide*, 'India as known to Pāṇini', Ch. IV, p. 259.
4 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385. 5 *Ib*, 1, 11, 424
6 *Ib*, 15, 1, 543. 7,8 *Ib*, 11, 11, 424. (See comm.)
9 *Ib*, 5, 6, 205. 10 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134; 11, 9, 417.
11 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. 12 *Ib*, 18, 10, 647

In the history of coinage in ancient India it is found that various kinds of metals, such as, gold, silver, copper, lead, potin, etc., were used to make coins according to different standards of weight and value.

Here the text does not throw any light upon the standard of weight and value of the gold coin (*suvarṇa*). But it may be guessed on the evidences of the *Kuṣāṇa* and *Gupta* coins that the weight of one *Suvarṇa* coin was one hundred and twenty-three grains and had a value equal to that of the Roman gold coin '*Dinarious*'.

Banking and Loans

The *BhS* throws some light upon the banking system as existing and working in the economic field during its period.

The term '*Dhaṇa*'[1] denotes wealth which is defined in terms of gold currency, e.g. '*Suvaṇṇakoḍīo*'[2], but a new classical word (*sāvayejja, svāpateya*)[3] unknown to the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas* occurs here to signify property.

This word corresponds to the *Pāli* word '*Sāpateyya*' and Pāṇini's '*Svapatau*' to which he has attached a legal definition as "*Svapatau sādhu*"[4] – that is, the property in which the owner (*svapati*) has a valid title (*sādhutā*).

The *BhS* classifies the wealthy people by attributing to them the distinguishing title '*aḍḍhe*'[5] which corresponds to the *Pāli* word '*aḍḍho*', while the Aśokan Edicts mention '*ibbha*'[6] (Skt. *ibhya*) as a rich man who appears to belong to the same category of the *aḍḍhas* (well to-do persons) of the *BhS*.

Banking

It has already been mentioned that there is a pointed reference to the private banking system organized and run by the *Śramaṇopāsakas* of *Tuṅgikā*, as it is clear from the fact that

1 *BhS*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.
2 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
3 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417.
4 *Pāṇini*, IV, 4, 104. *Vide*, 'India as known to Pāṇini' by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, p. 274.
5 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
6 Aśokan Rock Edict-5th M.V.

India had a trade relation with Alexandria after the name of which the grain was known to be as '*Ālisaṁdaga*' in India where it was imported from that Greek city by way of foreign trade.

This commercial intercourse with Alexandria seems to be supported by the evidence of the Aśokan Edict[1] in which it is stated that king Aśoka established diplomatic and cultural relations with Alikasudara which was one of the five Greek Potentates.

The fact of foreign trade between ancient India and Greece is corroborated by the topographical account of the Periplus[2] of the Erythraean Sea in which it is recorded that the ships abound in the port of Muziris (modern Cranganore in South-Western India) from Arab, Greece and Persia.

Besides these, the mention of some waiting maids belonging to different Indian tribes and foreign countries[3], such as *Cilātikās Siṁghalīs*, *Arabīs*, *Pārasīs*, etc., clearly suggests that India had a regular trade relation with those countries, as it is evidenced by the fact that those female attendants were dressed in their respective tribal and national costumes which also formed the articles of trade.

The evidences of external trade are also corroborated by those of other Jaina texts during their periods.

It is learnt from the *Uttarādhyayana-Ṭīkā*[4] that Ayala, a merchant of *Ujjayinī*, carried on a regular foreign business with *Pārasa* country (Persia) by the land and sea routes, having taken the merchandise from India for sale and purchased the commercial goods from that country.

The Buddhist works also throw much light upon the relation of ancient India with the foreign countries in this field of economic affairs.

Thus it is known from them that the overland Caravans, sometimes going east and west[5] and also across the deserts, took

[1] R. E. XIII. [2] The 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' Schoff.
[3] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380. [4] *Uttarādhyayana-Ṭīkā*, 3. P. 64
[5] *Jātaka*, 1, 98 f.

the help of 'a land pilot' (*thala-niyyāmaka*) to cross them over during the cooler periods of the night, being guided by the position of stars[1]

Such caravans might have started from Banaras, the chief industrial and commercial centre as mentioned in the Buddhist works, across the deserts of *Rājaputānā* westward to the seaport of *Bharukaccha*, the present Broach[2] and the sea-port of *Sovīra* and its capital city, *Rorura* or *Roruka*[3]

It was probably from these ports that the Indian merchants established their trade relation with Babylon or *Bāveru*. This evidence is supported by the fact that the *Milindapañha*[4] has left an account of the main objective of India's oversea-trade at a later date.

FIFTH SECTION

Roads and Communications

Roads and communications are the most essential factors for the defence, economic development and material prosperity of a country, because they are the arteries of the state body through which flows the volume of trade and commerce to its different parts and to the outside world.

Thus they bring the people of the society into a closer contact and help them in establishing the economic, political, social and cultural relations with the foreign countries by facilitating the exchange of mutual thoughts and ideas carried through the external affairs, trade and commerce of a state.

It is a well known fact in the history of ancient India how the caravans of Indian merchants and her sea-traders helped indirectly in spreading her religions and cultures to central Asia, China, Africa, *Siṁhala*, *Suvarṇadvīpa* and *Kamboja* respectively,

[1] *Jātaka*, 1, 107. [2] *Ib*, III, 188 ; IV. 137.
[3] *Ib*, III, 470. 80, II, 235 ; *Divyāvadāna*, 544.
[4] *Milindapañha*, 359 ; Trans. II, 269 (S. B. E.) XXXVI.

by taking along with them the Indian monks to these countries on their great missions.

It appears from the references to '*Siṁghāḍagatiyacaukka-caccara*' (junctions of three, four and many roads)[1], '*paha*' (road)[2], and '*Pahakara*' (road-maker or road or traffic officer)[3], that there was a regular system of developed city traffic and well-construct-ed roads organized and maintained by the state during its period.

It is further evidenced by the fact that whenever Lord Mahāvīra appeared in any city, streams of people of that city flowed to him through its streets to attend his religious discourses and they talked about him and his holy teachings, standing at the crrossings of different roads.[4]

Then the members of the rich and aristocratic and royal families went to the Master, driving in bullock-carts[5] or in horse-chariots[6] or in a royal procession consisting of cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry[7] to listen to his sermons as it is found in the cases of Ṛṣabhadatta a rich *Brāhmaṇa* of *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍa-grāma*, the prince Jamālī or *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma*, queen Mṛgāvatī and the princess Jayantī and king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī*, and king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* who made pilgrimage to him at different *Caityas*.

These evidences clearly suggest that there was an organized city-traffic system run by every state of those days.

Besides these facts, the events of the two great wars, viz. *Mahāśilākaṇṭakasaṅgrāma*[8] and *Rathamusala-saṅgrāma*[9], as already discussed in the third chapter on 'political conditions', further support the above evidences that the movements of the army consisting of cavalry, elephant, chariot and infantry to the battle field from the respective war bases of *Magadha* and *Vaiśālī* were made along some routes at that period.

1,2 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385 ; 11, 9, 418. 3 *Ib*, 9, 3, 383.
4 *Ib*, 11, 9, 418. 5 *Ib*, 9, 3, 380 ; 12, 2, 442. 6 *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.
7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 13, 6, 491. 8 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. 9 *Ib*, 7, 9, 301.

So it is presumable that there was a regular system of roads and communications for the transport and despatch of soldiers and military convoys.

An account of the country roads is found in the itinerary of Lord Mahāvīra[1] and those of the other monks[2], *parivrājakas*[3], and the common people[4] who made journeys on foot to the different parts of India, particularly North India by crossing village after village to reach their respective destinations.

The merchants[5] went abroad to carry on the inland trade outside their city, having taken their merchandise and the other provisions for the journey, loaded in many bullock-carts, struggling with their caravans through the villages and forests to reach the centre of trade.

Moreover, the commodities, like fine cloths, curtains precious metals etc., had to be imported to and exported from the different business places through some routes.

Thus it is clear that the different parts of the country were well connected by roads with one another.

This fact is further supported by the reference to the presence of female attendants belonging to the different Indian tribes and foreign countries as already mentioned in the third section of the fourth chapter on 'Social conditions', viz. *Kirātikā, Barbarikā, Isiganikā, Palhavikā, Lhāsikā, Lausiyā, Ārabī Drāvidī, Siṅghalī, Pulindī, Murundī* (*Śaka*-country), *Puṣkalī, Śabarī* and *Pārasī* (*Pārasa* = Persia)[6]

The reference to the statement crossing the Ganges or a great sea by hands against the current of its water used as an analogy to explain the difficulties of observing the *Nirgrantha*-vow[7] and the employment of the waiting maids belonging to ancient Ceylon and Arab, clearly suggests that the Indians were well acquainted with the sea and sea-voyage was common

1 *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. 2 *Ib*, 15, 1, 541. 3 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90-91.
4 *Ib*. 15, 1, 540. 5 *Ib*, 15, 1, 547. 6 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

to them during the period of this canonical work. While the mention of the Chinese silken cloth[1] shows that India had an overland traffic with China, maintained by her ancient merchants for external trade.

It appears from the knowledge of geographical places, such as, *Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Campā, Kajaṅgalā, Śrāvastī Kauśāmbī, Kāśī, Hastināpura, Tāmralipti, Vītībhaya*, etc., that the Himalayan belts, the far north and south, the far east and west of India were well connected by some means of communications.

A close study of the itinerary of Lord Mahāvīra and those of the other wandering teachers and monks shows that they followed the familiar routes which were used by all peoples including the merchants.

As to the east-west routes the *BhS* tells of the journey of Lord Mahāvīra from *Campā* to the city of *Vītībhaya*[2] in *Sindhu-Sauvīra* and that of the Prince Abhijit from *Vītībhaya* to *Campā*,[3] on its way lay *Kāśī* and *Kauśāmbī*

One north-south-east route ran from *Śrāvastī* to *Rājagṛha* and the other from *Śrāvastī* to *Kajaṅgalā*, the south-east to the north-east routes-were from Rājagṛha to *Campā Śrāvasti* to *Campā*; *Vaiśālī* to *Campā*; *Vaiśālī* to *Mithilā*; *Vaiśālī* to *Pāvā*; *Kāśī* to *Vaiśālī*, *Kośala* to *Vaiśālī*, *Rājagṛha* to *Tāmralipti*. Others ran from *Rājagṛha* to *Vindhyagiri*, *Rājagṛha* to *Alabhikā*, *Rājagṛha* to *Hastināpura*, *Tuṅgikā Kāmpilya*, etc.

Besides these, there were small roads linked with *Rājagṛha* as indicated by the evidences of this canonical work.

The references to the female attendants belonging to some Indian tribes and foreign countries as already pointed out[4] clearly suggest that there were trade rocads and communications from *Vaiśālī* to the *Kirāta* country in the north and north-east (Asama), to the *Barbaradeśa* (the Himālayan belt from *Kāśmīra* to north

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380. [2] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. [3] *Ib*, 13, 6, 492.
[4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.

Bihar according to the evidences of *Paumacariu* of Sayambhu)[1], to *Puṣkalāvati* (Peshāwar), to the *Tamil* country in the far south, to the *Śabaraland* (*Āndhradeśa*), *Pulindaland* (Central province), *Isika* (or *Ṛṣika*) region (Deccan), and *Lhāsiyā* (*Nāsika*, Western coast of India).

While the oversea routes were connected with Ceylon, Arab and Alexandria as suggested by Weber, the overland ones ran to *Sakasthāna*, Parthia, Persia and China through Central Asia.

In addition to them, the river routes, e.g. those of the Ganges and the Indus were probably followed by the people for trade and commerce.

The account of the inland, overland and oversea-routes of India as suggested by the *BhS* is also corroborated by those of the other Jaina texts, Buddhist works, the Greek classical records and the Chinese sources.

Transport

The text gives a list of transports used by the people of its period for the economic, civil and military purposes.

The caravan[2] of the merchants formed of many small two-wheeled carts loaded with various kinds of abundant saleable articles, food, drink, and other provisions for the journey, each drawn by two bullocks was a distinct feature of that time.

For the private civil use a number of means of conveyance finds mention in this canonical work, such as, bullock–cart drawn by a pair of young-strong bullocks having their horns (and heads) furnished with flowers, bells and cords made of cotton and inlaid with various kinds of gem, jewels. etc.[3], horse-chariots pulled by four horses (*cāughaṁṭaraha*)[4] generally used by the

[1] In *Paumacariu* of Sayambhu—Ch. 21 ; it is stated that the Barbaras inhabiting the Himālayas infested the kingdom of king Janaka of *Mithilā* along with the *Śabaras* and *Pulindas* who lived in the *Vindhyas*. [2] *BhS*. 15, 1, 547.

[3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380; 12, 2, 442. [4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 11, 11, 430.

members of the rich aristocratic, noble and royal families, horses[1] and elephants[2] ridden by the nobles and kings.

Besides these, there are references to the other civil transports in this canonical work, viz. palanquin (*siviyā*) carried by the professional bearers, sedan chair (*saṅdamāṇīya*), open vehicles (*viyaḍajāṇāiṁ*) and transport chariots for the royal ladies.[3]

Horses,[4] elephants[5] and war chariots[6] (*saṁgāmiya*) also formed the parts of the military transports, as it is evidenced by the fact that they were used in the great wars *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka-saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusalasaṅgrāma* as already pointed out.

The incidental references to the terms '*Nāva* (boat) and *Pota* (ship) occurring in the *BhS.*[7] clearly suggest that the boat and ship were the means of water-communications for use in rivers and seas.

In has already been discussed that the making of carts (*sāḍikamma*) and transport business (*bhāḍīkamma*)[8] were the occupations of certain sections of the people for earning their livelihood.

These evidences clearly reveal that there was a development of transport system which facilitated the quick movement of men and women in their journeys and the swift despatch of soldiers and military convoys during the period of this canonical work.

SIXTH SECTION

General Economic Conditions and Ethics of Economics

General Economic Conditions

The *BhS* throws sufficient light upon the general economic conditions of the people of its period and enables one to form

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 385; 11, 11, 430.
[2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 11, 11, 430.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
[4] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300, 301, 303.
[5] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
[6] *Ib*, 7, 9, 303; 11, 11, 430.
[7] *Ib*, 1, 6, 51 ; 1, 6, 55.
[8] *Ib*, 8, 5, 330.

some ideas as to the purchasing power of the high, low and middle class families, i.e. of the well-to-do merchants and nobles, the poor, and the men of the professional class.

It is learnt that there was a limited number of wealthy persons as considered from the economic standard of that period and of the present day.

There appeared a few monarchs, like Bala, Śiva, Udayana, Seṇiya, Udāyana, Keśīkumāra, Kūṇika and others whose wealth and prosperity were derived from land taxes and customs[1] supplemented by other dues, such as, cattle, gifts and presents,[2] and wealth inherited from the fore-fathers[3].

It has been pointed out in connection with the topic 'Capital' in the third section of this chapter that one of the *Kṣatriya* princes named Jamālī possessed so much accumulated wealth that it would not get exhausted even in seven generations, if it would have been spent and distributed according to his desires[4].

Next came a number of nobles and rich aristocrats like Nāgaputra Varuṇa of *Vaiśālī*[5], Tāmalī of *Tāmralipti*[6], and Ṛṣabhadatta of *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma*[7] and the *Sāmantarājas*[8] and *Gaṇarājas*[9], who were considered well-to-do, possessing abundant wealth of all kinds.

In the *BhS* mention is made of a *Paḍhama Satthavāha*[10] always associated with the government and a few millionaire merchants, like those of *Tungikā*[11] and *Hastināpura*[12] who led a very luxurious life.

Besides these, the vast majority of the population lived on agriculture and a considerable number on different arts and crafts and other trades, and had to work hard. While a section of the peoples both male and female earned their livelihood by serving the government and the royal and rich aristocratic families

1,2 *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. 3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 389. 4 *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.
5 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303. 6 *Ib*, 3, 1, 134. 7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 380.
8 *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. 9 *Ib*, 7, 9, 303. 10 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385; 13, 6,491.
11 *Ib*, 3, 5, 107. 12 *Ib*, 18, 2, 618.

in different capacities, such as, government officials, palace-staff, servants and maids respectively. Their economic conditions can be determined from their respective occupations and social status.

Under the surface of so much opulence of the social wealth there flowed a current of poverty, as it is evidenced by the fact that a section of homeless people wandered from village to village and one of them, namely, Maṅkha Maṅkhali[1] had to take shelter in a cowshed of the *Brāhmaṇa*, Gobahula with his pregnant wife, Bhadrā without obtaining any residence anywhere in the town of *Saravaṇa*, while the other ones (*taṇuya*-poor)[2] had to beg the means of subsistence and live on public charity and a section of women was forced by financial circumstances to take up the conditions of slavery[3] and prostitution for sustenance and continuance of their lives.

Moreover, the economic condition of the *Cāṇḍālas* (*Pāṇas*)[4] as referred to in this canonical work was not good at all.

An incidental reference to the food prepared in the famine time (*dubbikkhabhatta*)[5] clearly suggests that the country was sometimes visited by this phenomenon.

Thus here is presented a picture of the outlines of social economy as constructed from the fragmentary evidences furnished by the *BhS*. It should be observed that the whole subject of the economic ideas as reflected in this work was based on the ethical principles which do not approve of the most important occupations.

Moreover, the division of labour made on a system of hereditary caste probably arrested the growth of economic progress of the society.

Behind these ethical precepts of the religious teachers and sectarian scruples of the caste, there is found a picture of economic conditions as reflected in the stray references of this canonical work that agriculture was the most natural and

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 540. [2] *Ib*, 1, 9, 77, [3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 380 ; 11, 11, 429.
[4] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134. [5] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

necessary pursuit diligently carried on by the vast majority of the people. While various kinds of arts and crafts, trades and commerce were highly organized by the private and collective leadership of the economic guild with the help of the service of labour, largely hereditary, and capital in a spirit of mobility, initiativeness and enterprise.

And the social economy was fully familiar with the money and credit ages.

SIXTH CHAPTER

Education

FIRST SECTION

Conception of Education as reflected in the BhS

Education is the light of human life, as it gives a clear vision of knowledge of the mundane world and Nature to man by dispelling the darkness of his ignorance, prejudices, false notions and ideas; and consequently it illuminates the entire society with its all prevading radiance.

It represents the ideals of a nation acting as its back bone and reveals the spirit of its culture and civilization by focussing its aim on the remotest and darkest corner of social life.

In a word, life is education which is manifested in its self-development and self-culture, as it is reflected in the famous teachings of ancient India.

"Yāvajjīvamadhīte viprah".[1]

Education touches upon all the phases of life of a man by sharpening his intellect and assisting him in controlling his senses, thoughts and actions, refines his cultural tastes and modifies his desires.

It instils a spirit of creative energy and faculties in him, developes his personality, quenches his thirst for spiritual urge, and paves the way of his emancipation from the worldly bondage, because wisdom, the fruit of its cultivation reigns supreme in all spheres of human life.

Thus proper education helps and guides an individual man from the first stage up to the last of his life in building up his higher character and developing his personality by removing all obstacles on his way to progress, and dissolving all contradictions

[1] *Vide* 'Education in Ancient India'—Dr. Altekar, p. 3.

of life and differences between him and the society, and bringing about a harmonious relation between them to a successful consummation.

The *BhS* gives the above conception of education of its period, although a complete picture of educational institutions, like the modern schools, colleges and universities is conspicuous by its absence in this canonical work.

It has placed the ideal of education based on the unity of thought and action thus that men can attain liberation and put an end to all miseries by intellect, the only sight, like a snake and by the only sharpness (kriyā = action) like a razor blade.[1]

It has laid a great emphasis on the self-control, moral character, physical, mental and intellectual development, theoretical and practical knowledge in different arts and crafts to make an individual man capable of shouldering the responsibility of the worldly affairs by holding before him the goal of life-*Mokṣa* (liberation).

The conception of education as reflected in the *BhS* is well supported by the ancient literatures of India which throw much light upon its meanings, principles and importance in a very clear and systematic way.

Aims and Ideals of Education

The aims and ideals of education as embodied in this work are represented in the four stages of life which have already been discussed in the second section of the fourth chapter on 'Social Conditions' in details.

Here they may be summed up in brief for recapitulation and dealing with the educational system of its period in a clearest possible manner.

They are as follows : Virtue, acquirement of knowledge, building up of character, development of personality, capability of shouldering the responsibilities of household life with a spirit of performing the individual and social, secular and religious

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384.

duties to oneself, the family and the society at large, promotion of the social relation and efficiency, preservation of culture, spiritual urge and aspiration after attaining liberation—the highest goal of life.

It is, therefore, apparently clear from the above discussion that there was the spiritual background of education which influenced the individual and social life and made oneself realize that the human body, material enjoyments, objects of Nature were transitory and belonged to the mundane world, while his mind, intellect and soul to that of spiritualism, as it is evidenced in the arguments of the prince, Jamāli advanced to his parents.

This conception of education governed one's life and conduct, developed his personality and held the noble ideals before him.

It was a picture of education with a religious and spiritual background, but the individual and secular aspects of life were not ignored. A balance was maintained to make an individual a worthy member of the society within the purview of its principles.

Educational System :—

The *BhS* presents an account of a system of education, learning, literature, different branches of science and arts which were studied and cultivated by the people of its period.

It throws a welcome light upon the evolution of different types of educational institutions, the life of the students and teachers, the subjects of study, the development of literatures and the progress of science and arts.

The production of this very voluminous canonical work itself sufficiently testifies to the linguistic and literary development of a remarkable system of education at its age.

Primary Education :—

It appears from the text that education began with a man in his boyhood and continued throughout his life up to the last

stage without the stoppage of study, as it is evidenced by the fact that the householders of all classes[1] and the monks of all sects[2] mentioned in this text are found devoted to the studies of certain prescribed texts as a part of duty in their respective states of life; because it was realized by them that knowledge was the supreme power to lead them to the path of spiritual liberation.

Mass education of modern days was not prevalent at that period, but the evidences of celebrating tonsure ceremony (*colaya-ṇagaṁ = cūḍādharaṇaṁ*),[3] initiation with the sacred thread (*uvaṇayaṇaṁ*)[4], or beginning of alphabet or learning (*kalāgrahaṇaṁ*)[5] of every new born child[6] at the proper time and age gives an insight into the fact of admission of a large number of boys to the educational institution based on the principle of *Brahma-carya* (the life of celibacy) and a close relationship between the students and teachers. It is evidenced by the fact that even the boy like Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra though born in a poor family of Maṅkhali and *Bhadrā*, was not deprived at least of this primary religious and literary education, the beginning of which was marked by his *'Upanayana'* (investiture with the sacred thread).[7]

Thus it appears that this system of *'Upanayana'* & *'Kalā-grāhaṇa'* ensured the primary education to a great number of boys of those days.

It is further revealed that the parents generally educated their boys in the art of their traditional hereditary occupations[8] to make them their worthy successors in these professions, as it is found in the case of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra[9] and Mahābala[10] respectively. The former took up his father's vocation of painting picture and exhibiting them, while the latter ascended the throne of his father in *Hastināpura* at least for one day as a *Kṣatriya* prince before renouncing the world.

[1] *BhS*, 3, 1. 134 ; 9, 33, 380.
[2] *Ib* 2, 1, 90 ; 9, 33, 382.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[5] *Ib* (common) 11, 11, 429.
[6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
[7-9] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[10] *Ib*, 11, 11, 431.

The basis of this distinction in social education was the caste system prevalent at that period.

The significance of this education based on '*Brahmacarya*' clearly suggests that marriage was inconsistent with the student's life for his physical and mental development till he was free from the childish state, became learned and firm, reached the stage of youth, and attained the capability of enjoying the worldly pleasures and shouldering the responsibility of the worldly affairs.[1]

Age of Education:

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon the proper age-limit of a boy to begin his education by referring to the case of the prince Mahābala thus; when he was a little more than eight years old,[2] his parents took him to a teacher of arts (*kalāyariya*) at an auspicious moment of a favourable day, after having caused him to bathe and performed the *balikarma* (the worship of house gods) and other expiatory rites, and adorned him with various kinds of decorations by offering rich entertainment, etc.[3]

It was realized by the parents that in this tender age the mind of the child was pliable, his memory was sharp and intellect was receptive like the clay on which any impression made then, would remain throughout the life.

So this age of childhood was the best time to build up the character of a man, to develop his body, mind and personality and to infuse a spirit of the individual and social duties into his heart.

The evidence of commencing education at the proper age as revealed in the *BhS* is also corroborated by the ancient Indian literatures which recommend an early age limit of five

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. [2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. See Commentary

or eight years,[1] because the beginning of education at the age of sixteen would not produce good results as expected from the student.

"Nāti-soḍaśavarṣamupanayīta prasṛṣṭavṛṣaṇo hyeṣa vṛṣalībhūto bhavati[2]".

It is further said that the parents themselves are the enemies of their child who is not educated by them.

"Mātā śatruḥ pitā vairī bālo yena na pāṭhitaḥ[3]."

Education of Girls

As regards the female education the *BhS* throws some light upon the subject by refering to the cases of the princess, Jayantī[4], Utpalā, the wife of Śaṅkha *Sreṣṭhī*[5], Hālāhalā, the *Ājīvikopāsikā* of *Śrāvastī*,[6] *Āryā* Chandanā, the nun[7] and others[8] who were learned in the sacred lores.

It has already been mentioned in connection with the topic 'Stages of Life' in the second section of the fourth chapter that one group of students continued their studies upto the time of their marriage, the other one remained unmarried throughout the life and the princess, Jayantī belonged to the latter, while the other girls were given in marriage at their proper age.

It appears from the above evidences that some private arrangements were probably made by the parents at home to impart education to the girls, particularly those of the rich aristocratic and royal families.

1 J. A. S. B., 1935, p. 294. *Vide* Dr. Altekar's 'Education in Ancient India' Appendix (A & B), p. 266, f. n. 2; p. 274, f. n. 2 (aṣṭame-āyuṣkāmaṁ navame......soḍaśe sarvakāmaṁ— Baudh. Gr. S. II, 5. 5.

2 J. Gr. S-1. 12. *Vide* 'Education in Ancient India,' p. 26. f.n. 4.

3 *Subhāshita*, *Vide* 'Education in Ancient India', p. 26. f.n. 2.

4 *BhS*, 12, 1, 441. 5 *Ib*, 12, 1, 437-8. 6 *Ib*, 15, 1, 539.

7 *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. 8 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557.

But a definite account about this matter is not found in this canonical work whether the girls also were sent to the *Kalācārya* like the boys for education.

However, it is evidently clear that all the religious institutions of that period, particularly the *Nirgrantha* Order made special arrangements for the nuns to teach the prescribed religious texts to them in a systematic manner so that they could advance towards the attainment of spiritual realization with their acquired knowledge of the Law. This fact shows that the women were also admitted to the Vedic and Śramaṇic studies.

There was no caste bar nor sex-bar on the way of an individual male or female member of the society to get education, such a narrow outlook did not exist in the matter of learning. On the other hand, education imparted by the religious intitutions was open to all whoever desired to study, learn and acquire knowledge.

Teacher :

Teacher is the fountain-head of knowledge, the flow of which irrigates the barren land of mind of the young students and transforms it into a shining field endowed with the richness of the products of education, learning and culture.

The text[1] reveals that a great importance was laid on the noble position of the teacher to whose care the child was entrusted by his parents for his education. The reference to this fact clearly suggests a closer relationship between them. As a result of this direct contact the teacher could illuminate and transform the life of his student by teaching the prescribed subjects of learning to him, removing the darkness of his ignorance, opening the vision of knowledge about the worldly affairs, and holding the lofty ideals of human life before him.

Classes of Teachers

It has already been mentioned in connection with the topic 'Other occupations' in the second section of the fifth

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. See comm.

chapter on 'Economic conditions' that there were three classes of teachers in the society as depicted in this canonical work, viz. *Kalācārya*,[1] *Śilpācārya*[2] and *Upādhyāya*.[3]

Relation Between Teacher and Student

A great emphasis has been laid on the discipline of the students in regard to their behaviour and reverence towards their teacher. Any opposition to him was highly condemned,[4] because he has been called the spiritual and intellectual father in the ancient Indian texts.

"Ācarya upanayamāno Brahmacāriṇaṁ kṛṇute garbhamantaḥ."[5]

The terms '*Āyariyapadinīe*' and '*Uvajjhāyapaḍinīe*'[6] express the censure attaching to the students who opposed their teacher.

The reference to the statement "defamers of the *Ācāryas* and *Upādhyāyas*" (*āyariya-uvajjhāyāṇaṁ ayasakarā*)[7] made in the *BhS*, reflects upon the general relation between the teachers and students in both religious and secular institutions of its period.

Students' life :

The text does not give a clear idea of the students' life, except that they continued their education till they became free from the childish state, reached the stage of youth, and attained the capability of bearing the burden of responsibilities of the household affairs and enjoying the worldly life.

Centres of Education :

Thus it appears that the above mentioned three classes of teachers were the main props of the educational institutions of its period.

Besides these, there were the other centres of education at different capital cities, holy places, *Caityas* (temples)[8] and

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. See Commentary of Abhayadeva Sūri.
[2] *Ib.*, 7, 9, 300. [3,4] *Ib.*, 9, 33, 389.
[5] *Ib* ; Cf. Atharva-Veda, XI, 5. Ācāryaḥ.
[6,7] *BhS*, 9, 33, 389. [8] *Ib*; 9, 33, 380.

parivrājakavasatis (*maṭhas*).[1] In this connection it should be observed that the place where this canonical work, along with the other religious texts was compiled was certainly a great centre of learning and culture.

But there is no reference to any type of public institutions organized and run by the society, like those of the modern days.

Every religious order of the *Śramaṇas* was a travelling school for the progress of education, learning and knowledge in different branches of religious and philosophical studies which were the chief characteristic features of the cultural activities of that period.

Thus there is the mention of many religious assemblies of disputants belonging to heterodox sects, such as, other *Tīrthikas*,[2] *Ājīvikas*,[3] followers of Lord Pārśvanātha,[4] *Parivrājakas*,[5] *Vānaprasthas*,[6] *Carakas*,[7] *Brāhmaṇas*,[8] and *Nirgranthas*[9] who entered into discussion of subjects on religious and philosophical doctrines to attain the truth and knowledge.

So the teachers of all classes, monks of all sects, students, home, learned assemblies, religious discourses expounding the Law, and literatures were the agencies of learning which imparted education to the people in general.

The ideals of this education have played an important part in shaping the academic careers of the teachers and students and greatly influenced and inspired them with a spirit of literary and cultural mission and activities of their period.

An idea of the systematic educational institutions is found from the evidences of the temple colleges of the *Nirgrantha* Order where a newly initiated monk or nun had to study the prescribed religious texts for a period of certain years to acquire the requisite knowledge in religion and philosophy along with the

1 *BhS*. 2, 1, 90.
2 *Ib*. 1, 9, 75 ; 1, 10, 81 etc.
3 *Ib*. 1, 2, 25 ; 8, 5, 328 ; 15, 1, 539.
4 *Ib*. 1, 9, 76 ; 2, 5, 108 9.
5 *Ib*. 2, 1, 90.
6 *Ib*. 11, 9, 417.
7 *Ib*. 1, 2, 25.
8,9 *Ib*. 18, 10, 647.

practice of austerities, as it is known from the cases of Skandaka,[1] Ṛṣabhadatta, Devānandā,[2] Jamālī[3] and others.

Financial condition of Educational Institutions

The *BhS* does not throw any light upon the financial conditions of the educational institutions and of the teachers who were devoted to the teaching profession. But it appears from the study of text that the three classes of teachers, namely, *Kalācārya*,[4] *Śilpācārya*,[5] and *Upādhyāya*,[6] were financially helped by the state and the society.

Courses of Studies

It is learnt from the text that the course of studies included the four Vedas, viz. *Ṛig*, *Atharva*, *Sāma* and *Yaju*, *Itihāsa* (*Purāṇa*) the fifth *Veda*, *Nighaṇṭu* the sixth *Veda*, six *Vedāṅgas*, *Saṅkhāṇa* (arithmatic), *Sikkhā* (phonetics), *Kappa* (ritual), *Vāgaraṇa* (grammar), *Chandi* (metre), *Nirutta* (exegesis) and *Joisāmaya* (astronomy and astrology),[7] six *Upāṅgas* and *Saṭṭhitaṁta*. The six *Upāṅgas* which comprised the further elaborations of the subjects are dealt within the *Vedāṅgas* and the *Saṭṭhitaṁta* was an authoritative treatise on the *Sāṁkhya* system of philosophy.

Besides these, the other Jaina texts make references to seventy-two kinds of arts which will be discussed later on.

The students might have studied all these subjects but specialized themselves in one or the other of these different branches of learning.

Similarly there might have been teachers who were specialists in particular subjects of studies, as it is evidenced by the fact of the *Kalācārya*,[8] *Śilpācārya*,[9] and *Svapnalakṣaṇapāṭhaka* (who were well versed in the *Aṣṭāṅgamahānimitta*)[10].

These evidences indicate how specialization in a particular branch of knowledge fairly advanced at that period.

[1] *BhS*, 2. 1, 91-96. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. [3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. [5] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. [6] *Ib*, 9, 33, 389.
[7] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90. See also *Ovāiya Sutta* 38, p. 172.
[8] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429. [9] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. [10] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.

This reference to teachers and scholars endowed with special qualifications reveals that their creative faculties justified itself in producing the vast literary works and even in inventing the two war-engines—*Mahāśilākaṇṭaka* and *Rathamusala* and in contributing to the development of other sciences and arts which will be dealt with later on.

Art of writing

The art of writing is the vehicle of human thoughts and languages which are conveyed by its meaningful signs, words and lines from man to man in his day-to-day life.

This important part of education and learning was well known to the society of the *BhS*, as it is evidenced by the significant invocation to '*Brāhmīlipi*' and '*Śruta*'.

"*Namo Bambhīe livīe*" (Salutation to Brāhmīlipi).[1] "*Namo Suyassa*" (Salutation to the *Śruta*)[2] and the reference to '*Kalāgrahaṇa*' (learning of alphabet),[3] '*Kalācāriya*' (teacher of arts)[4], '*Potthaya*' (book)[5], and the study of several texts.[6]

The term '*Livi*' (Skt. *lipi*))[7] used here denotes writing in general and stood for the same meaning in the *Maurya* period and earlier, as it is evidenced by the fact of the references to '*Dhammalipi*',[8] '*Lipikara*'[9] in the Aśokan Edicts, '*Lipi*' in the *Arthaśāstra*[10] and '*Yavanalipi*' in Pāṇini's work.[11]

In the *Behistūn Inscription*[12] there is found the mention of '*Dipi*' instead of '*Lipi*' for engraved writing.

Thus it is clear that the '*Bambhī lipi*' referred to in the *BhS* stood for name of the script which is distinct from language.[13]

1 *BhS*, 1, 1, 2 2 *Ib*, 1, 1, 3. 3 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. (comm.
4 *Ib*, 11, 11, 429. See Commentary. 5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 385.
6 *Ib*, 2, 1, 90. 7 *Ib*, 1, 1, 2. 8 Rock Edict, I. XIV.
9 Rock Edict, I. XIV. 10 *Arthaśāstra*, 1, 5, 1.
11 *Pāṇini*, VI, 3, 115.
12 Behistūn Inscription of Darius III.
13 *BhS*, 1, 1, 2.See Commentary.

The evidences of the art of writing are also fully corroborated by the other Jaina texts which refer to '*Lekha*' (writing) as one of the seventy-two arts (*Kalā*).[1]

The *Rāyapaseṇiya Suya*[2] gives a list of different kinds of writing stuffs, such as *pattaga* (leaves), *kambiyā* (wooden board), *dora* (thread), *ganthi* (knots), *lippāsaṇa* (ink-pot), *chandaṇa* (lid), *saṁkala* (chain), *masi* (ink), *lehaṇī* (pen), *akkhara* (letters) and *potthaya* (book), while the reference to *Lehāriya* occurs in the *Āvaśyaka Bhāṣya*[3] and in the *Cūrṇi*[4].

In the commentary on the *Samavāyāṅga* there are also the evidences of the art of writing and inscribing letters on different writing materials, such as, leaves,[5] bark, wood, ivory, iron, copper,[6] silver and of shaping them by cutting those stuffs according to their size and of combining them with one another (*saṅkramaṇa*)[7] to have the correct formation of the sentences and their meanings.

Besides these, there occur references in the other Jaina texts to the despatch of diplomatic letters by the kings through their ambassadors before waging the actual war[8] against their respective enemy-rulers, forged letter (*kūḍaleha*),[9] love letters,[10] sealed letters,[11] etc.

1 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1 p. 11 ; *Ovāiya Suya*—40 ; *Rāyapaseṇiya Suya*—211 ; *Samavāyāṅga*, p. 177a. *Jambū Sū* II-2. p. 136f. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India'—p. 172, f.n. 27.

2 *Rāyapaseṇiya Suya*, 131.

3 *Āvaśyaka Bhāṣya*, 76 (*Niryukti Dīpikā*, 1, p. 90a.)

4 *Ib*, p. 248. See 'Life in Ancient India' p. 175.

5 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 530. There is the mention of writing on the *bhujjapatta* in this work. See 'Buddhist India' p. 117.

6 The *Vasudevahiṇḍi* (p. 189) refers to the writing of a book on the copper leaf. Besides, there are copper plate Inscriptions of many kings.

7 Commentary on the *Samavāyāṅga*, p. 78.

8 *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*. 9 *Uvāsagadasāo*, 1, p. 10.

10 *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, 13, p. 191a.

11 *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā*, 135; *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 5, p. 87 (Mss.)

In its commentary the *BhS*[1] makes a reference to eighteen kinds of *Brāhmī* script without naming them in clear terms. But they are specifically mentioned in the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*[2] as given below—

(1) *Bambhī*, (2) *Javaṇīliyā*, (3) *Dosāuriā*, (4) *Kharoṭṭhiā*, (5) *Kharasāviā*, (6) *Pahārāiā*, (7) *Uccattariā*, (8) *Akkharapuṭṭhiyā*, (9) *Bhogavayatā*, (10) *Veṇatiyā*, (11) *Ninhaiyā*, (12) *Aṁkalivi*, (13) *Gaṇialivi*, (14) *Gaṁdhavvalivi* (*Bhūyalivi*), (15) *Ādaṁsalivi*, (16) *Māhesarī livi*, (17) *Dāmi livi*, (18) *Bolimdī livi*.

In the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*[3] there are mentions of *Javaṇāliyā*, *pukkharasāriyā* and *Aṁtakkhariyā* in places of *Javaṇīliyā*, *kharasāviā* and *Uccattariā* respectively, and the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra* connects *Bhūyalivi* with *Gaṁdhavvalivi*. It should be observed that these scripts are not derived from *Brāhmī* but they are alternates to it, e g. *Kharoṣṭhī* has got its different origin.

Brāhmī and *Kharoṣṭhī*, the two important scripts are also referred to in the *Lalitavistara*[4] along with the other sixty-four *livis* (*lipis*).

The *Kharoṣṭhī* script came to India during the Achamenid rule and continued upto the *Kuṣāṇa* period, as it is evidenced by the fact that some of the inscriptions[5] of the *Kuṣāṇa* kings were inscribed in this script.

Brāhmī has played a great role in the evolution of the modern Indian scripts, all of which except the persian script of Urdu have originated from it, but the other scripts have disappeared into oblivion during the course of the development of Indian Paleography.

According to the *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*, *Brāhmī* consisted of forty-six '*māuyakkharas*' (*mātṛkākṣaras*) or the original letters without having the four liquid vowels viz. Ṛ, Ṝ., Ḷ., Ḹ., and LL.[6]

[1] Commentary on the *BhS*, 1, 1, 2.

[2] *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*, 18. [3] *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*, 1,51. p. 55a.

[4] *Lalitavistara*, 125 f.

[5] *Pañjtār* stone inscription of a *Kuṣāṇa* king (65 A.D.); *Kalawān* copper plate Inscription (77 A.D.); and others.

[6] See 'Life in Ancient India', p. 176.

Origin of Indian Scripts

The origin of the Indian scripts, particularly that of *Brāhmī* has been dealt with by a number of scholars according to their respective theories based on different historical materials.

The Jaina *Mahāpurāṇa*[1] attributes the honour to Ṛṣabhadeva for teaching first the art of writing (*maṣi*) to his people out of economic necessity, along with the other arts and crafts.

In the Buddhist works[2] there occurs a reference to 'writing' in a tract called *Śīlas* which are recorded in each of the thirteen Dialogues, forming the first chapter of the first division of the *Suttantas*. This tract may be assigned to a date circa 450 B. C.

Besides these, the mention of *Akkharika* (lettering) a game of guessing at letter traced in the air or on a play-fellow's back further supports the prevalence of the art of writing in the Buddhist and pre-Buddhist periods.

The origin of the *Brāhmī* script is attributed by the *BhS*[3] to a different source according to the commentary of Śrī Abhyadeva Sūri.

It is explained thus that the name '*Brāhmī lipi*' is derived from that of *Brāhmī*, the own daughter of Ṛṣabhadeva, the *Jina*, because he first showed her how to write letters with the right hand.[4]

It is clear from the above references that the art of writing was in vogue and prevalent during the period of this canonical work, the compilation of which speaks itself for the conclusion.

Language

Language is the symbolic expression to convey human thoughts and ideas in the form of sounds, words and writings from man to man. The more it is simple, the more it becomes

[1] *Mahāpurāṇa*, Vol. 1, *Parva*—16, L. 179 (*Jñānapīṭha* El.).
[2] Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. 1, pp. 326.
[3] *BhS*, 1, 1. 2. [4] *Ib*, 1, 1, 2. (comm.)

understandable to the people with all its meanings and reaches their hearts.

The *BhS* refers only to *Arddha-Māgadhī*, the language spoken by the gods and the human beings, thus it becomes distinguished.

"Devā ṇaṁ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsaṁti sāvi ya ṇaṁ addhamāgahā bhāsā bhāsijjamāṇā visissati"[1].

This prevalent language is also referred to in the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*[2].

Besides these, the other Jaina texts[3] bear testimony to the fact that Lord Mahāvīra preached the Law in this very language to the people so that all of them including the men and women of all ages, the literate and illiterate[4] belonging to the different communities could grasp and understand the message and meanings of his holy teachings without any difficulty, for it was their common dialect current in the region in which the Master moved and carried on his religious activities.

The *Niśītha-cūrṇi*[5] gives a quite different denotation of the word '*Arddha-Māgadhī*' thus that it was either the language of half of *Magadha* or it consisted of the eighteen classes of *Deśībhāṣā*.

It appears from the *BhS* that *Arddha-Māgadhī* was a language common and understandable to all the cultured and ordinary laities including the kings, nobles, officials, merchants, and the general people among whom Lord Mahāvīra and the other wandering religious teachers preached their respective Laws.

But it should be observed that *Sanskrit* also flourished side by side with *Arddha-Māgadhī*, as it is evidenced by the fact of

[1] *BhS*, 5, 4, 191. [2] *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 11, 37.

[3] *Samavāyāṅga Sutta*, p. 57; *Ovāiya Sutta* 34. p. 146; *Ācārāṅga-Cūrṇi* 7. p. 255.

[4] *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*, 7. p. 255. [5] *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, p. 733.

the studies of a considerable number of the Vedic literatures[1] which were in this language.

As regards the definition of *Bhāṣā* (Language or speech) this canonical work precisely explains that it is the carrier or instrument of understanding, i.e. vehicle of thought.

"Se nūṇaṁ bhamte maṇṇāmīti ohāriṇī bhāsā"[2].

In this connection a scientific explanation of *Bhāṣā* (speech) is given here that speech is not the soul but it is other than the soul, i.e. matter.

"No āyā bhāsā annā bhāsā"[3].

It is endowed with form, is unconscious and non-living, and belongs to the beings.

Bhāṣā, before and after the speaking times is not the speech, but when it is being spoken, it is speech, because the speech before and after the speaking times does not break forth (get transformed), but when it is being spoken, it gets transformed.

"No puvviṁ bhāsā bhāsijjamāṇī bhāsā no
bhāsāsamayavītikkaṁtā bhāsā."
"No puvviṁ bhāsā bhijjati bhāsijjamāṇī bhāsā bhijjai
no bhāsāsamaya vītikkaṁtā bhāsā bhijjati"[4].

Literature

Literature is the reflection of human thoughts and ideas and the representation of education, learning and culture of the social life, made through the instrument of language and embodied in letters on the writing materials.

It carries the message of knowledge and the cultural heritage of a people or a country from the distant past upto the present day.

The extent of the literary works as revealed in the *BhS* clearly shows a great intellectual development of the people of its period and throws a welcome light upon the historical back-

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 90. [2] *Ib*, 2, 6, 114.
[3] *Ib*, 13, 7, 493. [4] *Ib*, 13, 7, 493; 1, 10, 80.

ground of Indian culture and civilization from the Vedic age up to that of this canonical work.

Behind this historical background there was a considerable number of the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Nirgrantha* literatures and other works as recorded in this canonical work.

In connection with the topic 'Courses of study' it has already been mentioned that the vedic branches of education and learning consisted of the studies of the following subjects as revealed by the titles of the works, viz. the *Ṛg*, *Yaju*, *Sāma* and *Atharva Vedas*, *Itihāsa-purāṇas* (the fifth *Veda*), *Nigghaṇṭu* (the sixth *Veda*, *Nāmakoṣa*), six *Vedāṅgas*, six *Upāṅgas* (*Saḍaṁgovaṁgā*) work on *Rahasya*, *Saṣṭhitantra* (*Kāpilya-śāstra*), *Saṅkhāna* (arithmatic, *gaṇitakhaṇḍa*), *Sikkhā* (phonetics), *Kappa* (ritual), *Vāgaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirutta* (exegesis), *Jotiṣāmaya* (Astronomy—Astrology) and also many other *Nayas* (Logic) and philosophy of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Parivrājakas*.[1]

This list of the *Brāhmaṇa* works is also found in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*.[2]

Here the fifth *Veda* is represented by the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*, while the *Anuyogadvāra* refers to the *Bhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* in its place.[3]

The *Upāṅgas*[4] formed the explanatory parts of the subjects discussed in the four *Vedāṅgas* and the *Saṣṭhitantra* was the work on the *Sāṅkhya* system of thought dealing with the sixty terms or topics.

[1] *BhS*. 2, 1, 90, 9, 33, 380, 383; 11, 12, 436.

[2] *Aupapātika Sūtra*, Section-77.

[3] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, Section, 41.

[4] The later Brāhmaṇical tradition says that the *Upāṅgas* were four and they consited of the *Purāṇas*, *Nyāya* treatises, *Mimāṁsā* works and *Dharmaśāstras*. See R. Fick, 'Social organization in Noth-East India in Buddha's time' p. 203. *Vide*, Dr. B. C. Law's 'India as described in the Early texts of Buddhism and Jainism'.

According to the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* and the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, the *Ṣaṣṭhitantra* was an independent *Sāṅkhya* treatise distinct from the *Kāvila* (*Kapila's* formulation) *Kaṇagasattari* (*Kanaka saptati* or *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*) and *Māḍhara* (*Māṭhara Vṛtti*).[1]

The *BhS* refers to the *Aṣṭāṅgamahānimitta*,[2] various classes of the *Śāstras*,[3] the *Kālikā* (*Kārikā*) *Śruta*,[4] *Sippas* (arts,[5] and thirty-two kinds of drama[6] without any specific mention of their titles.

Besides these literatures, there were following Jaina canonical texts, viz., fourteen *Pūrvas*,[7] twelve *Aṅgas*,[8] and *Upāṅgas*[9] A detailed discussion has already been made in regard to these works in connection with the topic 'Position of the BhS in the Arddha-Māgadhī Canon' in the first section of the first chapter.

SECOND SECTION.

Science and Arts

The *BhS* throws light on the development of the different branches of 'Science and Arts' during its period, such as, Medical Science, Biology, Physics, Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, Military Science, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Dance and Drama, and others.

Medical Science

The text gives an account of the advancement of Medical Science, anatomy of human body, physiological functions, transformation of physical and psychical matters, process of conception and growth of the embryo and the subsequent

[1] *Aupapātika Sutra*, Sec 76
[2] *BhS*, 11, 11, 428 ; 15, 1, 539 [3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[4] *Ib*, 20, 8, 678. [5] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
[6] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 11, 430. [7] *Ib*, 18, 2, 618 ; 20, 8, 678.
[8] *Ib*, 16, 6, 580 ; 20, 8, 682 ; 25, 3, 732.
[9] *Ib*, 25, 3, 732.

stages of development of the child after its birth, various kinds of diseases and their treatment, medicinal and surgical. From this it appears that the Medical Science advanced on two lines, viz., medicinal treatment proper and surgery.

It is well-known from the Jaina, the Buddhist and the Brāhmaṇical works that the Medical Science was studied and practised in ancient India.

Ayuvveya or *Tegicchaya* is mentioned in the Jaina texts[1] as one of the black sciences (*pāvasuya*) and it is said to have been invented and introduced by Dhanvantari[2] who was a specialist in the eight groups of this branch of knowledge, viz. pediatrics (*Kumārabhicca*), surgery and midwifery (*salāga*), treatment of eye, ear, nose, and throat (*sallahattha*), that of bodily diseases (*kāyatigiccha*), toxicology (*Jaṁgola*), demonology (*bhūyavijjā*), science and arts of recovering lost health in old age (*rasāyana*) and sexual rejuvenation (*vājīkaraṇa* or *khāratanta*).[3]

The evidences of the Jain texts regarding the development of *Ayurveda* are fully corroborated by the Buddhist[4] and the Brāhmaṇical[5] works which give information about the study and practice of this important science in its different branches.

[1] *Ṭhānaṅga Sutta*, 9, 678.

[2] *Nisitha Cūrṇi*, 15. p. 944 ; Cf. *Milinda-Panha*, p. 277 ; refer also to *Ayoghara Jataka* No. 510, IV. pp. 496, 498.

[3] *Vivāga*, 7, 41 ; Cf. *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, Ch. 1-8, p. 4 f.

[4] Cf. *Milinda-panha*—p 272 ; refer to *Ayoghara Jātaka* (No. 510) IV. pp. 496, 498 ; *Digha Nikāya* 1. p. 12 ; 1. p. 9. ; *Majjhima* 1, p. 265 f. See *Mahāniddesa*—p. 120 ; *Milinda-pañha*, p. 40 for the knowledge of the process of conception and gradual development of the foetus in the womb.

[5] *Suśruta Saṁhitā* ; *Sūtrasthāna*, IV, 4, 4-8 (learning from different experts). ; *Caraka*, *Vimānasthāna*, 8, 4. (practical training in medicine). *Suśruta Sūtrasthāna*, Ch. 9. Training in Surgery, *Suśruta*, *Śarīrasthāna*. 5, 49.

Birth of Child

The *BhS* throws some light on fertilization and human embryology.

It explains that in one life one being becomes the father of of one or two or three issues in the minimum and of nine lakhs in the maximum.[1] When there takes place the sexual union called *'mehuṇavattie'* in the heated sex-organs of the famale and the male, semen and blood combine and by this process one or two or three issues in the minimum upto nine lakhs in the maximum may be begotten.

Process of Conception

It is explained that a *Jīva*, being born and existing in the body (mother's womb) is called *Kāyabhavastha*, the duration of which is one *antarmuhūrta* in the minimum and twenty-four years in the maximum.[2]

The sperm in case of the human beings and the five-sensed lower animals exists for one *antarmuhurta* in the minimum and twelve *muhūrtas* in the maximum, after entering the uterus.[3]

Fertilization of Embryo

Next, the text throws light upon the fertilization and gradual development of the embryo by explaining the transformation of physical and psychical matters of the child. It states that the being which is conceived in the womb may be born with the sense-organs (*saiṁdie*) and not sense organs (*aṇiṁdie*).

"The being which is conceived in the womb is endowed with the body (*sarīriye*) and is non-bodied also (*asarīriye*), because from the point of view of gross physical transformation and translocation of bodies, a bodiless or incorporal being is born, while from the standpoint of fiery (luminous) and *kārmic* bodies, a bodied being is born"[4]

Being conceived in the mother's womb it takes first the matter of mutually mixed *kaluṣaṁ* and *kilviṣaṁ* from both mother's blood and father's semen.[5]

[1] *BhS*, 2, 5, 105.
[2] *Ib*, 2, 5, 102.
[3] *Ib*, 2, 5, 103.
[4,5] *Ib*, 1, 7, 61.

It absorbs the mother's blood (*ojaṁ*) with one part of many kinds of transformed food taken by her.[1]

There is no excrement nor urine nor spitting (or saliva) nor rheum (of nose) nor vomitting, in case of the being while it is in the womb, because it collects whatever it absorbs and transforms the same in the forms of ear, skin, bone, marrow, hair, beard, hair on the body (*roma*) and nails.[2]

The being, existing there absorbs abundant food by the whole body but not by the mouth and transforms it, inhales and exhales again and again, for the *Mātṛjīva-rasaharaṇī* (mother's naval string) and the *Putrajīvarasaharaṇī* (child's naval string) are joined together.[3]

There is also the other string bound by the *putrajīva* (child's being) and touched by the *Mātṛjīva* (mother's being) through which the child receives and accumulates the food-matter.[4]

The *Mātṛaṅgas* (limbs of mother) received and possessed by the child are known to be his flesh, blood and brain,[5] while the *Pitṛ-aṅgas* (limbs of father) are his bone, marrow, hair, beard, and hair on the body.[6]

Position of the child in the mother's womb

The child existing in the mother's womb remains like an umbrella or the side ribs of human body (*gabbhagae samāṇe uttāṇae vā pāsillae*), it is like a hump-backed (crooked) mango (*aṁba-khajjae*) and also stays standing, sitting and laying (*tuyaṭṭejja*).[7]

When the mother sleeps, wakes up and becomes happy and unhappy the child also sleeps, wakes up and becomes happy and unhappy respectively.[8]

Birth of the child—A child is born after the complete course of pregnancy of full nine months seven and half nights and days according to the Medical Science as explained by the *BhS*. At the time of delivery, if it comes out straight either head or feet emerging first, it (is born) is safe, but attains death if it comes crosswise, i.e. obliquely.[9]

[1-3] *BhS*, 1, 7, 61. [4-6] *Ib*, 1, 7, 61. [7-9] *Ib*, 1, 7, 62.

The united body of the mother and the father in the child lasts as long as its worldly body exists, but it comes to an end with the end of the physique of the child at last after gradual decay.[1]

The above evidences clearly show a highly advanced knowledge of the process of conception, gradual development of the foetus, anatomy of human body, physiological functions, and the birth of a child, as acquired by the Medical Science of that period.

These principles of the conception, fertilization of human embryo and the birth of the child compare favourably well with those of the modern Medical Science.

Diseases and Treatments

The *BhS* refers to various kinds of diseases, such as, ringworm (*daddu*),[2] bilious fever (*pittajara*)[3], sometimes accompanied by blood dysentry[4], piles (*aṁsiyāo*)[5], rheumatic (*vātaka*), bilious (*pittika*) and phlegmatic (*śleṣmika*) diseases[6], typhoid (*sānnipātika*)[7], insanity (*unmāda*)[8], etc.

It does not throw much light upon the causes of these diseases except in one or two cases. But it is presumable that they appeared in the human body generally owing to the state of the physical and mental disequilibrium and particularly to the disturbed condition of the three most important physical elements, viz. *Vāyu* (rheum or air), *Pitta* (bile or heat) and *Śleṣmā* (*kapha* = phlegm or water).

Thus it is learnt from the text that insipid, dry and cold food and drink untimely cause bilious fever with which the monk Jamālī suffered, while passing his time in *Śrāvastī*, because the normal function of the physical system was disturbed by the generation of more heat from the bile on account of unsuitable and untimely diet.

1 *BhS*, 1, 7, 61.
2 *Ib*, 7, 6, 288.
3 *Ib*, 9, 33, 386; 15, 1, 557.
4 *Ib*, 15, 1, 557.
5 *Ib*, 16, 3, 572.
6,7 *Ib*, 18, 10, 647.
8 *Ib*, 14, 2, 503.

In the case of the mental disease 'Insanity', a clear idea is given about its causes and symptoms. It is said to be of two kinds, viz. *Yakṣāveśa* and *Mohanīyakarma* (*unmāda*). The first one appears on account of the cause of possession of the whole body and mind by *Yakṣa* (demi-god) and the second one occurs owing to the rise of *Mohanīya Karma* (faith and right-conduct obscuring *Karma*) in his mind.

The *Yakṣāveśa*-insanity brings the state of happiness (*sukhavedanataraka*) and its cure also is accompanied by happiness, while the *Mohanīyakarma*-insanity is full of suffering (*duḥkhavedanataraka*) and the cure or release from it is attained with pain (*duḥkhavimocanataraka*).[1]

Treatment

The *BhS* clearly shows that two kinds of treatment, viz. medicinal and surgical were applied to cure diseases according to their natures and classifications on the basis of diagnosis. A reference is found in the text to the taking of medicine (*osahi*) mixed with food by mouth.

In the case of a sudden swoon due to mental shock, the patient was brought to consciousness by sprinkling cold water on face and fanning air with a palm-leaf-fan, as it is evidenced in the case of the mother of the prince, Jamālī, who swooned immediately after listening to the undesired, unpleasing, disagreeable and unheard words of request of her son for permission to undertake the state of houselessness.[2]

Surgery

An evidence of the treatment of the disease 'piles' by the surgical operation is mentioned. A physician, having observed the piles of a meditating monk, hanging outside the rectum, caused him to lie down in a proper position and then operated on it.[3]

[1] *BhS*, 14, 2, 503. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384. [3] *Ib*, 16, 2, 572.

Diet

It appears from the denotation of the word *'gilāṇabhatta'*[1] used in the *BhS*, that the patient was served with a special kind of diet in the case of his disease.

The evidences of the study and practice of the Medical Science are also fully corroborated by other Jain texts.

In addition, they provide information regarding the development of the different sections of this branch of knowledge in those days.

Thus, they give a long list of various kinds of diseases, such as, boils (*gaṇḍī*), leprosy (*kuṭṭha* of eighteen types),[2] consumption (*rāyaṁsi*), epilepsy (*avamāriya*), blindness (*kāṇiya*), stiffness (*jhimiya*), lameness (*kuṇiya*), humpback (*khujjiya*), dropsy (*udari*), dumbness (*mūya*), swelling (*sūṇiya*), over-appetite (*gilāsaṇi*), trembling (*vevai*), disablement (*pīḍhasappi*), elephantiasis (*pilivaya*), diabetes (*madhumeha*),[3] asthama (*sāsa*), cough (*kāsa*), fever (*jara*), inflamation (*dāha*), intestinal colic (*kucchisūla*), fistula (*bhagandara*), piles (*arisa*),[4] etc.[5]

According to those works various causes are attributed to the appearance of diseases in the human body, such as, over-eating, taking of bad food, over-sleeping, over-walking, checking calls of nature, travelling, irregularity of taking food, indulgence in sexual intercourse[6].

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384.
[2] Refer to *Suśruta-Samhitā*, *Nidānasthāna*, 5, 4, 5, p. 342; *Caraka* Ch. 7, pp. 2069-73 for eighteen kinds of *Kuṣṭa*.
[3] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 6, 1, 173. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India, p. 179.
[4] *Cf. Vivāga Suya* 1, p. 7.
[5] Refer to *Jambū Su* (24. p. 120) which records family disease (*kularoga*), village disease (*gāmaroga*), country disease (*maṇḍa roga*), etc.; see *Nisītha Cū*. II, p. 737 f.; *Jīvābhigama Sūtra*, 3, p. 153; *Mbh*. III, 230, 44 ff; *Cf*. History of Pāli literature, p. 281
[6] *Ṭhāṇāṅga Suya*, 9. 667. For all these references see 'Life in Ancient India', p. 180.

As regards the medicine, treatment, diet and hospitalization, they give a detailed account on the two lines of treatment, viz. medicinal and surgical, as referred to in the *BhS*.

Thus, there occur references to various kinds of treatment prescribed and given by the physician on the basis of the nature of the disease, such as, rubbing with oil (*abbhaṅga*) rubbing with powder (*uvvaṭṭana*), oil drinks (*siṇehapāṇa*), vomitting (*vamana*), purging (*vireyaṇa*), branding (*avaddahaṇa*), medicated baths (*avaṇhāna*), oil enema (*aṇuvāsaṇa*), head bath (*batthikamma*), purging by drugs (*virūha*), opening veins (*sirāveha*), cutting (*tacchaṇa*), scrapping (*pacchaṇa*), bathing the head with oils (*sirobatthi*), nourishing the body with oils (*tappaṇa*) by means of ingredients roasted on fire, by *puṭa-pāka* method, barks, roots, bulbs, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, bitters (*silikā*),[1] pills, drugs (*osaha*), etc.[2]

Besides these, a long list of other kinds of treatment—both medicinal and surgical, as prescribed by the physicians according to the nature of diseases is provided by the different Jaina texts, e.g. the use of hairy or hairless (*saloma-nilloma*) skin for the old monks and nuns thus, the lying down on the skin in the case of flatulence (*uddhavāta*) or paralysis (*dhanuggāha*) or of piles or severe pain or of the dislocation of foot or of the attack of wind on the whole or the part of the body of a nun, the wrapping of the affected part of the body with the skin of hyena (*taraccha*) in the case of her rheumatism (*vāta*) and the lying down on a tiger-skin (*dīvicamma*) in that of dog-biting,[3] etc.[4]

The other Jaina texts throw a welcome light upon the surgical treatment by refering to various kinds of instruments[5] for operation and to the surgical cases[6] treated by the surgeons.

[1] *Vivāga Suya*, 1. p. 8 ; *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India.' p. 179.
[2] *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra*, 3, 3, 6 ; *Bhāṣya*, 3839-41.
[3] *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 3816-18.
[4] *Vide*, 'Life in Ancient India', p. 180.
[5] *Nisītha Cū*, II, p. 701.
[6] *Vivāga Suya*, 8, p. 48; see *Vinayavastu* of *Mulasarvāstivāda*, pp. 27-43.

As regards the diet of the patients, there is the mention of meat and wine as prescribed by the physician in special cases of diseases.[1]

It is learnt from the other Jaina texts that there were two classes of physicians, viz. the private[2] and state physicians[3] whose services were indispensable in the society.

In the case of the former, patients were brought to him for the diagnosis and treatment of diseases and his medical advice or he was called in to the house of the patient, honoured and entertained with the present of food, valuable utensils and fees,[4] while the latter was appointed and maintained by the king for the medical service of the royal family on a certain rate of salary.[5]

There occurs also a reference in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*[6] to the running of a public hospital where the patients were treated by a number of physicians and surgeons with different kinds of medicines and herbs according to the nature of their diseases.

THIRD SECTION

Biology

The *BhS* reveals that a remarkable progress was made by the scholars of its age in the science of Biology, as it is known by the fact that both the plant and animal kingdoms have been dealt with in the text, though in a brief manner.

Moreover, it should be observed that Ājīvikism[7] as propounded by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra contains some principles of Biology, the comprehensive accounts of which are revealed in

[1] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 5, p 80. *Cf. Vivāga Suya*, II. *Cf. Mahāvagga*, VI. 10-2. [2] *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, p. 1910-70.
[3] *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, *Piṇḍikā* 376 ; *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 5, 21.
[4] *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 1, 1910-70. [5] *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 5, 21.
[6] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 13. p. 143. See 'Life in Ancient India' p. 179.
[7] *BhS*, 15, 1, 539.

the *Dīgha-Nikāya*[1] and *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*[2] which deal with the elements of Botany, Zoology, Geology, Anatomy, Physiology and Embryology.

Botany

As regards the plant life, the *BhS* gives a clear insight into it by explaining the different stages of its development in a few scattered statements made in course of the sermons of the Master.

The life of all plants exists within the cover of seeds in a state of dormancy to be awakened at a proper time and season under the favourable conditions, though it is imperceptible to the naked human eyes. This life persists within the protective seed-coat for certain periods, resisting against all the forces of the natural phenomena.

In due time and season this dormant life springs up, bursting asunder the seed-coat and begins to grow gradually into a full plant like all beings, though in its immobile state, due to the transformations within itself.

It is explained that the plant also has the feeling experience of touch like all other beings as one-sensed being (*ekendriya jīva*).

In a dialogue of Lord Mahāvīra with Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra on the reanimation of a *Tilastambaka* (Sesamum plant) the *BhS* sheds light on the existence of the plant life.[3]

Sir Jagadisha Chandra Bose also has proved this truth to the world by his proper scientific researches on the silent life of the plants[4] in the nineteenth Century A.D.

Germinating Capacity or visibility of different kinds of Seeds

The *BhS* gives some knowledge of the germinating capacity of different kinds of seeds of corns.

It has already been discussed in connection with the topic 'Agricultural operation' in the first section of the fifth chapter

[1] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, p. 53 f.

[2] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, 1. p. 160 f.

[3] *BhS*, 15, 1, 544.

[4] 'Plant Autographs and their Revelations' 1927, Sir J.C. Bose.

that the germinating capacity, or viability of the cereals, such as, *Śāli* (a kind of rice), *Brīhi* (a kind of fine rice), *Godhūma* (wheat), *Yava* (barly), etc., if kept in a well protected granary, lasts in the minimum for one *antarmuhūrta* and in the maximum upto three years; that of the pulses, like *Kalāya*, *Masūra* (lentil), *Munga*, etc., for one *antarmuhūrta* in the minimum and five years in the maximum; and that of *Alasī*, *Kusumbhaka*, *Kodrava*, *Kangri*, *Śaṇa*, *Sarṣapa* (mustard seed), *Mūlaga* (raddish), etc., for one *antarmuhūrta* in the minimum and seven years in the maximum, if stored up according to the above process. After the specified periods their respective germinating capacities (or viability) wither away and the seeds become unseeds.[1]

Plant life and Absorption of food by plants in different seasons

In the rainy season the *Vanaspati-kāyika jīvas* (plant-bodied beings) become much absorbers of their food, but after that in the seasons of *Hemanta* (autumn), *Vasanta* (spring), and *Grīṣma* (Summer) all of them become less absorbers (*sarvālpāhārā*).[2]

In Summer many *Uṣṇayonika* beings (born in hot place) and *Poggala* (living organism) are born as plant-bodied beings in particular numbers and they increase and decrease (die) also in certain numbers, and they are born again; for this reason in this season many plants endowed with leaves, flowers and fruits remain green, shining, beautiful and brilliant, having been adorned with these natural products and the wild beauty of the forest.[3]

This account reveals the knowledge of the plant life and storage of its food for its sustenance and continuance against the clemency of the weather of the hot summer season.

Absorption of food by the Plants

The *BhS* throws some light upon the process of absorption and assimilation of food-matter by the plants by explaining thus that the roots of the plants are touched (pervaded) by the root

[1] *BhS*, 6, 7, 246. [2,3] *Ib*, 7, 3, 275.

beings (i.e. bacteria existing in roots) which are connected with the earth-bodied beings, for that reason they absorb food-matter from the soil and assimilate it.

Likewise the stems are touched (pervaded) by the stem-beings and they are connected with the root beings; the seeds also are pervaded by the seed-beings and connected with the fruit beings; so they absorb and assimilate their food-matter.[1]

This process of absorption and assimilation of food-matter by the plants fully agrees with the law of osmosis of Botany.

This theory of osmosis explains that the plant absorbs nitrogen, phospherous, potash, etc, by its auxiliary roots (not by the tape root) from the earth in the form of liquid substance and draws it up by the root pressure to the leaf where it gets cooked with the help of the heat of sunshine. Thence it passes in a transformed condition to every part of the plant, causing it to grow and to bear flowers and fruits.

Classification of Plants

In the *BhS* the plants have been classified into three natural orders on the basis of the number of beings existing in their bodies and the span of their life, viz. *Saṁkhyāta-jīvita* (the plant in which there are numerable beings), *Asaṁkhyāta-jīvita* (the plant in which there are innumerable beings), and *Anantajīvita* (the tree in which there are infinite beings).

Under the first order of this classification come the following species of *Saṁkhyātajīvita* plants, viz. *Tāla* (palmtree), *Tamāla* (dark-barked xanthochymus pictorius), *Takkali* (Pimenta acris ?), *Tetalī* (Temarind tree), upto *Nālierī* (cocoanut tree), while under the second one there are two kinds of plants, viz. *Ekāsthika* (one-seeded) and *Bahubījakā* (many-seeded), e. g. *Nimba* (neem tree), *Amra* (mango tree), *Jambu* (the rose apple), etc., are stated to be one-seeded and *Asthika* (guava), *Tinduka* (Diospyros embryopteris), *Dāḍima* (Pomegranate), etc., fall under the second category of *Bahubījaka*.[2]

[1] *BhS*, 7, 3, 276. [2] *Ib*, 8, 3, 324.

The third natural order contains the following species of plants, viz. *Āluka* (a kind of ebony), *Mūlaka* (raddish), *Siṅgavera* (ginger), upto *Musuṇḍhī* and others like them.[1]

This analysis of the plant life and its classification on the basis of the existence of the germs of life fully corresponds to the theory of Botany about them and thus reveals the development of knowledge in this branch of learning at that period of the *BhS* to a considerable extent.

Zoology

The references to various species of animals in the text, as already discussed in connection with the topic 'Fauna' in the first section of the fifth chapter on 'Economic Conditions', reveal that the science of Zoology developed to a considerable extent during its period.

Besides these, the very classification of beings[2] on the basis of the possession of senses and sense organs into five groups, viz. one-sensed, two-sensed, three-sensed, four-sensed and five-sensed beings, clearly shows the scientific progress of this branch of learning.

The *BhS* divides the animal kingdom into three natural classes from the point of view of their respective habitations, viz. terrestrial (*sthalacara*), acquatic (*jalacara*), and aerial (*khecara* or *khahayara*).[3]

It mentions three processes of birth of the birds and of the other five-sensed lower animals, viz. *aṇḍajā*, *potajā* and *sammūrcchimā*, i. e. birth from an egg, birth from a foetus (womb) which has no enveloping membrane and birth without the union of the male and female (i. e. father and mother).[4]

These evidences of the classification of animals and the processes of their births as revealed in the *BhS* are corroborated by the *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* where they are explained in details.

Thus it is stated that there are three kinds of *yonīsaṁgraha* (birth), viz.—*Aṇḍajā*, *Potajā* and *Sammūrcchimā*.[5]

[1] *BhS*, 7, 3, 277.
[2] *Ib*, 33, 1, 844.
[3,4] *Ib*, 7, 5, 282.
[5] *Ib*, 7, 5, 282.

They are again further divided into different groups thus: the *Aṇḍajās* and *Potajās* are of three classes, viz. female (*strī*), male (*puruṣa*) and third sex (*napuṁsaka*), while the *Sammūrcchimās* are stated to be only the third-sex.[1]

The *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* classifies the five-sensed lower animals into two main groups, viz. *Sammūrcchima-tiryag-yonika* and *Garbhavyutkrāntika-Pañcendriya-tiryag-yonikas*, i. e. lower animals born without the sexual union of the male and female and those born from the foetus.[2]

The first group is further divided into three natural categories, viz. acquatic (*jalacara*), terrestrial (*sthalacara*), and aerial (*khecara*).[3]

There are stated to be five kinds of the *Sammūrcchima* acquatic animals viz. fish, tortoise, crocodile, allegator (*gohā*) *Susumāra*,[4] and two kinds of terrestrial animals, viz. four footed terrestrial *Samūrcchima*—five-sensed lower-animals and *Parisarpa-Sammūrchima*. The first group is further classified into four categories viz. *ekakhurā*, *dvikhurā*, *gaṇḍipadā* and *sanapakayā*.

The second group (*sthalacara sammūrcchima*) is divided into two classes viz. *Uragaparisarpasammūrcchima* and *Bhujagaparisarpasammūrcchima*, (i.e. those animals which move on their breast and those on arms), e.g. the snakes belong to the first group, while the allegator and mongoose, etc., to the second.[5]

The five-sensed aerial lower animals are stated to be of four classes, viz. *Carmapakṣī*, *Lomapakṣī*, *Samudgapakṣī*, and *Vitatapakṣī*; the *Bāguli* (bat) etc., belonged to the first one, *Haṁsa* (swan), *Dhaṅkā* (crow), *Kaṅkā* (heron), etc., to the second, *Samudgapakṣī*, (birds shaped like a round casket) to the third and *Vitatapakṣī* (birds having extended wings) to the fourth respectively.[6]

A very scientific study of the possession of poision by some beings in one particular part of their bodies shows a

[1] *Jīvābhigama Sutra*, 3, 1, 96.
[2] *Ib*, 1, 33.
[3] *Ib*, 1, 34.
[4] *Ib*, 1, 35.
[5] *Ib*, 1, 35.
[6] *Ib*, 1, 36.

stage of development of Zoology at that period of the *BhS*, as it is evidenced by the fact that it classifies the animals possessing poison in their teeth into four groups, viz. *Vṛścika-jāti-āśīviṣa* (scorpion, etc.), *Maṇḍuka-jāti-āśīviṣa* (frog), *Uraga-jāti-āśīviṣa* (snake), and *Manuṣya-jāti-āśīviṣa* (human beings).[1]

This analysis of the existence of poison in the teeth of these four classes of beings fully agrees with the result of the scientific researches of the present day about the problem of the life of poisonous animals.

It is further explained that the scorpion and the frog are endowed with the power to make the bodies equal to the sizes of the half of *Bhāratavarśa* affected by their poison and to rend them asunder individually.

And the snake and the human being possess the capacity to make the bodies equal to the sizes of *Jambūdvīpa* island and *Samayakṣetra* (the human world) poisonous respectively.

But none of them applied or applies or will apply their powers in this regard.

These statements of the extent of the capacities of the four classes of beings to poison the bodies by biting require a scientific research to verify the truth lying in them.

It is found from the general observation that whenever a poisonous snake bites a man, the poison immediately spreads throughout his body.

Cause of the sound of a running horse

The *BhS* throws light upon the physiological function of the body of a horse by explaining the cause of the sound of a running horse thus that there is born in between the heart and liver of this animal an air called *Karbaṭa* (or *Karkaṭa*) (while running) due to the presence of which the sound '*Khukhu*' is heard.[2]

The cause of this sound requires a proper scientific research to ascertain the truth of the above statement.

[1] *BhS*, 8, 2, 316, [2] *Ib*, 10, 3, 407.

Other Natural Sciences—Physics and Chemistry

It is learnt from the *BhS* that Natural Sciences—Physics and Chemistry—made a remarkable progress during its period, as it is evidenced by the fact of its scientific treatment of the theory of Matter, particularly the atomic theory and Metallurgy.

Here some ideas are given to show the scientific studies of the elements of Nature as made in this canonical work and to hold that they fully agree with the theories of the modern science, but these subjects will be dealt with in details later on in the chapter on Philosophy.

It is explained that Matter was, is, and will be infinite and eternal in the past, the present and the future.[1]

It was endowed with the dissimilar qualities like dryness and adhesiveness and got transformed into the states having many colours and forms by the applied and natural processes.

The *skandhas* (aggregate of atoms), after getting worn out underwent further transformation and disintegrated into the matter of one colour and one form i. e. an atom[2] which is indivisible.[3] impenetrable,[4] infinite[5] and eternal from the point of view of substance and non-eternal from that of the modes of colour, etc.[6]

The text throws a sidelight also upon the theory of light by making a scientific analysis of the burning of fire of a lamp.

It explains thus that a lamp, its stand, wick, oil, and cover do not burn, but fire in the wick burns.

It is the well-known theory that the oil of the lamp is sucked up by capillary action caused by the heat of fire burning at the tip of the wick.

In connection with the explanation of *Lokasthiti* (order of the Universe) this canonical text makes a scientific discussion on the action of air and water thus. Some man fiills a leather bladder with air and binds its mouth with a knot, fixes a knot in the middle of it and opens the upper knot (mouth). Then he

1, 2 *BhS*, 14, 4, 510. 3 *Ib*, 5. 7, 215. 4 *Ib*, 5, 7, 214.
5 *Ib*, 25, 4, 740 6 *Ib*, 14, 4, 512.

bleeds the air from the upper part and fills it up with water, then he opens the middle knot, after binding the mouth of the bladder. Ultimately the filled up water will rest on the uppermost portion of the air.[1]

All these evidences regarding the knowledge of science show that the ideas on the operations of the forces of Nature worked in the minds of the great thinkers of those days. But it is difficult to say how far those ideas were experimented in a practical scientific laboratory as they are done in modern days.

FOURTH SECTION

Astronomy and Mathematics.

Astronomy

The *BhS* reveals that the science of Astronomy made a remarkable progress during its period, as it is revealed by the fact of its treatment of different directions and the solar system.

Directions

The text mentions ten directions with their respective names, viz. East (*Indrā*), East-South (*Āgneyī*), South (*Yamā*), South-West (*Nairtī*), West (*Varuṇī*), West-North (*Vāyavyā*), North (*Somā*), North-East (*Aiśānī = Īśānī*), Upper-direction (*Vimalā*) and Lower-Direction (*Tamā*).[2]

It also explains the existence and non-existence of beings and non-beings in the space of these ten directions.

The *BhS*[3] makes mention of many suns, moons, planets and stars existing in different hemispheres of the universe and they form the *Jyotiṣkas* (luminous heavenly bodies). Thus it is enumerated that there shone, shine and will shine two suns, two moons, fifty six *Nakṣatras* (particular stars),[4] one hundred seventy-six planets, one lakh and thirty-three thousand stars in the

[1] *BhS*, 1, 6, 54. [2] *Ib*, 10, 1, 394. [3] *Ib*, 9, 2, 363-4.
[4] In the *Vedas* the *Nakṣatras* are considered as abodes of the gods or of pious persons after death. *Sāyana* on R.V.1.50,2 *Vide*, Skt. Dictionary-Monier-Williams, p. 524, Col. 2.

Jambūdvīpa island, four suns, four moons, one hundred and seventy-two *Nakṣatras*, three hundred and fifty-two planets, two lakhs sixty-seven thousand and nine hundred stars in *Lavaṇa-Samudra* (Salt sea), twelve suns, twelve moons, three hundred thirty-six *Nakṣatras*, one thousand fifty-six planets, eight lakhs three thousand seven hundred crores of stars (*tāragaṇakoḍiko-ḍīṇaṁ*), forty-two suns, forty-two moons, one thousand one hundred and seventy-six *Nakṣatras*, three thousand six hundred and ninety-six great planets, twelve thousand and twenty-eight (*aṭṭhāvīsaṁ bārasa ya taha sahassāiṁ*), nine hundred fifty crores of stars in *Kāloda*; one hundred and forty-four suns, one hundred forty-four moons, four thousand thirty-two *Nakṣatras*, twelve thousand six hundred and seventy-two great planets, ninety-six lakhs forty-four thousand and four hundred crores of stars in *Puṣkarārdhadvīpa*; seventy-two suns, seventy-two moons, two thousand and sixteen *Nakṣatras*, six thousand three hundred and thirty-six great planets and forty-eight lakhs, twenty-two thousand and two hundred crores of stars in *Abhyantara-puṣkarārdha* (*Puṣkaravaradvīpārdha*), one hundred and thirty-two suns, one hundred and thirty-two moons, three thousand six hundred and ninety-six *Nakṣatras*, eleven thousand ninety-six great planets and eighty-eight lakhs forty-thousand and seven hundred less by one crores of stars in *Manuṣyaloka* (human world).[1]

It is difficult to explain how far the numbers of the suns, the moons, the *Nakṣatras*, the planets and the stars given here are correct without the proper astronomical research studies at the present state of knowledge. But one thing is clear from the above evidences that they formed the *Jyotiṣkas* according to the Jaina texts.

Solar System

The Sun

The sun (*Sūra*) is called *Āditya* because it is the first of all the members of the solar system, such as, the moon, the planets, the *Nakṣatras*, the stars, etc., upto the unit

[1] *BhS*, 9, 2, 363. See Comm.

of time, such as, *samaya*, *āvalikā* upto *utsarpiṇīs*, *avasarpiṇīs*, etc. It is the first cause of all.[1]

The Moon

The moon is called *Sasi* for there are in its heavenly house (*Mṛgāṅka-vimāna*) beautiful gods and goddesses, nice seat, bed, pillars and other articles, and it is also placid, lovely, charming, pleasant, good-looking and handsome. It is the conception of the celestial abode of the gods.[2]

Courses of the Sun

It is explained in this canonical work that in the *Jambū-dvīpa* island two suns are seen far and near (though far) at the rising and setting times due to the non-diffusion (resistance) of their light, and near and far (though near) at the moment of midday due to the cause of extreme heat of light.[3]

It is further stated that they are equal in altitude every-where at the above mentioned three moments.

The two suns pervade[4] and illuminate[5] the present space of the Universe but not its past and future spaces.

They make bright the space touched by their respective rays (*tejasā spṛṣṭaṁ*) but not the untouched one as a rule in the six directions.[6]

Thus they cause to shine and make hot and lustrous the present space pervaded by their rays in six directions.

They shine upon a space of one hundred *yojanas* above, that of eighteen hundred *yojanas* below and that of forty-six thousand two hundred and sixty-three and more by 1/21st part *yojanas* horizontally.[7]

Then it is explained that the setting sun soon comes in view from the very intervening space from which the rising sun comes.[8]

[1] *BhS*, 12, 6. 455. [2] *Ib*, 12, 6, 454. [3] *Ib*, 8, 8, 344.
[4,5] *Ib*, 8, 8, 344. [6] *Ib*, 8, 8, 344. Here the touching of the space by the rays of the sun means that space where the sun rays fall, enter and pervade.
[7] *Ib*, 8, 8, 344. [8] *Ib*, 1, 6, 50.

The setting sun illuminates, causes to shine, makes hot and lustrous the space which is illuminated, etc., by the rising sun with its rays on all sides in all directions.[1]

It illuminates, causes to shine, makes hot and bright the space which is touched by its rays as a rule in six directions.

Thus whatever space is touched by the rays of the sun during the touching time in all directions, may be called the touched space[2] and the sun touches the touched space but not the untouched space in all directions.[3]

In these statements whatever may be the scientific truth regarding the existence of two suns etc., the thought and experience of the learned society of the scholars of that age, as revealed in the study of the course of the sun and illumination of the space of the Universe by its rays lead one to probe into the knowledge of Astronomy acquired and applied by them in the field of education.

Lunar Eclipse

It was the popular belief at that period that when *Rāhu*, the heavenly demon, seized and devoured the moon, the lunar eclipse took place in the Universe.

Against this popular belief of the society it is explained in the *BhS* that *Rāhudeva* is endowed with great prosperity and attributed with the following nine names:—*Śṛṅgāṭaka*, *Jaṭilaka*, *Kṣambhaka* (*Kṣatraka*), *Kharaka*, *Dardura*, *Maraka*, *Matsya*, *Kacchapa*, *Kṛṣṇasarpa* and he is possessed of five *vimānas* (heavenly houses), having five colours, viz. black (*Kṛṣṇa*), blue (*nīla*), red (*lohita*), yellow (*haridrā*) and white (*śukla*).

When *Rāhu*, coming or going or assuming various shapes, or enjoying sexual intercourse crosses to the west by covering the moonlight in the east, then the moon becomes visible in the east and *Rāhu* in the west[4].

[1,3] *BhS*, 1, 6, 50. [4] *Ib*, 12, 6, 453.

When he crosses to the east by covering the moonlight in the west, then the moon shows itself in the west and he appears in the east.

Like this two divisions should be known in regard to each movement of *Rāhu* to the north and south, north-west and south-west, south-east and north-east and north-west and south-west respectively.

When *Rāhu*, coming or going etc., stays (exists) by covering the moonlight, then in this world the human beings tell thus :—

> "Surely *Rāhu* devours the moon and when he crosses by the side of the moon" they say, "Surely the belly of *Rāhu* is pierced by the moon"[1].

When he returns by covering the moonlight, then the human beings say, "Surely the moon is vomitted by *Rāhu*" and when he stays by covering the moonlight in the lower region and in front, they tell that the moon is captured or devoured by him[2].

It is further explained that there are two *Rāhus*, viz. *Dhruva Rāhu* and *Parva Rāhu*. The former stays by covering the fifteenth part of the moonlight by his own fifteenth part of body since the *Pratipadā* of *Kṛṣṇapakṣa* (the first day of the dark half of a month), e. g. the first part by his first, the second part by his second upto the fifteenth by his fifteenth part ; thus at last time the moon becomes completely covered.

Again the moon becomes partly covered (*rakta*) and partly uncovered (*virakta*), unshowing and showing itself in the *Śuklapakṣa* (the bright half of the month), when *Rāhu* stays by uncovering the first part of the moonlight by his first upto the fifteenth by his fifteenth part.

At last the moonlight becomes completely uncovered (*virakta*) and again covered and uncovered.

Parva-Rāhu exists by covering the moonlight after six months in the minimum, after forty-two months in the maximum and the rays of the sun after forty-eight years in the maximum.

[1,2] *BhS*, 12, 6, 453.

That is, this lunar eclipse takes place after six months and forty-two months in the minimum and maximum respectively and the solar eclipse after forty-eight years in the maximum.

According to Varāhamihira[1], *Rāhu* resembles the shape of a snake, having its mouth and tail divided, for the head of the demon was cut by *Viṣṇu* with his *Cakra* as a punishment of tasting the nectar by him secretly along with the gods.[2]

He also propounds the theory that the eclipse takes place owing to the covering of the light of a luminous body by the presence of another body.

In the science of Astronomy an eclipse has been defined as the interception of the light of a luminous body (the sun, the moon, etc.) by the intervention of another body between it and the eye or between the luminous body and what illuminates it. This eclipse is annual, partial and total.

So there is an agreement between the theory as embodied in the *BhS* and that of the modern Astronomy on the fundamental principle of eclipse that it takes place due to the interception of the light of a luminous body by the intervention of another body between it and the eye or it and the source of its light.

Time (Kāla)

According to the *BhS* time is one of the six fundamental substances of the Universe which will be discussed later in the chapter on "Philosophy".

There are stated to be four kinds of time as explained from the four points of view, viz. *Pramāṇakāla* (standardized time), *Yathāyurnirvṛttika-kāla* (time when the binding of *āyuṣ-karma* takes place), *Maraṇakāla* (death-time), and *Addhākāla* (time associated with Nature).

[1] *Varāhamihira Rāhucāra* (*Bṛhat Saṁhitā* Vol-X—pt. 1) (p. 160-161.)—3.
[2] *Ib* „ -1 (p. 116)

Pramāṇakāla is subdivided into two classes, viz. *Divasapramāṇakāla* and *Rātripramāṇakāla*. The day of four *praharas* becomes the night of four *praharas*. "Cauporisie divase cauporisiyā rāi bhavati".[1] *Addhākāla* is determined by the travelling of the sun and it is divided into many units of time, the smallest indivisible part of which is *Samaya*; *Āvalikā*[2] is the next unit of time which is formed of the union of innumerable *Samayas*; numerable *Āvalikās* become one *Ucchvāsa-kāla* and one *Niḥśvāsakāla* respectively, one *Ucchvāsa Niḥśvāsa* (inhale and exhale) of one young, healthy, stout and diseaseless animal is called one *Prāṇa*; seven *Prāṇas* make one *stoka*; seven *stokas* constitute one *Lava*; seventy-seven *Lavas* are stated to form one *Muhūrta* which is equal to forty-eight minutes and there are three thousand seven hundred and seventy-three *Ucchvāsas* in one *Muhūrta* as found by all men possessed of infinite knowledge.

By this unit of measurement of *Muhūrta*, one day and one night are formed of thirty *Muhūrtas*; fifteen days and nights make one *Pakṣa* (fort-night), two *Pakṣas*–one *Māsa* (month); two *Māsas* (2 months)–one *Ṛtu* (season), three *Ṛtus* (seasons)–one *Ayana*; two *Ayanas*–one *Saṁvatsara* (year); five *Saṁvatsaras* (years)–one *Yuga* (age); twenty Yugas–one *Varṣaśata* (century); ten hundred years (ten centuries)–one *Varṣasahasra* (one thousand years); hundred thousand years–one lakh years; eighty-four lakhs of years–one *Pūrvāṅga*; and eight lakhs of *Pūrvaṅgas* form one *Pūrva*.[3]

By this order of the measurement of *Pūrva*, *Truṭitāṅga*, *Truṭita*, *Aṭaṭāṅga*, *Aṭaṭa*; *Apapāṅga*, *Apapa* (*Avava*); *Hūhūyaṅga*, *Hūhūya*; *Utpalāṅga*, *Utpala*; *Padmāṅga*, *Padma*; *Nalināṅga*, *Nalina*; *Acchanikurāṅga* (*Arthanupurāṅga*), *Acchanikura* (*Arthanupura*); *Ayutāṅga*, *Ayuta*; *Prayutāṅga*, *Prayuta*; *Nayutāṅga*, *Nayuta*; *Cūlikāṅga*, *Cūlikā*; *Śīrṣaprahelikāṅga* and *Śīrṣaprahelikā* are counted. This is the measurement of time by the process of the mathematical calculation. After this there is another method of measuring time, viz. *Aupamika* (measurement by comparison or analogy).

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 424.
[2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 426.
[3] *Ib*, 6, 7, 247; 11, 11, 426.

Aupamika-kāla is divided into two kinds, viz. *Palyopama* and *Sāgaropama*.[1]

Atom is the last indivisible unit of matter occupying a certain imperceptible point of space.

One *Ucchlakṣṇa Ślakṣṇika* is formed by the union of infinite atoms, eight *Ucchlakṣṇa-Ślakṣṇika* make one *Ślakṣṇa-Ślakṣṇikā*; eight *Ślakṣṇa-Ślakṣṇikās* constitute one *Ūrdhvareṇu* (atom of dust or rising grain of dust), eight *Ūrdhvareṇus* one *Trasareṇu* (moving grain or atom of dust raised by wind); eight *Trasareṇus* one *Rathareṇu* (grain of dust raised by the movement of a chariot), eight *Rathareṇus*-one *Vālāgra* of men of *Devakuru* and *Uttarakuru*.

Thus there becomes one tuft of hair (*Vālāgra*) of men of *Harivarṣa* and *Ramyaka* from the eight *Vālāgras* of men of *Devakuru* and *Uttarakuru*; One *Vālāgra* of men of *Haimavata* and *Airāvata* from the eight *Vālāgras* of men of *Harivarṣa* and *Ramyaka*; and one *Vālāgra* of men of *Pūrvavideha* from the eight *Vālāgras* of men of *Haimavata* and *Airāvata*.

One *Likṣā* is made by the union of eight *Vālāgras* of men of *Pūrvavideha*; one *Yuka* (or *Yuvas*) by that of eight *Likṣās*; one *Yavamadhya* by that of eight *Yukas* (or *Yuvas*); and one *Aṅgula* by that of eight *Yavamadhyas*.

By the unit of measure of *Aṅgula* (finger) the further calculation is made thus :—

Six *Aṅgulas* make one *Pāda*; twelve *Aṅgulas* one *Vitasti*; twenty-four *Aṅgulas* one *Rayanī* (one cubit); forty-eight *Aṅgulas* one *Kukṣi*; ninety-six *Aṅgulas* one *Daṇḍa* or *Dhanūṣa* or *Yuga* or *Nālikā* or *Akṣa* or *Muṣala*.

By this measure of *Dhanuṣa* one *Krośa* (*gauyam*) is formed by the area of two thousand *Dhanuṣas* and one *Yojana* by that of four *Krośas*.

By this unit of *Yojana* one *Palya* (a storing place), being one *Yojana* in length, one *Yojana* in breadth and one *Yojana* in

1 *BhS*, 6, 7, 247; 11, 11, 426.

depth is filled with crores of *Vālāgras* (tufts of hairs) of children of the age of one, two, three upto seven days of *Devakuru* and *Uttarakuru* to the brim in such a way that fire cannot burn those *Vālāgras*, air cannot carry them off and they cannot get destroyed and soon attain the putrid state.

The time which is required to make that *Palya* emptied, dustless, dirtless, cleaned by removing these *Vālāgras* (tufts of hairs) one by one at every hundredth year (i. e. after the intervening space of 100 years) is called one *Palyopama* and ten *Koṭikoṭis* (crore × crore) of *Palyopama* make one *Sāgaropama*.

By the unit of *Sāgaropama* one *Suṣamāsuṣamākāla* is formed by the total time of four *Koṭikoṭis* of *Sāgaropama*, one *Suṣamā* by that of three *Koṭikoṭis* of *Sāgaropama*; one *Suṣamā-Duṣṣmā* by that of two *Koṭikoṭis* of *Sāgaropamas*, and one *Duṣama-Suṣamā* by that of one *Koṭikoṭi* less by forty two thousand years.

Duṣamā is equal to the time of twenty-one thousand years, and *Duṣama-Duṣamā* has the same quantity of time.

Ten *Koṭikoṭis* of *Sāgaropamakālas* make one *Avasarpiṇī-kāla* and also one *Utsarpiṇī-kāla* and twenty *Koṭikoṭis* of *Sāgaropamakālas* form one *Kālacakra* (wheel of time) of *Avasarpiṇī* and *Utsarpiṇī*.[1]

The longest period of time is conceived and denominated as *Pudgala-Parivarttana* or *Pudgala-parāvarta*.[2]

The *BhS* contains a mathematical analysis of the continuity of the past, present and future times and draws a line of demarcation between them.

Thus it is explained that the future time is one *Samaya* more than the past time and the past time is one *Samaya* less than the future time.

The *Sarvāddhā* (i.e. present time) is a little more than the past time, while the past one is one *Stoka* less than the present time (*Sarvāddhā*).

[1] *BhS*, 6, 7, 247. [2] *Ib*, 12, 4, 446.

It is two times more than a duration less by one *Stoka* than the future time and the future one is a little more length of time than the present one.

A similar account of the measurement of time is found in the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*[1] where the subject has been dealt with in great details from different aspects.

In the introduction to the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. III, a table of the measurement of time has been given thus :—

Ahorātra or *Divasa*	=	30 *muhūrtas*	=	24 hours.
Muhūrta	=	2 *nālī*	=	48 minutes.
Nālī	=	38½ *lava*	=	28 minutes.
Lava	=	7 *Stoka*	=	$37\frac{37}{77}$ Seconds.
Stoka	=	7 *Ucchvāsa*	=	$5\frac{185}{539}$ Seconds.
Ucchvāsa or *Prāṇa*	=	*Saṁkhyāta Āvalikā*	=	$\frac{2880}{3773}$ Seconds
Āvalikā	=	*Asaṁkhyāta Samaya* (innumerable Samayas).		

Samaya is the time which is taken by an atom to go by slow movement from one part of space to the other part of space.[2]

Year, Months and Seasons

According to the *BhS* a year consists of following twelve months, viz. *Vaiśākha*, *Jyeṣṭha*, *Āṣāḍha*, *Śrāvaṇa*, *Bhādra*, *Āśvina*, *Kārttika*, *Mārgaśīrṣa*, (*Agrahāyaṇa*), *Pauṣa*, *Māgha*, *Phālguṇa* and *Caitra*.[3]

It is divided into the following six seasons viz. *Prāvṛt* (*Pāusa*) Rainy season (*Śrāvaṇādiḥ*), *Varṣārāttra* (*Aśvayujādiḥ*), *Śarat* (*Mārgaśīrṣādiḥ*) Autamn, *Hemanta* (*Māghādiḥ*) Winter, *Vasanta* (*Caitrādiḥ*) spring and *Grīṣma* (*Jyeṣṭhādiḥ*) Summer.[4]

[1] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-488 ; Ed. by Dr. H. L. Jain; see Introduction, pp. ii, iii; & Vol. III, introduction, pp. 33-34.

[2] *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama*, Vol. III, Introduction, pp. 33-34.

[3] *BhS*, 18, 10, 647. [4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383.

This table of the months and seasons fully agrees with that of the modern Indian months and seasons based on the calculation of *Nakṣatras* as recorded in the ancient literature of India.

Day and Night

The *BhS* throws an important light upon the revolution of the day and night, their astronomical divisions, the causes of the longest day and shortest night and those of shortest day and longest night.

Thus it is conceived here that the "Day is bright and Night is dark (*Divā ujjoe rāiṁ aṁdhayāre*), because in day time there is auspicious matter the transformation of which is auspicious, while at night there takes place the transformation of inauspicious matter.[1]

Revolution of Day and Night

The revolution of day and night takes place due to the travelling of the sun in its orbit.

It is explained in the *BhS* that in the *Jambūdvīpa* island two suns rising in the north-east come to the east-south ; again rising in the east-south come to the west-south ; rising in the south-west come to the west-north ; rising in the west-north come to the north-east [2]

Occurrences of the day and night in the southern and northern halves of *Jambūdvīpa* and in the region to the east of *Mandāra* mountain are treated thus :—

"When in the southern half of *Jambūdvīpa* it becomes day, in its northern half also it becomes day ; when it becomes day in the northern half of *Jambūdvīpa*, then it becomes night in the east and west of *Mandāra* mountain.[3]

When it becomes day in the east of *Mandāra* mountain, it becomes day also in west, when in the west it becomes day, then in *Jambūdvipa* it becomes night to the north and south of *Mandāra* mountain".[4]

[1] *BhS*, 5, 9, 224.
[2] *Ib*, 5, 1, 176.
[3] *Ib*, 5, 1, 187.
[4] *Ib*, 5, 1, 177.

Whatever may be the astronomical truth behind this revolution of the day and night, it is apparently clear that the occurrences of the day and night are caused by the course of the sun in its own orbit.

Division of Day and Night

The text further explains the division of the whole day and night into thirty *muhūrtas* which operate in different regions of this world according to the unit of time.

Thus it is stated that when in *Jambūdvīpa* in the southern half there becomes the longest day of eighteen *muhūrtas*, then in the northern half also there becomes the longest day of eighteen *muhūrtas*.[1]

When in the northern half it becomes the longest day of eighteen *muhūrtas* then in *Jambūdvīpa* it becomes the shortest night of twelve *muhūrtas* to the east and west of *Mandāra* mountain.

There occurs the longest day of eighteen *muhūrtas* simultaneously in the regions lying to the east and west of *Mandāra* mountain. When it becomes the longest day of eighteen *muhūrtas* to the west of *Mandāra* mountain then it becomes the night of twelve *muhūrtas* to the north of *Mandāra* mountain. In both the southern and northern halves of *Jambūdvīpa* it becomes the day of little less than eighteen *muhūrtas* simultaneously.

When in the northern half it becomes the day of little less than eighteen *muhūrtas*, then it becomes the night of little more than twelve *muhūrtas* to the east and west of *Mandāra* mountain. In the eastern and western halves of *Jambūdvīpa* there occurs the day of little less than eighteen *muhūrtas* at the same time. When in the western hemisphere it becomes the day of little less than eighteen *muhūrtas*, then it becomes the night of little more than twelve *muhūrtas* to the south of *Mandāra* mountain.

By this order the length of the day and that of the night decrease and increase respectively. Thus when it becomes the day

[1] *BhS*, 5, 1, 177.

of seventeen *muhūrtas*, it becomes the night of thirteen *muhūrtas*; when it becomes the day of little less than seventeen *muhūrtas*, it becomes the night of little more than thirteen *muhūrtas* and so on.

In the southern and northern hemispheres of *Jambūdvīpa* there occurs the shortest day of twelve *muhūrtas* simultaneously. When in the northern hemisphere it becomes the day of twelve *muhūrtas*, then it becomes the longest night of eighteen *muhūrtas* to the east and west of *Mandāra* mountain in *Jambūdvīpa*; when it becomes the shortest day of twelve *muhūrtas* to the east of *Mandāra* mountain, there becomes the longest night of eighteen *muhūrtas* in the northern and southern hemispheres of *Jambūdvīpa*.[1]

Next, the *BhS* deals with the question of different seasons and its divisions according to different regions, e. g., when in *Jambūdvīpa* in its southern hemisphere it becomes the first time of the rainy season, then in its northern hemisphere also it becomes the first time of the same season, when in the northern half the first time of the rainy season approaches, then there becomes also the first time of this season having an interval of one *Samaya* in the region lying to the east and west of *Mandāra* mountain and so on.[2]

The *BhS* explains the rising and setting of the suns, the occurrence of day and night, the passing of time, etc, in different regions of the world, such as, *Lavaṇa-Samudra*, *Dhātakīkhaṇḍa*, *Kālodadhi*, *Abhyantara Puṣkarārdha*, etc., like the account of *Jambūdvīpa*[3]

Causes of the longest day and shortest night and vice-versa, and of equal day and night.

The *BhS* explains the cause of the longest day or night and that of the shortest day or night, and also those of equal day and night in the year.

There is the longest *prahara* of four and a half *muhūrtas* of day or of night and the shortest *prahara* of three *muhūrtas* of day or of night.

[1] *BhS*, 5, 1, 177. [2] *Ib*, 5, 1, 178. [3] *Ib*, 5, 1, 179.

When there becomes the longest *prahara* of four and a half *muhūrtas* of day or of night, there takes place the shortest *prahara* of three *muhūrtas* of day or of night, getting decreased and decreased by one hundred and twenty second part of a *muhūrta*.[1]

When there is the shortest *prahara* of three *muhūrtas* of day or of night, there becomes the longest *prahara* of four and a half *muhūrtas* of day or of night, getting increased and increased by one hundred twenty second part of a *muhūrta*.

When there becomes the longest day of eighteen *muhūrtas* and the shortest night of twelve *muhūrtas*, then there takes place the longest *prahara* of four and a half *muhūrtas* and the shortest *prahara* of three *muhūrtas*.

In the case of the night also the whole account should be known like that of the day.

In the year on the *Āṣāḍha Pūrṇimā* day (the day of the full moon) there becomes the longest day of eighteen *muhūrtas* and the shortest night of twelve *muhūrtas* while on the day of *Pauṣa-Pūrṇimā* there take place the longest night of eighteen *muhūrtas* and the shortest day of twelve *muhūrtas*.

On the day of *Caitra* and *Āśvina-Pūrṇimās* (full moon) both the day and night become equal, having fifteen *muhūrtas* each and there becomes the *prahara* of three and three-fourth *muhūrtas* of the day and night.[2]

These evidences clearly show the remarkable development of Astronomy at that period and throw an important light upon the mathematical foundation of this branch of knowledge, a comparative discussion of which may be made with the modern Astronomy.

It is a well-known fact in the Astronomical Science that there occur two Solstices, viz. Summer Solstice and Winter Solstice at about the 21st June and 22nd December respectively. At these times the sun is furthest from the equator and appears to pause before returning.

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 425. [2] *Ib*, 11, 11, 425.

At the time of Equinox the sun crosses the Equator and thus the day and night become equal on the 20th March (Vernal equinox) and September 22nd or 23rd (Autumnal equinox).

The comparative study of the causes of the longest day and shortest night, of the longest night and shortest day, and of the equal day and night at those specific times clearly reveals the scientific basis of the analysis of these subjects.

The evidences of the study of Astronomy as revealed in the *BhS* are fully corroborated by the *Sūriyapaṇṇatti*[1] and the *Caṁdapaṇṇatti*[2]—the fifth and the seventh *Upāṅgas* of the Jain canonical literature in which this subject is dealt with in details.

As regards the development of Astrology as already mentioned in connection with the topic 'Courses of study' in the first section of this chapter, the testimony of the *BhS* is well supported by the three texts, viz. *Vivāhapaḍala*,[3] *Joṇipāhuḍa*,[4] and *Cūḍāmaṇi*[5] which treat of this branch of knowledge elaborately.

Mathematics

The *BhS* clearly shows that Mathematics (*Saṁkhāna*) was one of the important branches of learning[6] and it attained a remarkable stage of development, as it is evidenced by the calculation of numerals from one upto crore[7]; *Yugmas*,[8] *Mahāyugmas*,[9] etc., and of the measurement of time[10] and space[11] from one *Samaya* upto one *Śīrṣaprahelikā*, and from one atom upto one *yojana* respectively. The reference to the following figures (*saṁsthāna*),[12] viz. *Parimaṇḍala* (round), *Vṛtta* (circular), *Tryasra* (triangular), *Caturasra* (square), *Āyata* (oblong), *Aniṭṭhaṁstha* (other than these five) throws a welcome light upon the advancement of Geometry along with Mathematics during that period.

1 *Sūriyapaṇṇatti*. 2 *Caṃdapaṇṇatti*.
3 *Niśītha Cūrṇi*, 12, p. 854. 4 *Brahatkalpa-Bhāṣya*, 1, 1303.
5 *Ib*, 1, 1313; *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India', p. 177.
6 *BhS*, 2, 1, 90. 7 *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.
8 *Ib*, 25, 4, 734. 9 *Ib*, 35, 1.
10 *Ib*, 6, 7, 247; 11, 11, 426. 11,12 *Ib*, 6, 7, 247.

The evidence regarding the progress of this branch of learning is also corroborated by other Jaina texts in which it is stated that '*Gaṇiya*' (arithmetic)[1] was one of the seventy two arts and one of the four topics of discourse (*anuyoga*).[2]

There is also the reference in the *Ṭhāṇaṅga*[3] to ten kinds of science of numbers, viz. *parikamma* (fundamental operation), *vavahāra* (subject of treatment), *rajju* ("rope" meaning Geometry), *rāśi* ("heap" meaning measurement of solid bodies), *Kalāsavanna* (fractions), *Jāvaṁ tāvaṁ* ("as may as", meaning simple equations), *vagga* ("square" meaning quadratic equation), ghaṇa ("cube" meaning cubic equation), *vaggavagga* (liquidratic equation), and *vikappa* (permutation and combination).

FIFTH SECTION

Military Science

It appears from the *BhS* that Military Science, particularly the science of archery, the art of mechanised fighting and the strategy of war planned by military experts reached a remarkable stage of development.

Archery

The archer held the bow, took the position, drew the arrow upto his ear and discharged the arrow with full strength at the target.[4]

[1] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 156.

[2] *Daśa Cūrṇi*, p. 2.

[3] *Ṭhāṇaṅga Sūtra*, 10, 747. Refer to the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. XXI, p. 115 ff. (1929), 'The Jaina school of Mathematics,' Bibhutibhusana Datta; Indian Historical Quarterly, 1931, 'A short chronology of Indian Astronomy', Sukumar Ranjan Das; 'Introduction to *Gaṇitatilaka*' (G. O. S. No. LXXVIII)—L. R. Kapadia; Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1926-7, pp. 145 ff.—D. M. Roy: See also 'Life in Ancient India' p. 178, f.n. 36.

[4] *BhS*, 7, 9, 303.

It has already been mentioned in connection with the topic 'Hunting' in the second section of the fifth chapter on 'Economic Conditions' that the hunter earned his livelihood by killing deer in forests and other places.[1]

Art of War

The text presents a graphic account of the art of war, together with alliances, plans, stratagem, diplomacy, and new war-engines, while depicting a vivid picture of the two devastating wars, viz *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka-Saṁgrāma* and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*.

It is learnt from the text that in these two long drawn contests, military alliances and total mobilization of all forces were made by both the states, *Magadha* and *Vaiśālī*, according to some war plans designed by very skilful military technical experts.[2]

It is stated in the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*[3] that king Ceṭaka arrayed his army in the waggon-formation (*sagaḍavūha*), while king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru formed the eagle-array (*garuḍavūha*) of his army in the battle field

References are also made in some other Jain texts[4] to *cakka*, *daṇḍa* and *sūcīvūha* as the names of battle array formed by the army.

As regards plans and designs of war, the *Arthaśāstra*[5] has discussed various battle-formations and tactics of fighting in great details.

The plan of protracted war and siege of enemy's fort was another feature of the military science of that period.

1 *BhS*, 1, 8, 67. 2 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.

3 *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*—1. p. 28,
See *Arthaśāstra*—pp. 403f. *Manu* VIII, 187f : *Mahābhārata*—VI, 58 ; 75 ; Refer to 'The Art of War in Ancient India' p. 72ff.—Date. See 'Life in Ancient India,' p. 78. 49f.

4 *Ovāiya Sutta*–40, p. 186 ; *Paṇha* 3, p. 44.

5 *Arthaśāstra* 376, pp. 403ff. (Book X, Ch. VI).

It is already known from the second section of the third chapter that the war between *Magadha* and *Vaiśālī* continued for more than sixteen years.

The *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi*[1] provides informations that the city of *Vaiśālī* was besieged by king Kūṇika for a long period.

It appears that strategy and diplomacy also played a great part in the warfare of that time.

It is learnt from the Buddhist work that Vassakāra, the prime minister of king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru, was entrusted with the secret mission of sowing seeds of dissension among the *Vaiśālians*. His diplomatic effort was crowned with success after three years, when the unity of those people was totally lost due to their mutual distrust and quarrelling caused by his machination and the king of *Magadha* dealt a deadly blow at *Vaiśālī*.[2]

The *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[3] also furnishes the evidences that the hermit Kulavālaya was charged by king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru with the task to cause the citizens of *Vaiśālī* to demolish the mound erected by this state for its defence so that he might win an easy victory over king Ceṭaka.

The evidences provided by the *BhS* and the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* show that fort *(Dugga)*[4] was constructed by the belligerent powers for the defensive and offensive warfare of that time.

Arms

Victory in war depends to a considerable extent on the effective latest weapons and their proper use by well-trained soldiers.

The terms *Āyudha* and *Praharaṇa*'[5] occuring in the *BhS* denote non-throwing and throwing weapons respectively.

The *BhS* provides a list of various kinds of arms used in the two devastating wars *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka* and *Rathamusala* and

[1] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*—II. p. 173.
[2] *Dighanikāya* (*Mahāparinirvāṇa Suttanta*).
[3] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*—II. p. 174. [4] *BhS*, 3, 2, 141. [5] *Ib*, 7,9, 300.

on other occasions, such as, *amoghavāṇa*, bow and arrow (*dhanu & usu*),[1] club (or stick), sword (*asi*), lance (*kunta*),[2] mace (*musala*), big iron-rod-like weapons,[3] big stone catapult (*Mahāśilākaṇṭaka*),[4] a mace fitted to the chariot (*Rathamusala*),[5] impregnable armour (*abhedyakavacaṁ vajrapratirūpakaṁ*),[6] and coat of mail (*sannaddhabaddha vammiyakavae*),[7] and other equipments, such as, flag, (*cimdhaddhaya paḍāga*) marked with discus or disc (*cakra*), umbrella (*chattaṁ*), etc.[8]

Flags, trumpets and drums etc., as the marks of distinctions of different contending parties infused a fighting spirit and instilled courage and morale into the hearts of the soldiers belonging to both the warring camps, so they fought with undaunted courage to keep up the honour of their respective flags but tried to cut off and capture those of their rival force with arrows. If the banner of one party was lost, the war was also lost to it, because the victory was inter-related with the honour of this war *insignia* representing the state.

The introduction and use of two war engines called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka* and *Rathamusala* by king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru in the two great wars against the confederate army of *Vaiśālī, Kāśī, Kośala*, nine *Mallakis* and nine *Licchavis* clearly show the invention of most effective mechanized weapons at that period.

In the *Mahāśilākaṇṭakasaṅgrāma*[9] some mechanism was probably devised to throw musket ball of stone which caused great atrocities and destructions in the camp of the confederate army.

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300.
[2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 85.
[3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 301.
[4] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
[5] *Ib*, 7,9, 300.
[6] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
[7] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300-303.
[8] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
[9] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. This reminds one of the *Śataghnī* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. *Mahāśilā* is a kind of weapon (a *śataghnī* with iron nails)-Monier-Williams: Sanskrit Dictionary. See also *Harivaṃśa*-II, 42. 21 ; II 39, 75.

He, whoever, whether horse or elephant or soldier or charioteer was killed, knew (or thought) "I am killed by *Mahāśilā* (large stone)". That is why it was called *Mahāśilā-kaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*.

While in the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* one chariot, having no horse, no charioteer, no soldier but having a club (or mace) ran to all directions, causing destruction of a large number of peoples, chieftains, etc., and making mud of blood (in the battle field).[1]

These two devastating wars were immortalized by the association of the names of these two weapons like the atomic warfare of the second great war of global magnitude in which two atom bombs were dropped by the American Air Force on Hirosima and Nagasiki, the two island cities of Japan in 1945.

The introduction of these two new engines as mentioned in the *BhS* shows the unique importance attached to weapons in the history of warfare of ancient India, though they were not widely known, as there was no mention of such weapons anywhere else in the ancient world.

The reference to these two war-engines reveals that they were a surprise to the confederate army of *Vaiśālī* which was winning in the first phase of the war. They were invented by the engineering genius of 'Military Science' of *Magadha*.

Probably they remained as secrets of the military art of that state and died a natural death for further use in future war, as the useless destructive thing did not survive, while the useful always did in the evolution of human civilization.

Several Jaina texts[2] also provide the following list of different kinds of arms used in the wars of ancient India, viz. *muggara* (Indian club or mace), *musuṇḍhī*[3] (octagonal club), *karakaya* (saw), *satti* (spear), *hala* (plough), *gadā* (mace or heavy

[1] *BhS*, 7, 9, 301.

[2] *Paṇhavāgaraṇa*. pp. 17a, 44. etc.

[3] *Musuṇḍi* is also referred to in the *Mahābhārata*-II. 70, 34.

club), *musala* (pestle), *cakka* (discus), *Kunta* (lance), *tomara* (javelin), *śūla* (trident-spit), *lauḍa* (light club), *bhiṇḍipāla* (a small javelin thrown from the hand) *savvala* (an iron spear), *paṭṭisa* (battle axe), *cammeṭṭha* (stone covered with leather), *duhaṇa* (hatchet), *muṭṭhiya* (dagger), *asikheḍaga* (sword with a shield), *khagga* (sword), *cāpa* (bow), *nārāca* (iron-tipped arrow), *kanaka* (arrow), *kappiṇī* (a kind of scissors), *vāsi* (adze), *parasu* (axe)[1] and *sayagghī*,[2] magical missiles, viz. *nāgabāṇa*, *tāmasabāṇa*, *paumabāṇa*, and *vahnibāṇa*[3] besides flags, drums and trumpets.

Four types of drums of *Kaṇhavāsudeva* are mentioned in the *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya*, viz. *Komudikā*[4], *Saṅgāmiyā*, *Dubbhuiyā*, *Asivopasaminī*[5] and *Sannāhiya*.[6]

1 *Paṇhavāgaraṇa*-pp. 17a, 44; *Uttarādhyayana* 19, 51, 55, 58, 61 f; Ref. to *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 3.446 451; *Arthaśāstra*, p. 110 f.; *Rāmāyaṇa*, III. 22 20 ff, See *Pusalkar*, *Bhāsa*—A study' Ch. XVI, p. 414; Mehta—p. 13. 1. p. 171.; Date, G. T.—The Art of war in Ancient India; Oppert Gustav, Weapons and Armoury Organisation.
See the Allahabada Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta for the reference to a few arms.

2 *Uttarādhyayana*—918; *Rāmāyaṇa* (1.6.11); *Arthaśāstra* p. 110, according to which it is a huge pillar having numerous sharp points on the surface of its body and set up on the top of a fort wall. See also the *Mahābhārata*—III, (29) 24; *Hopkins*—J.A.O.S., Vol. 13 p. 300, says *Śataghnī* which was adorned with bulls and shining and hollow was flung and split to pieces by arrows like a sword or a spear.

3 *Jīvābhigama Sutra*—3, p. 152 f; *Jambū Sūtra Ṭīkā*-24. p. 124 a; also refer to the *Rāmāyaṇa*—1.27. 50.

4 *Mahābhārata*—1.251, 28. *Kaumudī* which was referred to as a mace of Kṛṣṇa, had the destructive powers of slaying every *daitya* (demon).

5 *Piṭhikā*—356. *Asivopasaminī* could banish the diseases for six months by its beating.

6 *Nāyā*—16. p. 190. See also *Mahābhārata*, 1. 244. 38. Krisna mobilised his forces by beating this drum to march against king Padmanābha.

SIXTH SECTION

Fine Arts

Architecture

The *BhS* provides a good deal of information regarding the development of 'Architecture' which included the planning and founding of cities, towns and villages, the erection of buildings of different types, palaces, council halls, forts, gateways, decorative designs, selection of sites, examination of the soil, preparation of building materials with proper selection, and laying out the foundation and the like. Carpentry, wood carving, stone masonry, etc., were also associated with the art of house-building.

In connection with the topic 'Houses' it has already been pointed out in the seventh section of the fourth chapter that 'Architecture' as one of the branches of Fine Arts was highly developed and patronized by the kings and nobles of that period.

The evidences of the architectural development as revealed in this canonical work are fully corroborated by those of other Jaina texts which refer to *Vatthuvijjā* (art of house building) as one of the important arts studied and cultivated by the *Vatthupāḍhagas*.[1] There an architect (*vaḍḍhai*) was regarded as one of the fourteen 'Jewels'[2].

It is stated that in the case of constructing a new building in a city a proper examination of the land and its levelling were made before digging the earth and laying the foundation on a well pressed ground; then it was erected by the mason with the building materials, such as, bricks, rings, (*uṇḍiyāo*) cast on different places, etc.[3]

The text throws some light upon the construction of buildings, walls, etc., by making incidental references to

[1] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 177.

[2] *Jambū Sūtra*, 3, 55, p. 229. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J.C.Jain, p. 187.

[3] *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā* 331 3; also Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*–1, p. 9; *Milindapaṇha*, pp. 331. 345.

Sleṣanābandha and *Samuccaya-bandha*[1]. The first one is caused by the flaccid substances like those of peak (*kūṭa*), floor inlaid with jewel (*maṇibhūmika*), pillar (*stambha*), palace (*prāsāda*), etc., with lime, mud, hard-besmearing (*vajralepa*), lacs, wax, gum and other flaccid substances. The second one is that binding which is made by the collection of the same materials in the cases of the construction of well, tanks, temples, council houses, *stūpas*, walls, buildings, gates, doors, palaces, sheltering houses, shops, market, esplanade, crossway of roads, etc.[2]

The *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra*[3] gives some ideas about the architectural development of its period by describing the different parts of the *Vimāna* of *Sūryābhadeva*. This building was surrounded by a rampart (*pāgāra*), embellished with beautiful cornices (*kavisīsaga*). Its gates (*dāra*) with cupola (*thūbhiya*) were adorned with the images of wolf (*īhāmiga*), bull (*usabha*) horse with a man's head, crocodile (*magara*), bird (*vihaga*), serpent (*vālaga*), *kinnara* (a mythical being having a human body and a head of a horse), deer (*ruru*) *sarabha* (a species of wild animals), yak (*camara*), elephant (*kuñjara*), creeper (*vaṇalayā*) and lotus creeper.

Their capitals (*veiyā*) were beautified with the figure of a pair of the *vidyādharas* (a kind of supernatural being possessed of magical powers); the doors were fitted with landings (*ṇimma*), pedestal (*paiṭṭhāṇa*), pillars (*khambha*), thresholds (*eluyā*), bolts (*indakīla*), door-posts (*ceḍā*), lintels (*uttaraṅga*), small door bolts (*sūī*), joints (*sandhi*), sockets (*samuggaya*), wooden cross bolt pin (*aggalā*), sockets for wooden pin (*aggalapāsāya*), hinges (*āvattaṇa. peḍhiyā*), and left wings (*uttarapāsaga*).

Besides, there is the mention of closely fitted heavy doors, (*nirantariyaghaṇakavāḍā*), having globular bases (*bhittiguliyā*) and cushions (*gomāṇasiyā*) in their panels (*bhitti*). The doors were adorned with the carved figures of *sālabhañjikās* in various sportive postures and were provided with pinnacles (*kūḍa*), elevation (*usseha*), the tops (*ulloya*), lattices (*bhoma*), pinions

[1] *BhS*, 8, 9, 347.
[2] *Ib*, 8, 9, 347.
[3] *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra*, 97f.

(*pakkha*), pinion supports (*pakkhabāhā*), cross beams (*vaṁsa*), ribbings (*vaṁsakavelluya*), panels (*paṭṭiyā*), thatches (*ohāḍaṇī*), and thatches under the ribbings (*uvaripuñchaṇī*).[1]

The other Jaina works also throw a good deal of light upon the architectural technique and its development.[2]

Sculpture

The study of the references to some images of the Goddesses, *Śrī, Hrī, Dhṛti, Kīrti, Buddhi,* and *Lakṣmī*,[3] which were presented by king Bala to his newly married daughters-in-law as marrige gifts clearly shows that Sculpture was a branch of learning and was patronized by the kings and the nobles.

Art of Painting

The art of painting also was highly developed, as is evidenced by the fact of the mention of a costly painted curtain, decorated with many devotional pictures and figures of beasts, birds and creepers.[4]

Moreover, the reference to the painting of pictures and exhibiting them by Maṅkha Maṅkhali and his son Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra,[5] for earning their livelihood throws more light upon the cultivation of this art of painting during the period of the *BhS*.

The evidences of the art of sculpture and painting as revealed in the *BhS* are also found in other Jaina texts[6] in great details.

As regards the cultivation of the art of sculpture there are references to the wooden figure of the sage *Vārattaka*, made and worshipped by his son,[7] images of plaster (*puttha*), ivory (*danta*),

[1] *Rājapraśnīya Sūtra*, 97 f.
[2] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1, p. 3 f; *Bṛhat. K. Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā*, 582 ff.
[3] *BhS*, 11, 11, 430.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 428.
[5] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
[6] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, VIII, 78, p. 106 ; *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya*, 1. 2429 ; *Āva. Cū*, II, p. 165 ; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8, p. 95.
[7] *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, 2, 11.

and stone (*sela*),[1] a golden image of Malli,[2] a mechanical image (*jantapaḍimā*) of a human being[3] and mechanical elephant.[4]

The art of painting as mentioned in the other Jain texts appears to have made a great progress, as is evidenced by the fact that one of the painters referred to in the *Nāyādhammakahāo* could sketch the complete figure of bipeds (*dupaya*), quadrupeds (*caupaya*) and footless (*apaya*) beings, even having seen only a part of their bodies.[5]

The objects of painting were trees, mountains, rivers, seas, houses, creepers, beasts and birds,[6] etc.

Music, Dance and Drama

The *BhS* reveals that the art of music, dance and drama was well developed and it formed an integral part of education and culture of the society.

It was greatly cultivated and patronized by the kings[7] and princes[8] who not only enjoyed themselves music, dance and drama, but entertained the general people with the performance of these arts made by courtesans and other artists at the public gatherings on auspicious occasions, such as, the celebrations of birth and marriage, etc.

There are references to both vocal[9] and instrumental music, dance and thirty-two kinds of drama[10] staged by the best actors and actresses.

In the wider sense the art of music contains four subjects, viz. singing (*gīya*), dancing (*naṭṭa*), playing on instruments (*vāditā*), and dramatic performance (*peccha*).

[1] *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya*, 1, 2469.
[2] *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8, p. 95. [3] *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, 4, 4915.
[4] *Āva. Curni*, II, p. 161. *Vide* 'Life in Ancient India' by Dr. J. C. Jain, p. 187.
[5] *Nāyādhamakāho*, VIII, 78, p. 106.
[6] *Bṛhat Kalpa Bhāṣya*, 1. 2429. [7] *BhS*, 1, 11, 429; 430.
[8] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 11, 11, 431. [9] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383.
[10] *Ib*, 11, 11, 429; 11, 11, 430.

In connection with the topic 'Amusement' in the eighth section of the fourth chapter, it has already been pointed out that the dance-dramas were performed generally by the actresses, highly accomplished in the art of music, dance and dramatic skill, at the palace and public theatre hall for the social entertainment of the people.

Vocal music was accompained by the playing of musical instruments, such as *Mṛdaṅga* and *Vīṇā*, etc.

In relation to the instrumental music (*vādita*) the *BhS.* provides a list of instruments, viz. *śaṅkha* (conch). *śiṅgā* (horn), *laghu śaṅkha* (small conch), *kharamukhī* (*kāhalā*), *poyā* (large *kharamukhī*), *paripiriyā* (*khuvai*) *panava* (*bhaṇḍa paṭaha*) *paṭaha* (*ḍhola*, a kind of drum), *bambhā* (*nagārā*) *horambha* (*rūḍhigamayā*, a kind of drum), *bhrī* (*mahāḍhakkā*, large drum), *jhallarī*, *dundubhi* (a kind of drum), *tayāṇi* (*tatāni*, a kind of stringed instrument), *vitatāni* (a stretched musical instrument), *ghaṇāṇi* (concussion instrument), *jhuṣira* (wind instrument)[1], *mṛdaṅga*[2] (drum), *vīṇā* (a stringed instrument)[3], and *vaṁśī* (flute).[4]

The sublimation of the art of singing and dancing was made by the *Ājīvikas* for creating probably a devotional feeling towards their religion, as is evidenced by the fact that there is the mention of *Gītamārga* and *Nṛtyamārga*, as the two spiritual paths of Ājīvikism. Moreover, Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra himself sang and danced before his death by pronouncing thus, "play the *vīṇā* O little man."[5]

These evidences clearly show that the art of music, dance and drama occupied an important place in the educational and social life of the people of that period.

A similar account of the art of music, dance and drama as presented in this canonical work is also found in other Jaina texts.[6]

[1] *BhS*, 5, 4, 185 [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383 ; 11, 11, 429,
[3] *Ib*, 9, 33, 385 ; 15, 1, 555. [4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 555. [5] *Ib*, 15, 1, 55.
[6] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, 127 ; *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 7,553 ; *Jīva-Ṭīkā*. 3, p. 193 ; Cf. *Anu. Cū*, p. 175 ; also refer to *Sāraṅga-deva's Saṅgīta-Ratnākara*, Ch. 1, etc.

In addition they throw a good deal of light upon the origin of the musical notes, the performance of different types of dance and the staging of the religious drama.

Thus it is recorded in the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* that there are seven musical notes (*sapta svaras*), viz. *ṣaḍja*, *ṛṣabha*, *gandhāra*, *madhyama*, *pañcama*, *raivat* (*dhaivat*) and *niṣāda*. [Sajje risahe gandhāre, majjhime paṁcame sare revae (dhevae) ceva nesae sarā satta viāhiā" (i. e. sa, re, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni)].[1]

The seven places of origin of these notes (*Saraṭṭhāṇā*) are given as follows : *ṣaḍja* is made by the tip of tongue, *ṛṣabha* by the breast, *gandhāra* by the throat, *madhyama* by the middle of the tongue, *pañcama* by the nostril, *dhaivata* by the tooth and lip and *niṣāda* by *bhrūkṣepāvastamabha* (*bhamuhakkheva*) by contracting eyebrows.

These seven notes are described as resembling respectively the notes of peacock, duck, goat, cuckoo, curlew or heron and elephant.[2]

Seven musical instruments, such as, *Mṛdanga*, etc., also give rise to these seven notes.

As regards the resemblance of '*ṛṣabha*' there is a difference of opinion about the explanation found in the ancient works of India that it sounds the note of bull (*vṛṣabha*).

Besides these, the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* further explains the theory of music by permutation and combination of different notes with reference to three musical scales (*gāmas*) twentyone *mūrcchanās* (modulation or melody or the rise and fall of sound) and forty-nine *tānas* (tones)[3]

There is the mention of thirty-two kinds of dance-drama, the first of which was performed with the playing of orchestral music representing the eight symbols, viz. *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandiyāvatta*, *vardhamānaka* *bhadrāsana*, *kalaśa*, *matsya* and

1-3 *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, 127.

darpaṇa, while the last one represented all the stages of the life of Lord Mahāvīra.

Conclusion

Thus it is clearly known from the *BhS* that the system of education was both academic and vocational.

It was so organized as to furnish the learners with proficiency in the general as well as special knowledge, and also in the doctrinal knowledge.

So it included in its courses of studies the following subjects, viz. *Itihāsa* (History), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *Chandu* (Metre), *Nirukta* (Exegesis), *Saṅkhāṇa* (Arithmetic), *Jyotiṣa* (Astronomy and Astrology), and the like in order to achieve the first objective and it imparted education in the Medical Science, Military Science, and Art of Warfare, Fine Arts, etc., to attain the second one, while the study of the Vedas and the other religious and philosophical treatises provided knowledge of their doctrines and spiritualism.

Each of the religious orders of that period was a travelling school of thought which introduced the rules of conduct and mental training based on its ideals and imparted education to its followers in the subjects of religion and philosophy.

The method of teaching the principles of knowledge and truth by discussion to the people was a remarkable characteristic of the educational and cultural activities of those days.

In conclusion the preachings of the doctrines of truth, the social and moral elevation of men and women, the development of the spoken language, science and arts and the democratization of learning were the distinguished features of the educational system as revealed in the *BhS*.

SEVENTH CHAPTER

Various leaders of thought, their philosophies & religious systems mentioned and described in the BhS.

FIRST SECTION.

Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha-Dharma

The objectives of human life are *Dharma* (virtue), *Artha* (wealth or material possession), *Kāma* (pleasure or gratification of desires) and *Mokṣa* (spiritual liberation). In a real sense they can be reduced to two objectives, viz. *Kāma* and *Mokṣa* (pleasure and spiritual liberation), because *Artha* (wealth) is the means of *Kāma* (pleasure) for its gratification, while *Dharma* (virtue) is the way to *Mokṣa* (liberation).

These aims of life distinguish two types of men, viz. extroverts and introverts—the first one looks to the pleasure of the physical world, while the second looks into the inside of the world for searching out something tangible in life and nature. So *Kāma* (pleasure) which is the gratification of desires creates new desires, but *Dharma* (virtue) is a means to achieve the goal of human life, i. e. liberation (*Mokṣa*) from all bondages. From this point of view philosophy is religion.

So religion constitutes a sphere of individual and collective existences in which human activities are devoted to the two-fold pursuits, viz. *Dharma* (virtue) and *Mokṣa* (liberation), i. e. perfection of conduct and perfection of personality, as the auspicious and pure conduct is guided by the auspicious and pure thought-activity. Human mind searches out something universal which can be attained only by supersensuous consciousness. It is this supersensuous consciousness which reigns supreme as the realizing vision of the universal reality as the subject-matter of religion. The reaction of human mind to such a reality absorbs his whole self-entity with a feeling of devotion for the personal deity and intellectual faith in the divine universal reality and

finally pure emotion, cognition and conation. The aim of religion is self-realization of the universal and absolutely Real embodying the highest qualities re-oriented into the ultimate objective values—truth (*satyaṁ*), goodness (*śivaṁ*) and bliss (*śānti*)

Object of worship & meditation in Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma

According to the doctrine of *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma* as embodied in the *BhS*, soul (*ātmā*)[1] is the ultimate object of worship, meditation and spiritual realization. It is also revealed in the *Samayasāra*[2] that soul (*Jīva*) which rests on right conduct, self-awareness and knowledge is the real self.

"Jīvo cārittadaṁsaṇaṇāṇaṭṭhiḍo taṁ hi sasamayaṁ jāṇo".

The self which has realized its oneness is the beautiful ideal in the whole Universe.

"Eyattaṇicchaya gado samao savvattha suṁdaro loge"[3].

To know this ultimate reality there should be right attitude of mind (*Samyagdṛṣṭi*) and absence of wrong attitude of mind (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) about the self. Again this *Samyaktva* consists of *saṁvega* (desire for liberation), *nirveda* (disregard of worldly objects), *anukampā* (compassion or sympathetic feeling), while *mithyātva* contains in it *viparyaya* (perversion), *ekānta* (exclusiveness), *saṁśaya* (doubt) and *ajñāna* (wrong knowledge).

The following statement throws a welcome light upon the conception of *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha* religion.

Desire for liberation (*saṁvega*), disregard of worldly objects (*nirveda*), attendance upon preceptor and co-religionists (*guru-sāhammiya-sussūsaṇā*), self-analysis and self-confession of all faults committed (*āloyaṇā*), self-blame (*niṁdaṇayā*), self-censure (*garahaṇā*), forgiveness (*khamāvaṇā*), assistance to the scriptural study (*suyasahāyatā*), observance of vows (such as, renunciation of anger, etc.) (*viusamaṇayā=vyavaśamanatā*), absence of obstruction (unimpededness) in thought (*bhāve-appaḍibaddhayā*),

[1] *BhS.* 2, 1, 92.
[2] *Samayasāra, Gāthā* 1, 2, p. 2.
[3] *Ib, Gāthā* 1, 3, p. 3.

desisting from the not self-control, i.e. sinful acts (*viṇivattaṇayā = vinivarttanatā*), indifference to comfortable and discomfortable beds in a lonely place, use of bed and seat free from woman, worm, etc. (*vivittasayaṇāsaṇasevaṇayā*), control of all senses (*soiṁdiya—jāra phāsiṁdiya saṁvara*), vows of renunciation of activities (i.e. harmful and voilent activities, *yogapaccakkhāṇa*), renunciation of body (*sarirapaccakkhāṇa*), that of passion (i e. anger upto greed) (*kasāya-paccakkhāṇa*), that of sensual enjoyment (*saṁbhogapaccakkhāṇa*), that of articles (*uvahipaccakkhāṇa*) and that of food (*bhattapaccakkhāṇa*), pardon (*khamā*), detachment (*virāgayā*), (i.e. absence of love and hatred), truth in thought (*bhāvasacca*) and truth in activities (*jogasacca*), i.e. truth in mental, vocal and physical activities, truth in doing (*karaṇasacca*) the act of complete control of mind, speech and body (*maṇasamaṇṇāharaṇayā* upto *kāyasamṇṇāharaṇayā*), complete renunciation of anger, pride, deceitfulness, greed and other eighteen kinds of sinful deeds upto wrong attitude of mind (*kohavivega-jāva-micchādaṁsaṇasalla-vivega*), attainment of knowledge (*ṇāṇasaṁpannayā*), that of self-awareness or intuition (*daṁsaṇasaṁpannayā*) and that of conduct (*carittasaṁpannayā*), forbearance of pain (*vedaṇa-ahiyā-saṇayā*) (i.e. pain of hunger, etc., twenty-two *parisahas*) and that of the last part of death (*māraṇaṁtiya-ahiyāsaṇayā*)—all these ultimately lead to perfection (i.e. liberation).[1]

There are two aspects of this *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma*, viz. *Āgāra-Dharma* or *Śrāvaka-Dharma* and *Anāgāra-Dharma* (religion of the house-holders and that of the houseless monks) which are based on the conditions of the individuals.

Accordingly there are two broad divisions of the followers of this religion, viz. *Śrāvakas* and *Śramaṇas* (lay worshipers and ascetics) who are classified into four *varṇas* on the basis of sex, namely, *Śrāvakas* and *Śrāvikās* (the male and female lay worshippers) and *Śramaṇas* and *Śramaṇīs* (the monks and nuns).[2]

The *BhS* throws important light upon *Anāgāra-Dharma* (monasticism), causes of renunciation of the world by individual

[1] *BhS.*, 17, 3, 601. [2] *Ib.* 16, 6, 580.

householders, practice of austerities, studies, meditation, religious vows, duties and rules, *Śramaṇa-Saṁgha*, ideals of the *Nirgranthas*, their classification and that of the *Saṁyatas* (self-controlled) and *Āgāra-Dharma* (religion of the householders).

Anāgāra-Dharma

The introverts in the human society realize the truth of the futility and transitoriness of this worldly life and its material enjoyments which ensnare men with their temporary charms at the outset but lead them to miseries in the end. Their inner urge inspires and guides them to follow the path of monasticism by renouncing the world for the realization of the highest truth and knowledge and for the attainment of spiritual liberation—the ultimate goal of life.

This truth was realized by the introvert prince *Jamāli*, who expressed his feelings of non-attachment towards life thus :—

"Human life is aggrieved by many births, old age, death, disease, physical and mental desires, suffering, danger, crime, hundred misfortunes and calamities ; it is uncertain, non-permanent, non-eternal. Like the evening colour of the sky, the water bubble, it is inconstant and unfixed having the nature of dissolution, fall and destruction ; before or later this life will certainly be abandoned". "Human body is the house of suffering, the standing bones like the woods enveloped by veins, etc. it is the house of oldness, flesh (dead body), having the character of decay and fall ; soon or late, it will be given up".

"Human sensual gratifications of desires are impure, non-eternal like the discharge or flow of vomitting always condemned by the saints and Arhats, the causes of infinite worldly bondages accompanied by unlimitted sufferings and hindrances to the attainment of liberation." "Wealths, such as, gold, bell-metal, etc., are consumed by the fire, thief, king, death and sons and are thus common to them ; (they are) non-eternal ; soon or late they will be abandoned."[1]

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 384.

This represents the whole attitude of the introverts towards the mundane world of materialism. They reveal the *Sramaṇic* outlook on life on which detachment to the world (*vītarāgatā*) is based and thus they arouse a feeling of non-attachment towards life. In one word they are the basis of the *Śramaṇic* philosophy.

The pessimistic attitude towards the world has been shared almost by all systems of Indian philosophy and its intense manifestation is expressed in *Sāṁkhya-Yoga* and Buddhism.

The four noble truths (*catvāri Ārya-Satyāni*), "Life is full of suffering, there is a cause of this suffering, it is possible to stop suffering and there is a path which leads to the cessation of suffering" formed the basis of Buddhism (*Duḥkha, duḥkha-samudaya, duḥkha-nirodha & duḥkhanirodha-mārga*).[1]

What appear as pleasures are fraught with pain, "birth, old age, disease, death, sorrow, grief, wish, despair, in short all that is born of attachment is misery".[2]

Like Buddhism, *Sāṁkhya* and *Yoga* embody the principle 'all experience is sorrowful'; *Tamas* is the representation of the pain-substance. As it exists in all combinations in some degree, all intellectual operations are fraught with some amount of painful experience. Even the state of temporary pleasure is accompanied by sorrow at the previous moment of its solicitation and at the time of its enjoyment lest it may be lost. So the amount of sorrow is thus much more than that of pleasures which only strengthen the holds of sorrow.[3] *Rajas* is also the cause of all painful experiences of life, being itself of the nature of pain (*duḥkha*)[4].

[1] *Digha-Nikāya Sutta*-22 (Warren—p. 368).

[2] A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. 1, p. 75-76, Dr. S. N. Dasgupta.

[3] *Tattvavaiśāradī* and *Yoga Vārttika*-II, 15; & *Tattvakaumudī*. *Vide* History of Indian Philosophy Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, p. 264.

[4] Introduction to Indian Philosophy, p. 301, Dr. Datta & Chatterjee,

In contrast with Jainism, Buddhism and *Sāṁkhya-Yoga*, the Vedic religion shows optimism and preaches the doctrine of the realization of life through the enjoyment, as it is explained that sacrifice leads to happiness [1]

This is the fundamental difference existing among the three main systems of religion, Jainism, Buddhism and Vedic religion in regard to their approach and attitude towards the mundane life and the world.

Preparatory Ceremony for initiation to Monkhood and Asceticism

The *BhS* presents a graphic account of the preparatory ceremony for initiation to monkhood and asceticism of the *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha* monks coming from different sections of the society, from the royal families down to the common social stratum and other religious sects, by making reference to the cases of prince Jamālī, king Udāyina and princess Jayantī, Ṛṣabhadatta and Devānandā, Skandaka (a *Parivrājaka*) and others.

A description of such ceremony has already been given in the topic 'Bath' in the seventh section of the fourth chapter by citting the case of prince Jamāli's initiation ceremony. After the performance of consecration a great procession organized by his father followed his departure from his palace at *Kṣatriya-kuṇḍagrāma* to the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* for his initiation to be conducted by Lord Mahāvīra there. His parents, having placed him in front, approached the Master and addressed him by circumambulating thrice thus: "Our only son like water-lily...(being) frightened by the fear of the world...desires to undertake the initiation of houselessness...thus we offer this one as alms of Devānupriya...please accept...the highest alms as disciple (*Sīsabhikkhaṁ*). Then Lord Mahāvīra said to Jamālī thus: "As you please, no objection".

Initiation

Then the prince, being pleased with this consent of the Master saluted him thrice and himself took off all his decorations,

1 History of Indian Philosophy, p. 20-21.

garlands and ornaments, having gone to the north-eastern quarter. His mother received them in a piece of pure cloth and advised him, shedding tears thus: "Son, self-control should be practised, passion should be conquered, exertion should be made", with these words the parents of prince Jamālī returned to their palace. Then the prince, having pulled out five handfuls of tuft of his hair approached Lord Mahāvīra and got initiated by the Master (*pavvaio*), together with his five hundred followers He studied eleven *Aṅgas* and practised various acts of austerities and meditations.[1]

A similar account of the preparatory ceremony, initiation and taking to ascetic life is presented in the case of king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*[2] In the cases of other householders like Ṛṣabhadatta[3] and Sudarśana[4], the *Parivrājaka* Skandaka[5] and others[6], a simple ceremony of initiation was observed by the act of pulling out five handfuls of tuft of hair and it was followed by the formal initiation. In this connection it is to be noted that a special attention was paid by the Master in regard to the initiation of women to asceticism, as it is evidenced in the undertakings of the state of houselessness by Devānandā[7] and Jayantī[8]

Ascetic Life

The *BhS* presents a vivid picture of ascetic life as observed by the *Sramaṇa-Nirgrantha* monks by making references to the acts of austerities practised by Skandaka and others.

A *Nirgrantha* monk stays like a snake with its concentrated sight (*buddhi* = intellect) or like a razor with absolute sharpness, by chewing the words of the *Nirgrantha* teachings hard as iron-barley and tasteless as particles of sand.[9]

Practice of Asceticism

The *BhS* presents a graphic account of the practice of

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 385. [2] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. [3] *Ib*, 9, 13, 382.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 11, 432. [5] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92. [6] *Ib*, 11, 9, 418.
[7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. [8] *Ib*, 12, 2, 443. [9] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

asceticism as revealed in the performance of various acts of austerities and meditation by Skandaka[1] and other monks.[2]

It is stated that the Universe (*Loka*) is burnt by (the fire of) old age and death. "Ālitte ṇaṁ bhaṁte loe jarāmaraṇeṇa ya."[3]

Here in the *Skandaka Uddeśaka* it is clearly revealed that soul is the only object of worship and meditation according to *Sramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma*. Thus Skandaka, the *Parivrājaka* said to Lord Mahāvīra "As some householder, having his houre on fire, steps down into the burning house and tries to save the precious and light articles from it, because that article will be beneficial to him in future, just like that my soul is a kind of article dear.........highly valued ornament box". So it must first be saved by him before any mishap happens to it, lest it is affected by cold, heat, etc., upto misfortune. If his soul was saved it would be beneficial......good in his future life.

So, on his express desire Lord Mahāvīra himself initiated him to *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma* and instructed him in its practice, (or performance, i e. *ācāra*), begging tour (*gocara = bhikṣāṭanam*), discipline (*vinaya*), result of discipline (*vainayika = vinayaphala*), vows (*caraṇa*), purity of meal (*karma = piṇḍaviśuddhyādi*), practice of self control (*yātrā = saṁyama*), measure of food to be taken (*mātrā*), practice or mode of moral conduct (*vṛttika* = vinayādīuāṁ vṛttiḥ varttanaṁ yatiāsau) and religion (*dharma*).[4]

Then Skandaka observed carefulness in going (walking), standing, sitting, lying down, taking food, speaking, exertion, protecting beings by self-control according to the instructions of the Master. Thus he became a houseless monk careful in walking (*īryāsamita*), speech (*bhāṣāsamita*), taking meal (*eṣaṇāsamita*), receiving, possessing and putting limited articles (*ādānabhāṇḍa-mātra-nikṣepaṇa-samita*), passing stool, urine, spit, phlegm of nose, etc. (uccārapāsavaṇakhela-siṁghāṇa-jalla-pariṭṭhāvaṇiyāsamie), self-restrained in mind (*manasamita*), speech (*vāksamita*)

[1] *BhS*. 2, 1, 91-96. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 382. [3] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
[4] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92.

and body (i.e. physical activity) (*kāyasamita*), self-controlled in senses (*indriya*) and continence (*brahmacarya*), renouncer (*tyāgī* = *cāī*), straight-minded like rope, attainer of religion (*dhamma*), forgiving in nature (*khaṁtikhamā*), conqueror of senses (*jitendriya*), pure (*śodhita*), desireless (*aṇiyāṇe*)—less curious (*appussue*), introvert (*abahilesse*), well-devoted to Śramaṇahood (*susāmaṇṇarae*) and controller of anger, etc., (*daṁta*). He passed time by holding the *Nirgrantha* teaching (Niggaṁthaṁ pāvayaṇaṁ puraо kāuṁ viharati) before him as ideal and studying eleven *Aṅgas* in the presence of other *Sthaviras* of the Master.

Next, he practised the following acts of austerities with the permission of Lord Mahāvīra in succession. He performed the vow of *Bhikṣupratimā* (*Bhikkhupaḍimā*, a kind of vow) of one month, of two months (*domāsiyaṁ*), of three months (*temāsiyaṁ*) of four months (*cāummāsiyaṁ*), of five months, of six months and of seven months (*paṁca-chasattamāsiyaṁ*) by taking food at proper time according to rule, observing, awakening (*pāleti*), purifying or making his soul auspicious, having taken the remains of food given by his Guru (religious teacher) on the day of conclusion of his fast, crossing the time of vow and staying a little while, (*tīreti*), fulfilling completely the vow (*pūreti*), announcing (*kitteti*) its completion on the *pāraṇaka* day and practising thus the complete vow (*anupāleti*) by physical action (*kāyena*) according to the *Srutas* (*ahāsuttam*), *pratimākalpa* (vow = *ahākappa*), the path of knowledge, conduct, etc., i.e. liberation (*ahāmaggaṁ*), *Bhikṣupratimā* or real truth (*ahātaccaṁ*) and equanimity of mental state (*ahāsammaṁ*).

After this he observed the vows of *Aṣṭamī* (*paḍhamaṁ sattarāiṁdiyaṁ*), of *Navamī* (*doccaṁ sattarāiṁdiyaṁ*), and of *Daśamī* (*taccaṁ sattarāiṁdiyaṁ*) by taking the fourth meal (*caturthabhaktena*) and that of *Ekādaśī* (*ahorāiṁdiyaṁ*) and lastly that of *Ekarātrikī* by taking or enjoying the sixth (*saṣṭhabhaktam*) and eighth (*aṣṭama*) meals respectively.

Next, he practised the acts of *Guṇaratna Saṁvatsara tapas* (austerities) with the permission of Lord Mahāvīra in the following manner.

In the first month he performed this austerity by observing the vow of continuous fast of one day by one day, i.e. alternate day (*cautthaṁ cautthenaṁ*), sitting upon his hands in the day time at the meditating place (*ātāpanabhūmi*), where the sunrays fell and facing the scorching sun. In the night he practised it, sitting in the *vīrāsana* posture (a kind of *yogāsana*) without putting on any piece of cloth.

In this way this austerity was performed by him in the second month with the observance of two consecutive fasts, i. e. two days' fast (*chaṭṭhaṁ-chaṭṭhenaṁ*), in the third month with three-three (*aṭṭhamaṁ-aṭṭhamenaṁ*), in the fourth month with four-four (*dasamaṁ-dasamenaṁ*), in the fifth month with five-five (*vārasamaṁ-vārasamenaṁ*), in the sixth-month with six-six (*coddasamaṁ-coddasamenaṁ*), in the seventh month with seven-seven (*solasamaṁ-solasamenaṁ*), in the eighth month with eight-eight (*aṭṭhārasamaṁ-aṭṭhārasamenaṁ*), in the ninth month with nine-nine (*vīsatimaṁ-vīsatimenaṁ*), in the tenth month with ten-ten (*bāvīsamaṁ bāvīsamenaṁ*), in the eleventh month with eleven-eleven (*cauvvīsatimaṁ-cauvvīsatimenaṁ*), in the twelfth month with twelve-twelve (*chavvīsatimaṁ-chavvīsatimenaṁ*), in the thirteenth month with thirteen-thirteen (*aṭṭhāvīsatimaṁ-aṭṭhāvīsatimenaṁ*), in the fourteenth month with fourteen-fourteen (*tīsaimaṁ-tīsaimenaṁ*), in the fifteenth month with fifteen-fifteen (*battīsatimaṁ-battīsatimenaṁ*), and in the sixteenth month with the observance of sixteen-sixteen fasts (*cottīsaimaṁ-cottīsaimenaṁ*).

In the performance of this *Guṇaratnasaṁvatsara* austerity total period of thirteen months and seventeen days is taken for the observance of the vow of fasting and that of seventy-three days for *Pāraṇaka* (day of conclusion of fast).

Thus after having practised this act of austerity, Skandaka performed various penances by observing many continuous fasts, such as, two, three, four, five, etc., and by meditation on his soul.[1]

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 93.

It is permissible to *Sramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma* that when the physical condition does not allow a monk to practise religion any more he should give up his body voluntarily by *Saṁlekhanā tapa* (austerity of renouncing the body), i. e. scratching out the body to save his soul.

As a result of his performance of acts of severe austerities the body of Skandaka became dry, rough and reduced to a skeleton, but it got transformed into a high elevated, noble, illustrious and great physique endowed with spiritual power (*tapateja*) acquired by penance. He walked and sat by the help of the inner strength of his soul (*ātmaśakti*), but he stopped and felt tired, while delivering religious discourse. So he thought it wise to give up his perishable body by the *Saṁlekhanā tapa* with the permission of his Guru, Lord Mahāvīra.[1]

Accordingly, he, having taken five great vows and begged pardon of the *Sramaṇas* and *Sramaṇīs*, slowly climbed up the *Vipula* mountain along with the other fellow-monks (*Kṛtayogin-Sthaviras*) and cleansed the black stone of cloud colour, the place of passing excrement and urine, then spread the layer of the *Darbha* grass and sat there in the *Padmāsana* position (lotus-like-sitting pose) facing the east. Then having folded his both hands and touched his head by making *añjali* (pose of salutation), he said thus: "Salutation to Arhats and Lords......Lord Mahāvīra. I, being seated here, worship, and salute Lord Mahāvīra who is seated there." "In the past in the presence of Lord Mahāvīra all acts of killing upto perverted attitude of mind (i.e. eighteen sinful acts) were given up by me for the whole life." "The rules (knowledge of matter as the matter is), do like that, but do not do the opposite to that", were also taken up by me to observe for the whole life." Now again, "I accept all the rules in the presence of Lord Mahāvīra, and give up food and drink, etc., for the whole life. I renounce my desired beautiful and charming dear body which is not capable of giving me trouble at the last moment of life."

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 94.

Having observed the austerity of *Saṁlekhanā* of one month by giving up food and drink, he began to purify his soul by meditation in an immobile state like a tree without wishing death. He studied eleven *Aṅgas* in the presence of the other *Sthaviras* and observed Śramaṇahood for full twelve years. After making self-analysis and self-confession and repentance for his past faults in their presence, he embraced death by renouncing his body in *Samādhi* state (abstract meditation).[1]

Thus this account of the practice of asceticism by Skandaka presents a vivid picture of the ascetic life of the *Nirgrantha* monks at that period.

SECOND SECTION

Religious Vows and Austerities

In addition to the religious vows and acts of austerities practised by Skandaka, the *BhS* makes mention of worship, various kinds of vows, external and internal austerities and rules prescribed by the *Nirgrantha* order for the Jain *Śrāvakas* and *Śramaṇas* for the attainment of their spiritual realization. They are discussed below.

Ārādhanā (worship)[2]

Worship is one of the most essential factors for spiritual realization and liberation which can be attained jointly by right knowledge (*jñāna*) right attitude of mind (*darśana*) and moral conduct (*cāritra*). Knowledge is the revealer of truth, austerity is the purifier of soul and self-control is the restrainer of mind, speech and body.[3]

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 95.

[2] *Ib*, 8, 10, 355. [3] *Ib*, 8, 10, 354 (comm.). The worship and the vows *Śilavrata* to *Jāgarikā* are also observed by the householders.

According to the *BhS* there are prescribed three kinds of *Ārādhanā* (worship), viz. *Jñānārādhanā* (worship by knowledge), *Darśanārādhanā* (worship by right attitude of mind), and *Cāritrārādhanā* (worship by conduct), i. e. *sāmāyikādi niraticāratā* by the observance of five great vows and five *Samitis*.

Vows – Sīlavrata[1]

It is the vow of virtue, a moral conduct, i. e. five *aṇuvratas* non-violence, truth, non-stealing, continence and non-possession.

Guṇavrata

It is the vow of secondary importance consisting of *digvrata*, etc. These with the five *aṇuvratas* and four *śikṣā-padas* make twelve duties of the laymen devoted to the *Nirgrantha* religion (Mūla-guṇavratāni).

Pauṣadha

It is the custom of observing festival days (*parvadinopavāsanam*). There appear to be two kinds of *Pauṣadhas*, the first one was observed on the fortnightly days (*pakkhiya*) by enjoying abundant food and drink, while the second one was observed by giving up jewel, gold, garland, etc., being alone, spreading the bed of *darbha* grass and observing the fortnightly vow as *Brahmacarin*, as it is evidenced in the case of Śaṅkha who observed the second one in his *Pauṣadhaśālā*, while his fellow *Śramaṇopāsakas* performed the first one, having enjoyed abundant food and drink.[2]

Jāgarikā

It is the vow of keeping awake by one's religious thought. *Buddhajāgarikā* is the wakefulness of the enlightened (*kevalin*). *Abuddhajāgarikā* is the wakefulness of the *chadmastha* (unliberated) houseless monk and *Sudakkhujāgarikā* is that of a *Śramaṇopāsaka*, having right attitude of mind. Those who are *Arhats*, *Lords* and bearers of manifest knowledge and intuition upto omniscient, omniseer and enlightened perform *Buddhajāgarikā*. Those who

[1] *BhS*, 8, 5, 328 ; 11, 9, 417 ; 11, 12, 435. [2] *Ib*, 12, 1, 438.

are the houseless monks, Lords, careful in walking, speech upto *Gupta-Brahmacarin* (self-controlled) and are not enlightened, observe the religious vow of awaking of the *Abuddha* (*Chadmastha*) in absence of *Kevalajñāna* (omniscience). Those who are the *Śramaṇopāsakas*, knowers of *Jīvājīva* (being and non-being), observe the vow of awaking (*Sudakkhujāgarikā*) by religious thought and giving up negligence (or spiritual inertia) and sleep.

Besides these, the unflinching faith in and devotion to the truth of teachings of *Guru* (religious teacher), and those of the *Jinas*[1] and their practices by disciple and his reversion from the other opinions (i. e. non-predilection for others' teachings) formed the part of worship.[2]

Vyavahāra[3]

It is a particular knowledge consequent upon exertion towards the spiritual realization and cessation from the worldly acts of striving after the material gain and it is also exertion made for spiritual realization.[4]

There are stated five kinds of *Vyavahāra*, viz. (1) *Āgama* (*Pūrvas*, *Aṅgas*, etc.), (2) *Sutta* (*Sūtra*—literature), (3) *Āṇā* (*ājñā*), the rules prescribed by the *Ācārya*, (4) *Dhāraṇā*—purification of faults according to their respective corresponding injunctions of purification from the point of view of substance, space, time and condition and (5) *Jīta*—expiation prescribed according to the physical power of the monk from the same aspects of substance upto condition, having taken them into consideration. "Āgame, Sue Āṇā, Dhāraṇā, Jie."

One should practise the Law according to the instruction of any one of these five *Vyavahāras* whichever of them is available (i.e. known) to him there, whatever his *Āgama*, *Sūtra*, *Ājñā*, *Dhāraṇā* and *Jīta* may be.

Pratisenvanā (Enjoyment of prohibited things or entertaining of anti-religious feelings)

[1] *BhS*, 1, 3, 30. [2] *Ib*, 1, 3, 31. [3] *Ib*, 8, 8, 340. [4] *Ib*, (comm.).

There are stated to be ten kinds of *Pratisevanās* which should be given up by a monk for the attainment of his spiritual progress, viz. *Darpa* (pride or conceit), *Pramāda* (spiritual inertia or negligence), *Anābhoga* (wrong attention), *Atura* (suffering or sickness in body and mind or from hunger and thirst etc.), *Āpadi* (misfortune), *Saṁkīrṇa* (mental confusion), *Sahasākāra* (suddenness or unexpectedness), *Bhaya* (fear), and *Pradveṣa* (hatred or jealousy).

Faults

Similarly there are ten kinds of faults of confession which should be corrected and given up by the monks for the practice of religion, viz. faults of *ākampya* (a confession after pleasing the preceptor in advance by service), confession of *anumānya* (by observing light punishment in anticipation of preceptor's approval), *yaddṛṣṭa* (confession of what has been exposed to the preceptor), of *bādaram* (confession of the gross transgressions), of *Sūkṣmam* (confession of some select minor transgressions in order to conceal other major and minor ones), of *channa* (confession in secrecy), of *śabdākulam* (confession aloud within the hearing of the unexperienced monks), of *bahujana* (confession of the same transgression before more than one preceptors), *avyakta* (confession before an unexperienced preceptor), and of *tatsevī* (confession of a transgression before a monk who is himself guilty of the same fault.

The houseless monk endowed with the following ten qualities is worthy to discuss his own faults and to make self-analysis, viz. (if) he is of good birth (or caste) and family and endowed with moral training, knowledge, right attitude of mind, conduct, patience, restraint, guilelessness and non-repentance after self-analysis of guilt. And also the houseless monk who is practiser of rules of conduct, i.e. virtuous (*ācāravān*), holder of the vow with promise not to do again the self-analysed guilts (*ādhāravān*), practiser of five *Vyavahāras*, viz. *Āgama*, *Sruta*, *Ājñā*, *Dhāraṇā* and *Jīta* as already mentioned, unashamed to conceal the faults (*apavrīḍaka*), able to purify himself by

atonement after self-analysis of faults (*pratikurvaka*), non-teller of or discloser of the discussed faults to others (*apariśrāvī*), performer of partial atonement (*niryāpaka*) (if unable to perform at a time) and visualizer of the future destruction or calamity or the next world (*Avāyadarśī*).

Sāmācārī (Customary practice)

The *BhS*, mentions ten kinds of *Sāmācārī* (customary practice of *the monks*), viz (1) *Icchā* (desire or inclination), (2) *Mithyā* (perversion of right attitude), (3) *Tathākāra* (blind following, as yes man), (4) *Āvaśyakī* (religious duty), (5) *Naiṣadhikī* (renunciation of sinful deeds or prohibitive conduct or practice), (6) *Āpracchanā* (asking question in the work), (7) *Pratipracchanā* (reasking question about the previous prohibited work), (8) *Chandanā* (request for meal accepted in the past), (9) *Nimantraṇā* (invitation to food), and (10) *Upasaṁpacca* (*Kāla*) the act of entering or joining the order of monks (*Buddhas*) coming to the other *Ācārya* for attaining knowledge.

Expiation (Prāyaścitta)

There are prescribed ten kinds of expiation for the purification of oneself who has committed sinful deeds so that he may attain the state of equanimity and mental peace and progress in his path of spiritualism. They are as follows:—(1) *Ālocanā* (expiation by confession, discussion and self analysis of sinful act committed), (2) *Pratikramaṇa* (retracing from sinful deed and repentance), (3) *Tadubhaya* (the acts of both discussion and self-analysis and retracing from the sinful act and repentance), (4) *Viveka* (giving up impure food, etc.), (5) *Vyutsarga* (complete detachment from the body), (6) *Tapaḥ* (the act of austerity), (7) *Cheda* (reduction of monastic seniority), (8) *Mūla* (complete re-initiation) (9) *Anavasthāpya* (a kind of hard expiation for the serious crime committed by a person who cannot be initiated again) and (10) *Pārañcika* (the expiation which demands suspension of monkhood).[1]

[1] *BhS*, 25,7,801.

Austerity (Tapaḥ)

There are stated two kinds of austerity, viz. external (*bāhirika*) and internal (*ābhyantarika*), which are again divided and subdivided into different kinds.

External Austerity[1]

External austerity is divided into six kinds, viz. (1) *Anaśana* (fasting), (2) *Avamodarikā* (general reduction of food, articles, passion, etc.), (3) *Bhikṣācaryā* (begging of alms), (4) *Rasatyāga* (abstension from drink, liquor, ghee, etc.), (5) *Kāyakleśa* (physical mortification or suffering) and (6) *Pratisaṁlīnatā* (complete retirement to a lonely place for the sake of meditation and mortification of flesh), or control of senses, passions, activities and non-enjoyment of seat, bed, etc.).

According to the *Tattvārtha Sutra*[2] the external austerity consists of *Anaśana* (fasting), *Avamodarya* (general reduction of food, etc.), *Vrittiparisaṁkhyāna* (limit of various articles of food and drink), *Rasaparityāga* (abstention from drinks, etc.), *Viviktaśayanāsana* (indifference to comfortable and discomfortable bed in a lonely place) and *Kāyakleśa* (mortification of flesh). The difference between the two definitions lies in the fact that the *Tattvārthasūtra* prescribes *Vṛtti-parisaṁkhyāna* and *Viviktaśayanāsana* in place of *Bhikṣācaryā* and *Pratisaṁlīnatā* respectively of the *BhS.* In the definition of the latter *Viviktaśayanāsanasevanatā* (indifference to comfortable and discomfortable bed in a lonely place) is one of the four kinds of *Pratisaṁlīnatā.*

Anaśana

It is stated to be of two kinds, viz. *Itvarika* (short lived or temporary) and *Yāvatkathika* (lifelong till death). *Itvarika Anaśana* is again divided into the following categories, viz. *caturthabhakta*, *ṣaṣṭhabhakta*, upto six-monthly fast's, as already explained in the previous section in connection with the practice of asceticism by Skandaka.

[1] *BhS*, 25,7,802. [2] *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 9, 19.

Yāvatkathika Anaśana is of two kinds, viz. *Pādapopagamana* (observance of fast by sitting like a tree) and *Bhaktapratyākhyāna* (observance of fast by giving up food up-to death). The *Pādapopagamana* fast is stated to be of two kinds, viz. *Nīhārima* and *Anīhārima*, as explained in the eighth section of the fourth chapter on 'Social Conditions'.

Avamodarikā

It is a kind of austerity which enjoins upon the monks to reduce their articles, food and evil passions etc., for spiritual progress. There are stated to be two kinds of *Avamodarikā tapaḥ*, viz. *Dravyāvamodarikā* (taking of less articles, food, etc.), and *Bhāvāvamodarikā* (less passion, less evil thought, etc.). The first one is sub-divided into two groups, viz. *Upakaraṇadravyāvamodarikā* (taking of less articles) and *Bhaktapānadravyāvamodarikā* (taking of less food and drink). The austerity practised by the acceptance of one cloth, one pot and enjoyment of articles that are discarded and rejected by others is called *Upakaraṇadravyāvamodarikā*, while that which is called *Bhaktapānadravyāvamodarikā* is observed by taking less food and drink, e. g. a morsel of food equal to the size of ⅛th part of an egg of hen upto 1/32 part of an egg.[1] *Bhāvāvamodarikā* austerity is of many kinds, such as, reduction of anger *(alpa-krodha)*, reduction of greed *(alpa-lobha)*, less talk and the like.

Bhikṣācaryā

There are stated to be many kinds of *Bhikṣācaryā* (the practice of begging alms under restriction) in respect of the article *(Dravyābhigraha-caraka)*, the place of origin *(Kṣetrābhigraha-caraka)*, time *(Kālābhigraha-caraka)* and mental & physical conditions of the alms given *(Bhāvābhigraha-caraka)*, etc.

Rasaparityāga

There are stated to be many kinds of austerity of giving up dainties, such as, abstension from *nirvikṛtika* (delicious) and

[1] *BhS*, 7, 1, 269.

praṇīta (rich) food prepared with ghee, *ayaṁbila*, *āyāmasitthābhoga*, *arasāhāra*, *virasāhāra*, *antāhāra*, *paṁtāhāra*, *rukṣāhāra*, etc.

Kāyakleśa Tapaḥ

Kāyakleśa-tapaḥ is a self-torturing asceticism which involves many kinds of physical sufferings for the concentration of mind, as it is thought that the attachment to the body is the bar to the purification of soul by meditation and attainment of spiritual realization. It consists in different kinds of postures, such as, *sthānasthitikāsanika* (*kāyotsarga* = standing position), *utkuṭukāsanika*, *pratimāsthāyī*, *vīrāsana*, *naiṣadhikaḥ*, *lakuṭāsanika*, etc. It is difficult to explain all these physical postures taken by the monks in the practice of their austerities and meditation without proper practical training in this yogic process.

Pratisaṁlīnatā tapaḥ

Pratisaṁlīnatā tapaḥ is the austerity known as control or restraint of senses, passions, activities and enjoyments of bed and seat (*indriyapratisaṁlīnatā*, *kaṣāyasaṁlīnatā*, *yogasaṁlīnatā*, *viviktaśayanāsanasevanatā*). These four kinds of *pratisaṁlīnatā* are further divided into different groups according to their respective numbers.

The control of senses is stated to be of five kinds, viz. control of the sense of hearing the desired and undesired sounds, sense of smell, sense of taste, and the sense of touch. The control of passion is of four kinds, viz. control of the rise of anger or the suppression of the risen anger and similar control of the other three, viz. pride, deceit and greed. The control of activities is divided into three groups, viz. control of mental, vocal and physical activities. They are again sub-divided into different kinds, e g. the control of mental activity is threefold, viz. control of inauspicious activity of mind, the rise of auspicious activity of mind and the act of concentrating mind. Similarly the control of vocal activity is of three kinds like those of *manasaṁlīnatā*. *Kāyasaṁlīnatā* is a kind of control of physical activity which is practised by one having his hands

and feet well composed and contracted like a tortoise, i.e. control of body and sense-organs.

Viviktaśayanāsanasevanatā

It is the practice of austerity, having indifference to comfortable and discomfortable bed and seat in a lonly place.

Internal Austerity

Internal austerity is divided into six categories, viz. *prāyaścitta* (expiation), *vinaya* (moral training or discipline), *vaiyāvṛtya* (service), *svādhyāya* (study), *dhyāna* (meditation) and *vyutsarga* (complete renunciation).

Prāyaścitta

It is the expiation of sin committed by anyone for his internal purification so that he may progress in the path of spiritualism. The ten kinds of expiation have already been discussed in this section.

Vinaya

It is the moral training or discipline in regard to knowledge, right attitude of mind, conduct, activity and general behaviour, attendance or service, etc. There are stated to be seven kinds of *Vinaya* viz. *Jñānavinaya* (discipline in knowledge) *Darśanavinaya* (moral discipline or training in right attitude of mind to truth), *Cāritravinaya* (discipline in conduct), *Manavinaya* (mental discipline), *Vāgvinaya* (discipline in speech), *Kāyavinaya* (physical discipline), and *Lokopacāravinaya* (moral training or discipline in regard to the behaviour of the people). These seven kinds of *Vinaya* (discipline) are further classified into different divisions according to their respective numbers.

Thus *Jñānavinaya* is prescribed to be of five kinds, viz. *Ābhinibodhikajñānavinaya*, *Śrutajñānavinaya*, *Avadhijñānavinaya*, *Manaḥparyayajñānavinaya* and *Kevalajñānavinaya*.

Darśanavinaya is divided into two categories, viz. *Suśrūṣanāvinaya* (moral dicipline in attendance or service) and *Anatyāśātanāvinaya* (discipline in reverence). There are many kinds

of *Suśrūṣanāvinaya*, such as, *abhyutthāna* (getting up from seat), *āsanapradāna* (offering of seats), *satkāra* (hospitality with presents), etc.

Anatyāśātanāvinaya is prescribed to be of different kinds, such as, non-repudiation of religion (Dharma explained by Arhats), of *Ācāryas*, *Upādhyāyas*, *Sthaviras*, community, assembly (*Gaṇa*), clergical community (*Saṅgha*), action (*kriyā*), equal enjoyment or mutual acceptance of fruits or gifts of religion of co-religionists, etc.

Cāritravinaya

It is the moral discipline in conduct which is of vital importance in the acts of austerity to attain spiritual realization. It is of five kinds, viz. (1) *Sāmāyika-cāritravinaya*, *Chedopasthāpanīya-cāritravinaya*, *parihāraviśuddhika-cāritravinaya*, *Sūkṣma-sāmparāya-cāritravinaya and Yathākhyāta-cāritra-vinaya*, i. e. (1) equanimity by giving up all harmful activities, (2) reinitiation after lapse from monastic duties or confirmation (*upasaṁpadā*)after a period of apprenticeship (*pravrajyā*), (3) special purification by means of specific kinds of austerities and services to one's preceptor, (4) a spiritual state in which all the passions are suppressed excepting a subtle form of greed and (5) perfect conduct where no kind of passion can ever arise.

Manavinaya (mental discipline)

There are stated to be two kinds of *Manavinaya*, viz. *praśasta-manavinaya* (auspicious mental discipline) and *apraśasta-manavinaya* (inauspicious mental discipline). They are also further sub divided into different groups according to the forces of virtue and vice operating in one-self. Thus the *praśasta-manavinaya* is classified into seven divisions, viz. *apāpakam* (sinless), *asāvadyam* (uncensurable or angerless), *akriyam* (actionless), *nirupakramam* (free from the cause of misery without the act of killing, etc.), *anāśravakaram* (not causing pain to any one, or free from *āśrava*), *akṣapikaram* (blameless or not lazy) and *abhūtābhisaṁkanam* (not alarmed about the evil spirit). *Apraśasta-manavinaya* is prescribed to be of seven kinds which are opposite

to the first one, viz. *pāpakam* (sinful) upto *bhūtābhiśaṁkanam* (alarmed about the evil spirit).

Vāgvinaya (moral discipline of speech or vocal discipline)

It is also divided into two main categories, viz. *praśasta* (auspicious) and *apraśasta* (inauspicious) *vāgvinayas*, which are sub-divided into seven groups like *Manavinaya*.

Kāyavinaya (discipline in behaviour done through the body or physical discipline)

It is also classified into two groups like *Manavinaya* and *Vāgvinaya*, viz. *praśasta* and *apraśasta*. Auspicious physical discipline is prescribed to be of seven kinds, viz. careful in going, careful in standing, sitting, stretching out limbs, crossing, re-crossing, and controlled activity of all senses. Inauspicious physical discipline is also stated to be of seven kinds which are opposite to the auspicious ones.

Lokopacāravinaya (discipline in general behaviour)

It is of seven kinds, viz. *abhyāsavarttitvam* (tutelage under preceptors), *paracchandānuvarttitvam* (obedience to teachers), *kāryahetum* (facilitating means and ways for preceptor's functions), *kṛtapratikṛtatā* (gratefulness), *ārttagaveṣaṇatā* (nursing of diseased monks), *deśakālajñatā* (performance of duties according to the conditions of time and place), and *sarvārtheṣu-apratilomatā* (sympathetic attitude in all functions).

Vaiyāvṛtya (moral discipline in service or attendance)

It is of ten kinds, viz. services to *Ācāryas*, *Upādhyāyas*, *Sthaviras*, ascetics, patients, disciples, the family of monks, the community or assembly of monks, order, and fellow-monks respectively.

Svādhyāya (study)

It is divided into five groups, viz. *vācanā* (recitation), *pratipṛcchanā* (question), *parāvarttanā* (repetition of the studied

subject), *anuprekṣā* (deliberation on the subject of study) and *dharmakathā* (religious discourse).

Dhyāna (meditation)

It is divided into four categories according to different stages of human thought, viz. *Ārttadhyāna* (concentration of mind on account of anguish; in moments of deep sorrow and anger mind fixes itself temporarily on the objects of such passions; these have been recognised as kinds of inauspicious meditations), *Raudradhyāna* (concentration consequent upon anger and rath), *Dharmadhyāna* (meditation on religious thoughts) and *Śukladhyāna* (pure meditation). These four kinds of meditation are further divided and sub-divided into different groups.

Ārttadhyāna

This kind of meditation is achieved when a man is in utter anguish on account of his association with an undesirable object or his being deprived of the desirable one. It is accordingly of four kinds, viz. (1) Meditation accompanied by the association with the undesirable (*Amanojña-samprayoga-samprayukta*) and a sustained desire for getting rid of it (*Viprayaga-smṛti-samanvāgata*); (2) Meditation accompanied by the association with the desirable (*Manojña samprayoga-samprayukta*) and a sustained desire for not being deprived of it (*Aviprayoga-smṛti-samanvāgata*); (3) Meditation accompanied by a sense of fear, disease, etc. (*Ātanka-samprayoga-samprayukta*) and a constant desire for getting rid of it (*Viprayoga-smṛti-samanvāgata*); and (4) Meditation accompanied by the memory of past enjoyments (*Pariyuṣita-kāmabhoga samprayukta*) and an ardent desire for not getting rid of the memory (*Aviprayoga-smṛti-samanvāgata*). The following are the characteristics of these *dhyānas*—bewailing, a sense of poverty, weeping, and affliction.

Raudradhyāna

It is of four kinds, viz. *Himsānubandhin* (meditation consequent upon violent thought), *Mṛṣānubandhin* (that which is connected with falsehood), *Steyānubandhin* (meditation connected

with stealing) and *Saṁrakṣāṇubandhin* (that which is connected with the protection of one's possession). This *Raudradhyāna* is endowed with four characteristics, viz. (1) *utsannadoṣa* (unhindered sinful activity and possession), (2) *bahudoṣa* (multiplicity of sin), (3) *ajñānadoṣa* (perversion, i. e. misguided activity, and (4) *maraṇāntikadoṣa* (lifelong sinning),

Dharmadhyāna

There are stated to be four kinds of *Dharmadhyāna* (meditation on religious thoughts) viz. *Ājñāvicaya* (thought on the holy scripture). (2) *Apāyavicaya* (*avāyavijaya* = thought on the bad results of attachment and hatred), (3) *Vipākavicaya* ,thoughts on the fruits of karmas) and (4) *Saṁsthānavicaya* (thoughts on configuration of the Universe).

Dharmadhyāna bears four characteristics viz. (1) *ājñāruci* (faith in the holy scripture), (2) *nisargaruci* (faith in truth or reality), (3) *sūtraruci* (faith born of scriptural study) and (4) *avagāḍharuci* (faith born of a critical appreciation of the scripture).

This meditation is endowed with four *ālambanas* (repetition of prayer), viz. *vācana* (recitation), (2) *pratipracchanā* (asking of questions again and again), (3) *parāvarttanā* (repeatition of the studied subjects and (4) *dharmakathā* (religious talk).

Besides these, there are four *anuprekṣās* (deliberations) of *Dharmadhyāna*, viz *ekatvānuprekṣā* (deliberation on oneness), (2) *anityānuprekṣā* (deliberation on transitoriness), (3) *aśaraṇānuprekṣā* (deliberation on shelterlessness) and (4) *saṁsārānuprekṣā* (deliberation on the world).

Śukladhyāna (Pure meditation)

It is of four kinds of four *pratyavatāra* (disembarkation), viz. (1) *pṛthakatva-vitarka-savicāra* (meditation with analysis, judgement, of many debates or dissensions), (2) *ekatva-vitarka-avicāra* (meditation without judgement of a single discussion), (3) *sūkṣmakriyā-anivartta* (meditation with desirelessness in the suttle acts of mind, speech and body), i.e. not inclined to the subtlest mental,

vocal and physical acts and (4) *Sammucchinna-kriyā-apräptipāti* (meditation having completely cut off all ties of action by the self-controlled activities of mind, speech, and body).

Śukladhyāna is endowed with four characteristics, viz. *kṣānti* (forgiveness), *mukti* (non-attachment), *ārjava* (straightforwardness or simplicity), and *mārdava* (freedom from pride), and it has also four *ālambanas* (objects of meditation), viz. *avyatha* (freedom from fear), *asammoha* (non-delusion), *viveka* (distinction between soul and body) and *vyutsarga* (renunciation of body).

In addition to these, there are also four *anuprekṣās* (deliberations), viz. (1) *anantavṛttitānuprekṣa*, (2) *vipariṇāmānuprekṣā*, (3) *aśubhānuprekṣā* and (4) *apāyānuprekṣā*, i.e. deliberations (i) on the eternity of worldly existence, (ii) on the incessant transformation of things, (iii) on inauspiciousness of the world and (iv) on the evils of violence and the like.

Vyutsarga[1] (complete renunciation)

It is divided into two categories, viz. *Dravya-vyutsarga* (renunciation of physical objects), etc., and *Bhāvavyutsarga* (renunciation of mental states and objects). They are subdivided into different groups according to different objects of renunciation. *Dravyavyutsarga* is stated to be of four kinds, viz. renunciation of *Gaṇa* (society), of body, of articles, and of food and drink. While *Bhāvavyutsarga* is classified into three divisions, viz. renunciation of four passions (anger upto greed), of the four forms of life (human, hellish, divine and brutal), and of eight *karma-prakṛtis* (knowledge obscuring *karma* upto energy-hindering *karma*).

THIRD SECTION

Religious rules for the Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Monks and Nuns

The *BhS* lays down some rules for the *Nirgrantha* monks and nuns to be observed by them in their daily life.

1. *BhS*, 25, 7, 803.

The first criterion of all the rules is endurance of the following twenty-two *parīṣahas* (forbearances) because they are correlated with *Karma-prakṛtis* which bind the soul by covering its inherent state of perfection. They are as follows:—Hunger (*kṣudhā*), thirst (*pipāsā*), cold (*śīta*), heat (*uṣṇa*), flies (*daṁsā*), mosquitos (*maśakā*), clothlessness (*acela*), dislike (*arati*) (*mohanīya-jo manavikāraḥ*), woman (*strī*, i. e. liking for woman's society), walking or staying (*caryā*, i. e. the monk must not stay in one place for long), the most unpleasant spot (*naiṣidhikī*-svādhyāya-bhūmiṁ-śūnyāgārādi-rūpa-tat parīṣahanam), bed (*śayyā*, i. e. indifference to a comfortable or discomfortable bed), reviling with hard words (*ākrośa*), beating with stick (*vadha*), begging alms (*yācanā*), non-obtaining of alms (*alābha*), disease (*roga*), touch of grass (*tṛṇasparśa*, i. e. endurance of pain caused by the touch of the pointed tip of grass), dirt (*jalla* or *mala*) on body (i. e. monk must not allow his mind to think on the refreshment and joy of bath), honour with gift or praise (*satkāra*) and standing in reverence, etc., by the kings and others (*puraskāra*), intellect (*prajñā*) (i. e the feeling of own intellectual accomplishment or lack of intellect), knowledge (*jñāna*)[1] (i. e. the feeling of pride in knowledge or the feeling of inferiority for want of knowledge), right attitude to own religious truth (*darśana*) (i. e. a monk must not have doubt in the truth of his own religion and predilection for other faith).[2]

Samitis (rules of conduct)

Besides the five *samitis*, as already mentioned in the first section of this chapter,[3] there is also the mention of three other *samitis* along with them, viz. *manasamiti*, *vāg-samiti*, and *kāya-samiti* (i.e. restraint in mental, vocal, and physical activities).

[1] *BhS*, Comm., 8, 8, 343. Granthāntare tu ājñāparīṣaha iti paṭhyate.

[2] *Ib*, 8, 8, 343. See *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* xlv., p. 11.

[3] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92.

The other rules of conduct for the Nirgrantha monks

The following rules are prescribed for the monks and nuns in the *BhS* in connection with worship and non-worship.

In case an improper action is done by a *Nirgrantha* monk entering into the house of a householder for food, a thought arose in his mind "Just now, I discuss, confess, repent, blame (censure) this sinful act, desist from it by purifying myself with the performance of expiation, exert myself by not doing (such act). I practise proper act of austerity, then later on I shall discuss, confess it to the *sthavira* upto practise act of austerity (*tapaḥkarma*)." He went out of that house but did not find the *sthavira*, for he died before his arrival or became dumb, in that case he is *ārādhaka* (worshipper), or if he himself dies or becomes dumb before his arrival, then he is a worshipper, not a non-worshipper (*virādhaka*) in that case.

The same religious rules are applicable to the case of a *Niragranthī* committing some improper actions. If she resolves to make self-analysis, confession and repentance, to censure these and, to perform expiation and to practise austerity or she actually observes these rules, she becomes a worshipper.[1]

If a monk, having committed any prohibited sinful deed, dies without making self-analysis, confession and repentance for it, he has no worship, but if he dies by making self-analysis, confession, etc., he is a worshipper.

Similarly one has no worship, if he resolves to observe that vow of expiation in the last part of his life, but he dies without performing it or if he thinks thus : "If the *Śramaṇopāsakas* also, dying at the appointed time are born in heaven as gods, what again, shall I not incarnate even as a demigod ?", and he dies, having said this without observing that vow.[2]

Rules for begging alms

The *BhS* prescribes the following begging rules for the

[1] *BhS*, 8, 6, 334. [2] *Ib*, 10, 2, 400.

the monks and nuns in addition to those mentioned in the first section of this chapter. They are as follows :—

On the day of conclusion of fast a monk is to study the religious text (*Dharma-Śāstra*) in the first part of the day (*prahara*), to meditate in the second *prahara* and to go out in the third *prahara* with the permission of his *Guru*, having taken his *mukhavastra* (mouth-covering piece of cloth), bowl and clothes for begging alms from the high, low and middle class families. After returning from this begging tour, he is to show his food and drink obtained by him to his religious teacher.[1]

A *Nirgrantha* monk, being invited by a householder to meal should take his share only and carry the other portion given for another ascetic according to the instruction of the householder and offer it to his fellow monk after searching him out. But if that ascetic (*sthavira*) is not found, his share should not be taken by the former nor should it be given to others, rather it should be left out on the ground free from living beings in a desolate place by cleansing and wiping off the earth.[2] The same rules should be followed by a *Nirgrantha* monk in regard to the acceptance of three to ten portions of food offered by a householder and in the cases of receiving other articles, viz. pot (*pratigraha*), a cleaning piece of cloth (*gocchaka*), duster (*rajaharaṇa*), clothes (*colapaṭṭaka*), blankets (*kambala*), sticks (*laṭṭhi*), and bed (*saṁthāraga*), respectively.[3]

Rules of taking food prescribed for the Nirgrantha Monks & Nuns

The *BhS* prescribes some rules for *nirgrantha* monks and nuns in regard to their taking of food and drink. Food and drink are classified into two categories, according to the monastic rules, viz. *Sadoṣa* (faulty) and *Nirdoṣa* (faultless), i. e. impure and pure from the point of view of asceticism.

Faulty or impure food and drink are classified into the following groups, viz. *sāṅgāra-pānabhojana*, *sadhūma-pānabhojana*,

[1] *BhS*, 2, 5, 111 [2] *Ib*, 8, 6, 333. [3] *Ib*,

saṁyojanadoṣaduṣṭapānabhojana, while faultless or pure food and drink are divided into three kinds, viz *vītāṅgāra-pānabhojana*, *vītadhūma-pānabhojana* and *saṁyojanavipramuktapānabhojana*.

Food and drink which are taken by a *Nirgrantha* or a *Nirgranthī* with infatuation, deep attachment, after receiving them, is called *Sāṅgāra-pānabhojana*, that which are taken by him or her, having a mind consumed with hatred and anger are *Sadhūma-pānabhojana*, and that which are taken by mixing them with other things for making them tasteful are *Saṁyojanadoṣa-duṣṭa*, i.e. polluted by the fault of mixing

But if they are taken by him or her, without being infatuated or deeply attached to and swayed by hatred and anger and without mixing them with other things for making them palatable, they are called *vītāṅgāra*, *vītadhūma* and *saṁyojana vipramukta-pānabhojana* respectively.[1]

Besides these, the taking of the following kinds of food and drink by the monks or nuns involves the act of committing fault on their part, viz. *kṣetrātikrānta-pānabhojana* (food and drink taken before sunrise), *kālātikrānta-pānabhojana* (that received in the first part of the day and taken in the last part of it), *mārgāntikrānta pānabhojana* (that received and taken after crossing the length of half a *yojana*) and *pramāṇātikrānta-pānabhojana* (that taken more than the standard measure, i.e. only thirty-two morsels equal to the size of an egg of a hen).[2]

A *Śramaṇa-Nigrantha* or a *Nirgranthī* is to take *śastrātīta*, *śastra-pariṇāmita*, *eṣita*, *vyeṣita* and *samudānika-pānabhojana* for practising self-control and asceticism like a snake existing in a hole. The food which is offered by a householder who has given up weapon, mace, garland, (the act of) besmearing his body with sandal paste, (which is) free from all kinds of bacterias and lifeless, (which is) not prepared or to be prepared for a monk and not intended for him, uninvited, unpurchased, prepared

[1] *BhS.*, 7, 1, 268.   [2] *Ib*, 7, 1, 269.

without any intention, (which is) *navakoṭi-pariśuddha* (pure from the points of nine acts of preparing food, i.e. (1) to kill, (2) to cause to kill (3) to approve killing, (4) to cook, (5) to make cook, (6) to approve to cook, (7) to buy, (8) to make buy, (9) to support purchasing food, (which is) free from ten faults (i.e. doubt (or fear, etc.), pure in *udgama* (origin) or production (*ādhākarmādi*), *utpādana* (the act of producing), *eṣaṇā* (*piṇḍaviśuddhi* = purity of meal), and also free from the faults of *aṅgāra* (infatuation), *dhūmra* (hatred and anger) and *saṁyojana* (mixing), (which is) offered without making sound, haste, and delay and leaving any portion of it—that is called *śastrātīta, śastrapariṇāmita, eṣita, veṣita* and *samudānika-pānabhojana*.[1]

Besides these, it is not proper for a *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha* to take *ādhākarmika* food (which is prepared for another monk), *uddeśaka* (which is intended for), or *miśrajāta* (mixed), or *adhyavapūraka* (more food prepared for monk beforehand), or *pūjita* (worshipped), or *krīta* (purchased), or *apamitya* (loaned food), *acchidya* (forcibly taken food from someone), or *anisṛṣṭa* (unassented to) i. e. alms whose owners are many persons and which is not given with the consent of all, or *abhihṛta* (brought in front or before), or *kāntārabhakta* (food prepared in forest), or *durbhikṣabhakta* (food prepared in famine time), or *glānabhakta* (patient's diet), or *vārddalikabhakta* (food prepared during the rain), or *śayyātarapiṇḍa* (meal given by the owner of *upāśraya*), or *rājapiṇḍa* (meal given by the king), or *mūlabhojana* (taking of root), or *kandabhojana* (taking of tuberous root), or *phalabhojana* (taking of fruit), or *vījabhojana* (taking seed), or *havyabhojana* (taking of clarified butter).[2]

FOURTH SECTION

Classification of Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Monks

The *BhS* classifies the *Sramaṇa-Nirgrantha* monks into five categories on the basis of their knowledge, conduct, and

[1] *BhS*, 7, 1, 269. [2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 384.

spiritual attainment, viz. *Pulāka, Bakuśa, Kuśīla, Nirgrantha* and *Snātaka*.[1]

This classification of the Jain monks as found here is also made in the *Tattvārtha-Sūtra* "Pulāka-Bakuśa-Kuśīla-Nirgrantha-Snātakā-Nirgranthāh."[2]

They represent asceticism as manifested in the stages of their spiritual progress made by them through their meritorious acts of austerities and meditation.

Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri explains that a *Pulāka*-monk is like a *Pulāka* (a species of edible plant or sapless) from the point of view of self-control (i e. occassinally he is subject to moral lapses), a *Bakuśa* is endowed with spotted self-control (i.e. occassionally he yields to worldly objects and associates himself with worldly people and violates moral rules); a *Kuśīla* is a monk who sometimes deviates from the minor rules of conduct; a *Nirgrantha* is a monk free from all ties of deluding *karmas* and is destined to attain omniscience in immediate future; and *Snātaka* is a monk who is purified or bathed (*snāta*) from the dirt of *ghātikarmas*, i. e. *Jñānāvaraṇīya* (knowledge obscuring), *Darśanāvaraṇīya* (intiution obscuring), *Mohanīya* (belief and conduct obscuring) and *Antarāyika* (power-hindering) *karmas* and has attained omniscience which is known as *Jīvanmukti* in other schools of Indian thought.

They are again sub-divided into different groups according to their respective attributes from various aspects, such as, knowledge (*jñāna*), application (or acquisition) of knowledge (*ābhoga*) and non-application (*anābhoga*), enjoyment of prohibited things (*pratisevanā*), passion (*kaṣāya*), intuition or attitude of mind (*darśana*), conduct (*cāritra*), attachment (*rāga* = *sarāga*), non-attachment (*vītarāga*), etc.

The *Pulākas* are divided into five groups, viz. *Jñānapulāka, Darśana-pulāka, Cāritra pulāka, Liṅga-pulāka* and *Yathāsūkṣma-*

[1] *BhS*, 25, 6, 751. [2] *Tattvārtha-Sūtra*, 9, 48.

Pulāka nāma. Similarly the *Bakuśas* are divided into five classes, viz. *Ābhoga*, *Anābhoga*, *Saṁvṛta* (self-disciplined), *Asaṁvṛta* (non-self-disciplined) and *Yathāsūkṣma*; the *Kuśīlas* into two, viz. *Pratisevanā-Kuśīla* (a monk who violates the minor rules of conduct under the influence of his senses) and *Kaṣāya-Kuśīla* (a monk who is sometimes swayed by subtle passion) and the *Nirgranthas* into five, viz. *Prathamasamaya-Nirgrantha*, *Aprathama-samaya-Nirgrantha*, *Carima-samaya-Nirgrantha*, *Acarima samaya-Nirgrantha* and *Yathāsūkṣma-Nirgrantha*. As already stated a *Nirgrantha* is a monk who is sure to attain omniscience in immediate future. This time interval is about 48 minutes in the maximum. In the first instant of this period the monk is known as *Prathamasamaya Nirgrantha*. Such monks during the rest of interval belong to the second category. Similarly the monks during the last instant belong the third category and the remaining to the fourth. The fifth category is comprised by such monks in general. The *Snātakas* also are classified into five groups, which are rather five different aspects of the person who has attained Arhatship viz. *Acchavika* (who is free from all injurious physical activities—*avayathaka*), *Aśavala* (spotless, i. e. absolutely pure), *Akarmāṁśa* (free from *ghātikarmas*), *Saṁśuddha-jñāna-darśanadhara-Arhat-Jina-kevalin* (who is the bearer of complete pure knowledge and intuition) and *Aparisrāvin* (free from all *karmic* influx—*abandhaka*).

Classification of Saṁyatas (self-controlled monks)

Like the *Pulākas*, the *Saṁyatas* (self-controlled) are classified into five groups, viz. *Sāmāyika-Saṁyata*, *Chedopasthāpanika-Saṁyata*, *Parihāra-viśuddhika-Saṁyata*, *Sūkṣma-sāmparāyika-Saṁyata* and *Yathākhyāta-Saṁyata*.[1]

The *BhS* explains the respective positions of these classes of *Saṁyatas* thus that the monk who observes best *Cāturyāma-Dharma* (four-fold religion) by mental, vocal and physical activities in the undertaking of *Sāmāyika-Saṁyama* (primary

[1] *BhS*, 25, 6, 786.

stage of self-control) is called the *Samāyika-Saṁyata*; he who establishes the self in *Pañcayāma-Dharma* (five fold-religion) by cutting off the previous old state is the *Chedopasthāpanika-Saṁyata*; he who, observing pure best *Pañcayāma-Dharma* by mental, vocal and physical activities, renounces all things and observes particular types of austerities, is the *Parihāraviśuddhika-Saṁyata*; he who, experiencing only *Sūkṣma kaṣāya* (i. e. subtle greed) exists in *Upaśamika* or *Kṣapaka Sreṇī* (the state of suppression or destruction of deluding *karma*) is known as the *Sūkṣma-sāmparāya-Saṁyata* (i. e. a little below the stage of *Yathākhyata*) and a *Chadmastha* or a *Kevalī* who exists, having his *Mohanīya-karma* suppressed (in the case of the former) and annihilated is *Yathākhyāta Saṁyata*.[1]

These five classes of *Saṁyatas* are further sub-divided into different groups according to various aspects. Thus the *Sāmāyika-Saṁyatas* are classified into two divisions from the point of view of time, viz. *Itwarika* (temporary) and *Yāvat-kathika* (permanantly for life) self-controlled and the *Chedopasthāpanika-Saṁyata* into two, viz. *Sāticara* and *Niraticāra* the first is endowed with conduct with the transgression of moral laws of self-control, and the second is possessed of conduct without break and transgression of self-control. The *Parihāra-Viśuddhika Saṁyatas* are divided into two groups, viz. *Nirviśamānaka* (Practiser of special types of austerities mainly consisting of fasting spread over a long time), and *Nirviṣṭa-kāyika* (attendant on the former). This austerity is observed by groups of monks. A group of nine monks observes this austerity—one of them being the head and the other eight divided into two sub-groups. The four monks of one of these two groups serving as attendants to the rest. The attendants are called *Nirviṣṭa-Kāyikas* and others are known as *Nirviśamānakas*. The *Sūkṣma-sāmparāyika-Saṁyatas* are divided into *Saṁkliśyamānaka* and *Viśuddhamānaka* (i.e. one who is falling back down the ladder of suppression—*Upaśama-Śreṇī*) and one

[1] *BhS*, 25, 7, 786. [2] *Ib*, 25, 7, 788.

who is ascending the *Upaśama-Śreṇī* or *Kṣapaka-Śreṇī*, the ladder leading to the annihilation of *Karma*). The *Yathākhyāta-Saṁyata* is classified into two categories, viz. *Chadmastha* (a monk endowed with finite knowledge) and *Kevalī* (a self-controlled monk having infinite omniscience).

There exists an inter-relation among the five classes of *Saṁyatas* and the five divisions of the *Nirgranthas* on the basis of self-control and the stages of spiritual development. For example, it is explained that a *Sāmāyika-Saṁyata* may be a *Pulāka* or a *Bakuśa* upto a *Kaṣāya-Kuśīla*; but not a *Nirgrantha* nor a *Snātaka* and so on.[1]

FIFTH SECTION

Āgāra-Dharma or Śrāvaka-Dharma (Religion of Lay Worshipper or Householder)

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon *Āgāra-Dharma* or *Śrāvaka-Dharma*[2] which is quite distinct from that of *Anāgāra Dharma* (monasticism). It was realized by Lord Mahāvīra and his disciples that the uniform religious vows and rules of conduct should not be prescribed for the monks and householders, for they would defeat the mission of the *Nirgrantha-Dharma* and would be fruitless. They would help neither the monks nor the laymen, so separate vows and rules of conduct were set forth for the householders by considering all the conditions of their life, as it is known from the fact of some relaxations made in the observance of the religious vows and rules of conduct to which they were required to conform.

This *Śrāvaka-Dharma* is the most essential counterpart of monasticism of the *Nirgrantha-Dharma*. It is the twelve-fold Law of laymen (*duvālasavihaṁ sāvagadhammaṁ*)[3] consisting of five lesser vows (*paṁcāṇuvatiyaṁ*) and seven disciplinary vows

[1] *BhS*, 25, 7, 788. [2] *Ib*, 18, 10, 648. [3] *Ib.*

(*sattasikkhāvaiyaṁ*). They are as follows: (1) Renouncement of all gross ill-usuage of living beings in two forms and in three ways (i.e. not to do oneself nor cause to be done by others either in thought or in word or in deed), (2) renouncement of all grossly lying speech in two forms and three ways like the previous one, (3) renouncement of all gross taking of things not given, (4) renouncement of every other kind of sexual intercourse excepting with one's own wife, and (5) limitation of possession of one's wealth by renouncing all other possessions.

Some relaxations have been made for the householders in regard to the observance of the religious vows and rules. Thus it is explained that the act of killing a mobile being by some *Śramaṇopāsaka* in the past has been renounced, but his act of killing the earth-bodied being is partially given up. For instance, if he, while digging the earth kills any mobile being, he does not violate (or transgress) the vow of non-killing, because he is surely not intent upon its killing. It is an accidental and unintentional act of killing beings. Thus in the cases of his accidental and unintentional injury to the life of plant-bodied beings also, while ploughing the land (i e. digging the earth), he does not transgress the vow of non-killing, as he was not intent upon its killing.[1]

The seven disciplinary vows consist of three *Guṇavratas* and four proper *Śikṣāvratas* as given below :—

The three *Guṇavartas* are stated to be *Digvrata* (vow of the quarters), *Anarthadaṁḍa* (vow of abstention from unprofitable employment) and *Bhogopabhogaparimāṇa* (vow of limitation of the measure of enjoyment), while the four proper *Śikṣāvratas* are *Sāmāyikavrata* (vow of inward peace), *Pauṣadhavrata* (vow of fasting, abstinence from bodily attentions, sexual intercourse and daily work), *Atithisaṁvibhāga* (vow of right distribution of alms and worshipping the guests) and *Sallekhanā* (vow of a

[1] *BhS*, 7, 1, 263.

determined self-mortification by the last mortal emaceration to save the soul by scratching out the body).

The offering of gifts by a householder to the *Sramaṇas* and *Brāhmaṇas* was considered as a part of the vow of *Śrāvaka-Dharma* the merit of which led him towards the attainment of spiritual realization. Thus it is explained in the text that if a *Śramaṇopāsaka* helps a *Sramaṇa* or a *Brāhmaṇa* in the practice of his austerity, meditation and deep concentration of abstract thought (*Samādhi*) by offering gifts to him, he also attains that very state of *Samādhi* and finally he gives up food and drink, performs difficult act (of austerity), attains *anivṛtti-karaṇa* (a spiritual process by which one attains a stage from which he never falls down) or experiences enlightenment or right attitude and later on attains liberation by putting an end to all miseries.[1]

It is further stated that a *Śramaṇopāsaka*, offering presents to such a self-controlled *Śramaṇa* or *Brāhmaṇa* with the acceptable eatable food, drink and dainties completely dissociates his *karma* and his sinful act previously committed does not touch (i.e. affect) him, while by giving unacceptable food and drink, etc., to him he annihilates his *karma* (*nirjarā*) much and the effect of his sinfnl deeds less But as a result of his offering gift to a not-self-controlled and not-self-disciplined *Sramaṇa* or a *Brāhmaṇa*, having unchecked and non-renounced sinful act with acceptable or unacceptable, eatable or uneatable food, etc., he binds sinful deed and not a little amount of dissociation of his *karma* takes place.[2]

Aśrutvā-Kevalī & Śrutvā-Kevalī

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon the attainment of *Kevaliprajñapta-Dharma* (religion explained by a *Kevalī*) by some persons without listening to it from a *Kevalī* and others (i.e. *Aśrutvā Kevalī*), and by some having attended to it (i.e. *Śrutvā-Kevalī*) and also upon the attainment of right attitude of mind

[1] *BhS*, 7, 1, 264. [2] *Ib.*, 8, 6, 332.

to truth (*samyag-darśana*), chastity (*brahmacarya*), self-control (*saṁyama*), stoppage of influx of *karma* (*saṁvara*) and five kinds of knowledge by some without listening to it and its causes, and by some, having attended to it, as also the non-attainment of it by some, even having listened to it, etc.

Thus it is explained that some person attains the religion, experiences pure enlightenment (*bohī*), undertakes the state of houselessness in pure chastity, controls his senses, stops the influx of *karma* and attains five kinds of knowledge (perceptual upto omniscience), without listening to the religion explained by a *Kevalī* or a *Kevalī-Śrāvaka* or a *Kevalī-Śrāvikā* or a *Kevalī Upāsaka* or a *Kevalī-Upāsikā* or a *Tadpākṣika-Śrāvaka* (*svayaṁ-buddha*) upto or a *Tadpākṣika-Upāsikā* (*svayaṁ buddhikā*), then he is an *Aśrutvā Kevalī*; while someone does not attain it nor experiences enlightenment, etc., upto the five kinds of knowledge without attending to the religion explained by a *Kevalī* but attains the religion after hearing to it as explained by a *Kevalī*, then he is a *Śrutvā-Kevalī*. Because he, the partial annihilation and suppression (*kṣayopaśama*) of whose *Jñānāvaraṇīya* (knowledge obscuring), *Darśanāvaraṇīya* (intuition-obscuring), *Cāritrāvaraṇīya* (conduct-obscuring) and *yatanāvaraṇīya* (exertion-obscuring), *Adhyavasānāvaraṇīya karmas* (tenor of mind) upto those of five kinds of knowledge have not taken place (*kṛtabhavati*), does not attain the *Kevaliprajñapta-Dharma*, etc. But he, the partial annihilation of whose *Jñānāvaraṇīya karma*, etc., have occurred, attains the same even without listening to it.[1]

From the same points of view it is explained that some person attains the *Kevaliprajñapta-Dharma*, *Samyag-Darśana* (right attitude), *Brahmacarya* (chastity), *Saṁyama* (self-control), etc., upto five kinds of knowledge by listening to religious teachings of a *Kevalī* upto *Tadpākṣikā-Upāsikā*; while someone does not attain them even by attending to the religion explained by a *Kevalī* and others.

[1] *BhS*, 9, 31, 366.

SIXTH SECTION

Ājīvika Sect.

Along with the *Nirgranthas* there existed heterodox sects in the society as depicted in the text such as, the *Ājīvikas*, *Vainayikas*, *Vānaprasthas*, *Parivrājakas*, *Carakas*, other *Tīrthikas*, etc. Of all these sects the *Ājīvikas* appear to be the most rival in their relation to the *Nirgrantha* order and their leader, Gośāla-Maṅkhaliputra proclaims himself as *Jina* by challenging the spiritual leadership of Lord Mahāvīra.

The *BhS* shows that they were originally associated with each other till they came to the parting of ways on the ground of doctrinal differences.

Meaning of the name 'Ājīviya' : Skt. Ājīvika

The word '*Ājīviya*' (Skt. *Ājīvika*) denotes one who follows special rules with regard to livelihood or live by profession (*ājīvati*), as it is derived from the term '*Ājīva* (livelihood) of any class of people whether they are householders or religious mendicants.[1]

Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri[2] explains that those who live (*ājīvanti*) by the practices of austerity and the worship of faculties as *avivekilokatā* (want of judgament as usual) are called *Ājīvikas* and they were the disciples of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra.

> "Ājīvanti vā ye avivekilokato labdhipūjākhyātyādibhistapaścaraṇādibhiḥ te Ājīvikāḥ astitvenājīvikāḥ."

In the Buddhist texts there occurs the reference to *Samyag-ājīva* (right livelihood) as one of the eight paths (*aṣṭāṅgikamārga*) to be followed by the monks. It appears from these facts that the word '*Ājīviya* signified a class of religious mendicants who originally lived by profession with regard to their livelihood. This view is supported by the significance of the word '*Maṅkhatva*', the profession of exhibiting

[1] Sanskrit: English Dictionary, Monier-Williams, p. 133; col. 1st

[2] *BhS* (comm.), 1, 2, 25.

pictures as used in the text in connection with the earning of livelihood of Maṅkha Maṅkhali, and that of his son, Gośāla by this vocation of *Maṅkhatva*.

"Cittaphalagahatthagae maṅkhattaṇeṇaṁ appāṇaṁ bhāvemāṇe......... gāmāṇugāmaṁ... ..."[1]

Śri Abhayadeva Sūri explains that the word '*Maṅkha*' denotes a class of beggars (or mendicants) that tries to extract alms from the people by exhibiting pictures of '*malignant*' deities (citraphalakavyagrakaro bhikṣukaviśeṣaḥ),[2] while Hemacandra in his commentary on the *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*[3] equates it with the word '*Magadha*' (a bard). There is also reference to *Maṅkhas* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhana.[4]

The tradition of earning livelihood by displaying religious pictures is also recorded in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. There it is stated that King Harṣa, while entering his capital-city after returning from his hunting operation saw a *Yamapaṭṭika* (one who lives by *Yamapatta*, i.e. by displaying a piece of cloth on which *Yama*, the god of death with his attendants and punishments of hell are represented), surrounded by greatly excited and curious boys on the traffic road, relating with a shaft of an arrow the accout of the other world as depicted on a spread out cloth (or canvas) decorated with the painting of *Yama* seated on a terrible buffalo, which was fixed on a raised staff held in his left hand. The king also listened to the verse sung by that very *Yamapaṭṭika* thus: "Thousands of mothers and fathers and hundreds of sons and wives passed away (i.e. dead) in ages, whose are they or whose are you "[5]

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 540-41. 2 *Ib.* (comm), 15, 1, 540.

3 *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* comm. to V 795, 1-365 (Boht Linck & Rien edn).

4 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*—viii. 969, 995, 3354. See also V. *Anatagaḍadasāo* L. Barnett. p. 2, 43 and *Ardha-Māgadhī* Dictionary.

5 *Harśacarita*, *Ucchvāsa* 5, p. 153.

The same tradition of earning livelihood by exhibiting the *paṭas* (a piece of cloth) depicted with religious pictures and other incidents of social life, such as *Yamapaṭa*, *Gājirpaṭa*, etc., has continued up to the present day in Bengal and in other parts of India. Charpentier is of opinion on the evidence of a *Sūtra* of Pāṇini that Maṅkhali was a mendicant, carrying a picture board having the painting of a representation of the god Śiva.[1]

It appears from all these facts that the *Ājīvika*-Maṅkhas did not like to become an economic burden on the society, but they earned their livelihood by means of this profession of exhibiting pictures.

Life of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra

It is related in the 15th *Śataka* of the *BhS* that one day some time Maṅkha Maṅkhali[2], together with his pregnant wife, Bhadrā took shelter in the cowshed of a *Brāhmaṇa* named Gobahula at *Saravaṇa* after their journey without obtaining any dwelling residence anywhere in that quarter of the town. It was here Bhadrā gave birth to a very tender and beautiful male child. The Maṅkhali couple christened their new-born son as Gośāla on the ground that he was born in the cowshed. Pāṇini also explains, "Gośāla as one born in a cowshed."[3]

In some respects this incident of the birth of Gośāla shows a happy coincidence with that of Jesus Christ who is also said to have been born in a cowshed, as it is recorded in Saint Luke's Gospel.

With the attainment of the stage of maturity and youth Gośāla himself made each painting and earned his livelihood by carrying on the profession of *Maṅkhatva* (exhibition of pictures) like his father, Maṅkha Maṅkhali.

[1] J R. A. S., 1913, pp. 671-2. *Vide* 'History & Doctrine of Ājīvikas', p. 36.

[2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 540.

[3] *Pāṇini Sutra*, IV, 3. 35. *Vide* 'India as known to Pāṇini', by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, p. 383.

The account of his birth as given in the *BhS* is supported by the evidence of the *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*[1] which agrees with the former in stating that the name 'Gośāla' was attributed to him on the ground of his birth of a slave-girl in a cowshed.[2] It is recorded there that one day, while walking with an oil pot in his hand on a patch of muddy ground, he stumbled off and fell down, and thus broke it due to his carelessness despite his master's warning, "My dear man, take care lest you stumble, "*Tāta-mā-khaliti*." So fearing the chastisement from his angry master he ran up, but he was overtaken by his master who caught him by the edge of his garment. Letting his cloth go behind him, he fled away naked to a village the people of which offered him clothes out of kindness. But he refused to put them on, hoping to be honoured as a holy man or naked *Arhat*. Thus he was known as *Maṅkkhali* the name derived from the last words '*Mā khali*' used by his master to take care of the oil pot.

In the Grammar of Pāṇini[3] there appears *Maskarin* as a *Parivrājaka* (Maskara-maskariṇau veṇu-parivrājakayoḥ) who has been identified with *Maskarin* Gośāla on the following grounds as explained by Patañjali that 'A *Maskarin Parivrājaka* is not so-called, because there is a *Maskara* (bamboo-staff) in his hand......Do not perform action, but seek peace as the highest end. This is their teaching, who are therefore called *Maskarin* (Mā kṛta karmāṇi mā kṛta karmāṇi, śāntirvaḥ śreyasītyāhato Maskarī parivrājakaḥ)."[4]

The evidence of *Pāṇini* as supported by the *Divyāvadāna*[5] where Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra appears by the name of Maskarī

[1] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (*Sāmaññaphala Sutta*)—*Buddhaghoṣa's* comm. on the *Dighanikāya*, II, 3, pp. 143 ff.

[2] *Ib*, II, 3, pp. 143 ff.

[3] *Pāṇini*, iv, 1, 154. *Vide* 'India as known to Pāṇini,' p. 381.

[4] *Patañjali Bhāṣya*, III, 96.

[5] *Divyāvadāna*—p. 143. See C. D. Chatterjee, 'A. Hist. character in the Reign of Aśoka', Bhandarkar commemoration Vol. p. 331.

Gośālaputra, i. e. he was a *Maskari* ascetic. The *Ājīvika* leader is also connected with *Maṅki* of the *Mahābhārata* on the ground of preaching the doctrine of peace (*nirveda*) and destiny, giving up the principle of *Pauruṣa* (deed) Śuddhaṁ hi daivamevedaṁ haṭhe naivāsti pauruṣam."[1]

These facts clearly reveal that there existed a class of religious mendicants called *Maskarī-Parivrājakas*, having the belief in the doctrine of *Niyativāda* (determinism) during the periods of *Pāṇini* and of the *Mahābhārata* respectively.

Meeting of Gośāla with Lord Mahāvīra

The account of the first meeting of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra with Lord Mahāvīra in a weaver's workshop at *Nālandā* and his association with the Master as an ascetic—disciple and dissociation from him on account of the doctrinal difference arisen out of his reflection on the reanimation of a sesamum plant is discussed in the first section of the eighth chapter in details in connection with the topic 'The ascetic life of Lord Mahāvīra.'

Gośāla as religious teacher

Next, Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, having attained the round of twenty-fourth year of his initiation (*cauvvīsavāsapariyāe*) appears as the teacher and leader of the *Ājīvika* sect in the workshop of the potteress Hālāhalā in the city of *Srāvastī*. There he, being attended upon by the *Ājīvika-Saṅgha* passed time by practising austerity and by explaining and expounding the doctrine of six inviolable principles, viz. acquisition and non-acquisition, happiness and suffering, birth (or life) and death to his followers amongst whom there were the following six *Dikcaras*, namely, Sāṇa, Kalaṅda (Kaṇāda ?), Kaṇiyāra, Acchidda, Aggivesāyaṇa and Ajjuṇa Gomāyuputta.[2]

[1] *Mahābhārata Śāntiparvan*—Ch. 177, vv. 1-14.
Vide 'India as known to Pāṇini' p.383.

[2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 539.

The evidences of the *BhS* regarding the position of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra as the *Ājīvika* leader are fully corroborated by those of the *Uvāsagadasāo* where he is depicted as a religious teacher, having a host of followers one of whom was Saddālaputta of *Polāśapura*.

In the *Pāli* texts Gośāla appears to be a great dangerous rival leader of Lord Buddha, and he is depicted in a blackest manner thus that "he was a stupid (*moghapurisa*), knew no other persons, born to the detriment, grief and disadvantage of so many people or to such disadvantage and sorrow of gods and men, Makkhali was like a fisherman casting his net at the mouth of a river for the destruction of many a fish."[1]

The teachings of Gośāla are criticized by the Blessed one in a very strong language thus that "Just as a hair-blanket (*Kesakambala*) is the worst of all fabrics in texture, appearance and utility, so of all unorthodox doctrines (*samaṇa-ppavālānaṁ*) that of Makhali is the worst."[2]

Last meeting of Gośāla with Lord Mahāvīra at the Kosthaka Caitya in Śrāvastī and his spiritual duel with the Master[3]

The revelation of the birth-incident of Gośāla in a low family of Maṅkha Maṅkhali and Bhadrā and that of the account of his past life as made by Lord Mahāvīra in the assembly of his followers at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* enraged the *Ājīvika* leader very much. One day he threatened the Master with total destruction through his disciple Ānanda who happened to pass by the neighbourhood of Hālāhalā's house on his begging tour by relating the story of the fate of the four merchants of *Śrāvastī*, if his teacher indulged in such acts of vilification and spoke anything against his person. As soon as Ānanda was telling this matter to the other monks after his return and

[1] *Aṅguttara Nikāya* 1, p. 33; *cf. Ang* 1.
[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya* 1 p. 286. *Vide*, 'History & Doctrine of *Ājīvikas*' by Dr Basham, p. 54-55.
[3] *BhS*, 15, 1, 547-53.

report of this dreadful warning of Gośāla to Lord Mahāvīra, the *Ājīvika* leader, followed by his disciples appeared at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* to challenge the veracity of the so-called statements of the Master with regard to his birth and life. Here a serious verbal duel took place between the two leaders reviling each other. Gośāla tried to prove thus by explaining and justifying the doctrine of re-animation (*Parivṛtya-parihāra*) that he was not that Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra who was the latter's disciple. The *Ājīvika* leader related that he was born as a male child named Udāyin in the first birth. Having attained the power of intellect and intelligence by observing the vows of abstinence and practising chastity, he abandoned the body of Udāyin of *Kauṇḍinya Gotra* outside the city of *Rājagṛha* and entered into that of Aiṇeyaka and he experienced thus the first *Parivṛtya-parihāra* for twenty-two years. Having given up the body of Aiṇeyaka he entered into that of Mallarāma at the *Candrāvataraṇa Caitya* outside the city of *Uddaṇḍapura* and bore it for twenty-one years in the second *parivṛtya-parihāra* In the third he entered into the body of *Maṇḍika* by abandoning that of Mallarāma in the *Aṅga-Mandira* outside the city of *Campā* and bore it for twenty years. In the fourth he took birth into the body of Roha by giving up that of Maṇḍika in the *Kāma-mahāvana Caitya* outside *Vāṇārasī* (Vārāṇasī) and carried it upto nineteen years. In the fifth he entered into the body of Bhāradvāja by abandoning that of Roha in the *Prāptakāla Caitya* outside the city of *Ālabhikā* and enjoyed it for eighteen years. In the sixth he took birth into the body of Arjuna Gautamīputra by giving up that of Bhāradvāja in the *Kauṇḍi-kāyana Caitya* outside the city of *Vaiśālī* and bore it up to seventeen years. In the seventh and last *Parivṛtya-parihāra* he entered into the body of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra by giving up that of Arjuna just in the premises of the potteress Hālāhalā in *Śrāvastī*, having learnt it firm, constant, durable and fit to bear enduring cold, heat, hunger and different kinds of natural troubles, such as, flies, mosquitos, etc., and endowed with the firmness of joints, and he bore this body at present.

A critical study of the account of *Parivṛtya-parihāra* undergone by the *Ājīvika* leader in the form of his autobiography throws an important light on the history of *Ājīvikism* that it began 133 years before him.[1]

Besides, it might imply, as in the *Jātakas*, that life is continued through the virtue of the former births. In this case of *Parivṛtya-Parihāra* of Gośāla the principle of *Buddhavāda* or *Tīrthaṅkaravāda* is applied, for he proclaims himself as the twenty-fourth *Tīrthaṅkara*.

The tradition is recorded in the *Jātakas* that the Gautama Buddha, took many incarnations as *bodhisattva*, while the Jainas admit that the soul assumes numerous births for the well-being of this world before being born as *Tīrthaṅkara*. There were twenty-four such *Tīrthaṅkaras* amongst whom Lord Mahāvīra was the last.

Spiritual dual between Gośāla and Lord Mahāvīra

At the denial of discipleship of Lord Mahāvīra by Gośāla the Master rebuked him thus "You are not worthy of it, Gośāla and you are the self-same person, not anybody else."[2] Then the *Ājīvika* leader, inflamed with the fire of wrath cursed and reviled the Master again and again, "To-day you are no more. There is no happiness of yours from me, etc." Being unable to bear this insult hurled at their teacher, two disciples of Lord Mahāvīra named Sarvānubhūti and Sunakṣatra got up and requested Gośāla in succession not to revile and curse the Master in such a manner and they repeated the same rebuke to him as made by their teacher. At this reproach the *Ājīvika* leader, being very angry reduced Sarvānubhūti to a heap of ashes and burnt Sunakṣatra to death one by one by releasing his fiery energy on their bodies. Lord Mahāvīra again abused

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 550. [2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 552.

Gośāla by using the same censuring terms for his unworthy cruel acts of killing two *Śramaṇas*. At this rebuke the *Ājīvika* leader released his fiery energy on the body of the Master to kill him. But it got warded off by the superior spiritual power of Lord Mahāvīra and entered into the body of that very Gośāla, burning and burning it gradually. Being possessed of his own fiery energy, the *Ājīvika* leader again cursed the Master thus : "You Āyuṣman Kāśyapa, being occupied by my fiery energy (and) having the attack of bilious fever will die as *Chadmastha* at the end of six months."[1]

At this curse Lord Mahāvīra retorted to Gośāla thus: "Not certainly I, Gośāla,......shall die at the end of six months, I shall pass time as *Jina* for another sixteen years, you, just yourself Gośāla......will die as *Chadmastha* at the end of seven nights."[2]

It is stated that some of the followers of Gośāla went over to the side of the Master at this moment, having left their leader, while the others remained with him. After this spiritual defeat the *Ājīvika* leader left the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* without achieving his purpose, having cast a fiery glance at Lord Mahāvīra.

Last part of his Life

Then Gośāla passed time in the premises of Hālāhalā by chewing raw-mango-fruit, drinking liquor, singing and dancing again and again and making overtures (*añjalikarma*) to the potteress & sprinkling his body with cold clay water of the potter's pot in a state of mental disequilibrium. In such a condition of his, one day he was approached by Ayaṁpula, an *Ājīvikopāsaka* who came to have the explanation of the shape of *Hall* (an insect) from his teacher. He, being ashamed to find the *Ājīvika* leader in such a state was slowly returning to his house with a

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 563. [2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 553

great disappointment, but approached his teacher again on the request of the *Ājīvika-Sthaviras* to have the answer to his question about *Hallā*. It is stated that on receipt of the signal from them in the meantime Gośāla left the raw-mango-fruit in a solitary place and then he gave an explanation of his chewing the raw mango to Ayaṁpula thus that it was the rind of mango, but not the mango. Next, he described that *Hallā* had the shape like that of *Vaṁśīmūla* (lower part of a flute) and addressed himself thus "O dispassionate sage, play the flute"—"Vīṇaṁvāehi ie vīragā."[1] Being pleased and satisfied with this explanation to his question given by his teacher, Ayaṁpula retired to his home after paying due respect to his preceptor.

Having known and realized the approach of his own death by intuition, Gośāla instructed his disciples, the *Ājīvika-Sthaviras* on the performance of his funeral ceremony after his death thus: They were to cause him to bathe (i.e. his corpse) with fragrant water, to besmear his limbs with *Gośīrṣa* sandal-paste, to dress him (his dead body) with costly garments and ornaments and to take out a procession of his corpse in a palanquin carried by one hundred men by proclaiming him as the last of the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras*.[2]

It is stated that at the end of seven nights from the day of this incident Gośāla again summoned his followers and told them that he was not *Jina*, etc, but Lord Mahāvīra was *Jina*. And he expressed his repentence and sorrow for his misdeeds, such as, the killing of Sarvānubhūti and Sunakṣatra, the two disciples of Lord Mahāvīra by applying his fiery energy (*tejōleśyā*) on them at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya*, etc. Then he instructed them to perform his funeral ceremony with all sorts of dishonour, such as, by tying his left leg with a rope of bark, spitting thrice upon his mouth, dragging his dead body through

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 554. [2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 554.

the city of *Śrāvastī* and declaring him *Jinapralāpin* (false *Jina*) and *Śramaṇaghātaka* (killer of *Śramaṇas*), etc.[1] Having said thus, he breathed his last with these words.

It is clear from a comparative study of all these evidences furnished by the *BhS*, other Jaina texts and Buddhist works regarding the life of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra that they were coloured with the sectarian bias borne against the *Ājīvika* sect led by him to a certain extent, though they differ in details. Certain facts emerge out of these evidences regarding the life of Gośāla that he was the greatest rival leader to Lord Mahāvira and Lord Buddha and he was an outstanding spiritual leader of the *Ājīvika* sect, as it is admitted by the Master himself. Moreover, the study of the references to his practice of severe austerities on the *Atāpanabhūmi* during his stay in the premise of Hālāhalā, his fiery energy (*tapaleja*) acquired by penance, his personality and the character of the potteress should not be taken to throw any shade of doubt upon his chaste life, though some Jain texts level the charge of unchastity against him[2] and his followers.[3]

It is an attempt made by the rival sects of the *Ājīvikas* who are motivated and guided by the sectarian bias to paint their leader and his doctrine in a blackest possible way, to establish their own religion in the society of those days. But this manner of their presentation of the life of Gośāla has placed him on the highest pedestal of glory along with the other leaders of thought of his period.

Predecessors of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra

It has already been pointed out that the account of the cycle of births undergone by Gośāla shows the existence of the *Ājīvika* sect 133 years before him. Moreover, his proclamation

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 555.

[2] *Jaina Sutra*, ii, vii, pt. I & II in S.B.E. Vol. xxii & xxiii.

[3] *Ib*, II, 270; II, 245.

as the last *Tīrthankara* in *Avasarpiṇī-kāla* indicates that there were other predecessors of this great *Ājīvika* leader, though this statement seems to be an interpolation of the author of the *BhS.* According to this canonical work Udāyan, Aiṇeyaka, Mallarāma, Maṇḍika, Roha, Bhāradvāja and Arjuna Gautamaputra appear to be his seven predecessors including Arjuna, as the list of these personalities shows that there was a line of ascetic teachers of the *Ājīvika* order, though the progressive diminution by one year of the period of each *Parivṛttya parihāra* raises a doubt about the artificiality of the plan inserted by some hand

The association of these ascetics with different *Caityas* outside various cities as the centres of their activities and the variance of the *Gotra* names, e g *Kauṇḍikāyana Gotra* of Udāyin and *Gautama Gotra* of Arjuna support the contention of the real existence of these teachers prior to the period of Gośāla. The evidence of the *BhS* regarding the existence of line of the *Ājīvika* teachers is also corroborated by the Buddhist work[1] where Gośāla appears as one of the six religious teachers of his age including himself, namely, PūraṇaKassapa, Ajitakesakaṁbalī, PakudhaKaccāyana, SañjayaBelaṭṭhiputta and Nigganṭha Nātaputta.

Besides, the occurence of the names of Nanda-vaccha and Kisa-saṁkicca along with that of Makkhali Gosāla in the Buddhist texts[2] clearly reveals that they were the *Ājīvika* leaders. Now there arises the question of priority in time of these three teachers. Dr Hoernle is of opinion that Nanda and Kisa were probably the two contemporaries of Gosāla on the ground that "there were indeed other groups of ascetics of a similarly dubious character who also bore the name of *Ājīvika*,

[1] E.G. *Jātaka*, 1, 509 ; *Digha*, II, 150.
Sāmaññaphala Sutta of the *Digha-Nikāya*, 1, pp. 47ff.
Vide 'History & Doctrine of Ājīvikas' Dr. Basham, p. 11.
[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, p. 382 , *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1, p. 238, p. 524.

but they lived apart under separate leaders, the names of two of whom Nanda-Vaccha and Kisa-saṁkicca are recorded in the Buddhist scriptures."[1]

While Dr. B. M. Barua[2] holds the view of Jacobi[3] that Nanda-vaccha and Kisa-Saṁkicca were the predecessors of Gośāla Makkhali in succession, although the *BhS* mentions Arjuna and Bhāradvāja as his immediate predecessors.

It is clear from these facts that there was a line of *Ājīvika* teachers prior to Gośāla according to the tradition recorded in this canonical work.

Followers of Gośāla Māṅkhaliputra

The text gives a list of the followers of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, namely six *Dikcaras*—Sāṇa, Kalanda, Kaṇṇiyāra, Acchidda, Aggiveśāyana, Ajjuṇa Gomāyuputta, Hālāhalā, the Potteress of *Śrāvastī*, Ayaṁpula and *Ājīvika* ascetics.

Besides these, there were other twelve *Ājīvikopāsakas*, namely, Tāla, Tālapalaṁba, Uvviha, Saṁviha, Avaviha, Udaya, Nāmudaya, Namudaya, Anuvālaya, Saṁkhavālaya, Ayaṁbula, and Kāyaraya who regarded their *Arhanta* (Gośāla) as God (*Arihaṁtadevatāgā*).[4]

Date of Gośāla

In connection with the chronology of Lord Mahāvīra in the second section of the eighth chapter it is discussed that the great demise of the Master took place sixteen years after the death of Gośāla. So according to the calculation made therein the date of the death of the *Ājīvika* leader may be assigned to a period about 500 B.C., and that of his birth approximately to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. as he appears to be

[1] E. R. E., I, p. 265; refer also to *Bhāratīyavidyā*, II, p. 202, Gopani.
[2] J. D. L., II, p. 2.
[3] Introduction to *Jaina Sutra*, II, S. B. E, xlv, p. xxxi.
[4] *BhS*, 8, 5, 330.

a senior contemporary of Lord Mahāvīra as recorded in the *BhS.*[1]

A short history of the Ājīvika Sect

Besides the literary sources, the earliest archæological evidences of the existence of the *Ājīvikas* are found in the *Barbara* Hill cave Inscriptions of king Aśoka[2] and *Nāgārjunī* Hill cave Inscriptions of Daśaratha.[3]

In the sixth Century A. D. they appear also in the two astrological works of Varāha-mihira, viz. *Bṛhajjātaka*[4] and *Laghu-jātaka*[5] as one of the seven classes of ascetics, viz the *Śākyas* or *Raktapaṭas* (i.e. Buddhists), the *Ājīvikas* upto the *Carakas*. The existence of the *Ājīvikas* in the ninth century A. D. is borne out by the evidence of the great Jaina commentator Śīlāṅka[6] (C. 876 A.D.), while they figure in the *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā*[7] of Halāyudha (950 A.D.) as *Ājīvas* in the tenth century A D. The *Ājīvikas* existed also in the thirteenth century A D. as it is revealed by the land-grant made by the *Cola* king, Rājarāja[8] to the temple, together with 'tax on the *Ājīvikas*' in 1238, 1239, 1243, 1259 A.Ds.

SEVENTH SECTION

Doctrine of Ājīvikism

The *BhS* reveals that the fundamental doctrine of Ājīvikism was *parivarttavāda* (the doctrine of reanimation) which propounds that all beings are born after death and foster. "Evaṁ Khalu

1 *Vide*, Sec. 2, Chap. IX.

2 Nos. 38, 39 & 40 *Barbara* Hill cave Inscriptions, Indian Ant. XX, p. 168 ff.

3 *Ib.*

4 *Bṛhajjātaka*-XXf, Varāhamihira.

5 *Laghujātaka*, IX-12. Varāhamihira.

6 Śīlāṅka,—See *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*.

7 *Abhidhāna-Ratnamālā* II-189, 190 Halāyudha.

South Indian Inscriptions Nos. 88, 89, 92 & 108.

savvajīvāvī pauṭṭaparihāraṁ pariharaṁti."[1] There are six inviolable laws which govern the life of all beings, viz. *Lābha* (gain), *Alābha* (loss), *Sukha* (happiness), *Dukha* (suffering), *Jīvita* (birth or life) and *Maraṇa* (death).[2]

They are explained by Gośāla with a reference to the statement of *Aṭṭāṅgamahānimitta* (the principle of eight great causes) embodied in the *Pūrva* (10th pūrva), viz. *Divyam* (heavenly), *Autpātam* (portent), *Antarikṣam* (sky or atmosphere), *Bhaumam* (earthly), *Āṅgam* (that relating to body), *Svaram* (sound), *Lakṣaṇam* (mark or sign) and *Vyañjanam* (manifestation).[3]

A critical study of these eight great causes reveals that Ājīvikism was founded on science which propounded the theory of causation. This law of cause and effect pervades the whole Universe and governs all events of phenomenal and noumenal aspects of life and nature. For example, the science of *Lakṣaṇa* and *Vyañjana* dealt with the distinguished marks of a great man as well as the way of testing and selecting the best type of men and women, horses, gems, jewels and the like. Music and dance formed the two *mārgas* (paths) of Ājīvikism called *Gītamārga* and *Nṛtyamārga*.[4] Besides these principles, it is stated to be the explanation of the *Ājīvika* doctrine that all beings are uninterrupted enjoyers (akkhīṇapaḍibhoiṇo savve sattā), so they take food by killing, cutting, piercing, taking out the skin of beings and destroying other beings.[5] According to the doctrine of *parivartta-vāda* anyone whoever attained or attains or will attain emancipation will have to enter into eighty-four lakhs *Mahākalpas* (period of time), seven celestial births, seven *saṁjñigarbhas* (womb of human embryo, i. e. sentient birth & seven *parivṛtya-parihāras* (or *parivartta-parihāra*, i.e. entrance or birth of beings into seven other bodies). He attains enlightenment and liberation by anni-

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 544. [2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 539. [3] *Ib*, (Comm.).
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 539. [5] *Ib*, 8, 5, 350.

hilating gradually the divisions of five lakh sixty thousand six hundred and three *karmas* and thus he puts an end to all miseries by making (causing) complete extinction of all rebirths.

The study of all these data of the doctrine of Ājīvikism reveals that this system of thought was based on the eight principles of causation. Biology in the widest sense, containing the elements of Botany and Zoology, Cosmology, Anatomy, Physiology and Embryology, Physics and Chemistry, etc., with in its sphere.

The reference to the *Gītamārga* and *Nṛtyamārga*, the two paths, suggests that music and dance were the two ways for creating devotion in the hearts of the devotees of the *Ājīvika* sect.

The doctrine of *Parivarttavāda* (i.e-animation) contains the seed of *Niyativāda* (determinism), which is the motive factor of the Universe and the absolute agent of all phenomenal and noumenal changes. The principles of *Niyativāda* as advocated by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra are clearly embodied in the *Uvāsagadasāo* which explains thus : "There is no such thing as exertion or labour or power or energy or human strength, all things are unalterably fixed."[1]

A more clear conception of this doctrine of determinism is found in the Buddhist works, particularly in the *Digha-Nikāya*[2] where it is stated thus "There is no cause either proximate or remote for depravity of beings ; they become depraved without reason or cause. "N'atthi hetu......n'atthi paccayo sattānaṁ saṁkilesāya."

It is further explained "There is no cause, either proximate or remote for the purity of beings ; they become pure without reason or cause. Nothing depends either on one's own effort or on the efforts of others......everything that lives is destitute of force, power or energy. These varying conditions at any time

[1] *Uvāsagadas* o, 7, 199, p. 132. Dr. Hoernle.
[2] *Digha-Nikāya*-1. p. 53 Dialogue-71.

are due to fate......that men experience base or pain." Likewise the escape from evil, the working off of accumulated evil *karma* was without cause or basis "Ahetu-apaccayo sattā visujhanti".[1]

It is further recorded that the forceful, the courageous like the weakling, the idler and the coward were all completely destined to the one, i. e. *Niyati*. "N'atthi purisakāre, n'atthi balaṁ . ...Sabbe sattā avasā......niyati saṅgati-bhāva-pariṇatā."

Eterminism of the *Ājīvika* system of thought did not exclude the idea of *karma* completely from its doctrine, as it is evidenced by the fact of its belief in the transmigration of soul and its final liberation as a result of annihilation of all *Karmas*. Moreover, the relation of cause and effect has not categorically been precluded from its doctrine as it appears that the individual conduct of a being may affect his future state of life in numerous possible ways of *karma* in the worldly stage of truth, though ultimately his life is regulated and guided by the *Niyati*, the absolute destiny. Because it is already pointed out that 500,000 *Karmas*, 60,000, 600 and 3 parts of *karmas* must be destroyed by one before the attainment of final liberation.[2]

This evidence regarding the number of *Karmas* as mentioned here is also supported by that of the *Pāli* texts which have divided *Karma* into five hundred five, three and one and one-half a *Karma*[3]. Buddhaghoṣa[4] interprets the figure 'five hundred by the explanation "a useless heresay (Takkamallakena niratthakaṁ diṭṭhiṁ dīpeti); the five as actions according to five senses or appendages to the five hundred (ādisu pi es' eva nayo, keci pan-āhu pañca kammān' iti pañca-indriyavāsena bhanati) and the three as the act, speech and thought, the one as either act or word, the half as thought'."

[1] *Ib.*, [2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 550. [3] *Pāli* texts—See below.

[4] *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī* I, pp. 461-49, Buddhaghoṣa's commentary to *Digha-Nikāya*. (The interpretation of the *aḍḍha-kamma* is supported by a statement in the commentary to the *Abhidhāna-Koṣa*).

Dr. Basham suggests that the figures 60,000 and 600 as recorded in the *BhS* may be the total numbers of *'yoni pamukkha'* of the *Pāli* texts and *Karmāṁśa* or part of *karma* may correspond to the act, speech and thought of Buddhaghoṣa. Thus three parts of *karma* (*tinni kammāṇi*) of this cannonical work may be identical with the *addha-kamma* of the *Sāmañña-phala Sutta*.[1]

Conception of Soul

The conception of soul is intimately related to the doctrine of *Karma* and transmigration of being from one life to another and its final liberation. The study of the references to the many rebirths of an individual in different forms and bodies by Gośāla and to the *Karmas* occurring in the *BhS* clearly reveals that Ājīvikism believed in the existence of soul, though a clear conception of its nature, etc., is not found in this work.

The evidence of the idea of soul according to the doctrine of Ājīvikism as revealed in the text is well supported by the Buddhist works[2] where it is stated that all the six mendicant leaders alike taught in opposition to Lord Buddha that the conscious soul continues to exist after death. They had difference of views in regard to the exact mode of its existence; Gośāla is said to have expounded that it is endowed with form (*rūpī*), while Lord Mahāvīra explained that it was formless (*arūpī*).

"Rūpī attā hoti arogo paraṁ maraṇā saññī (Dīgh. N. 1. p. 31)."

Conception of Immeasurable length of time involved in the process of transmigration of Soul

The *BhS* throws some light upon the measurement of time according to the doctrine of Ājīvikism by giving an account of immeasurable length of it, involved in the process of trans-

[1] History & Doctrine of *Ājīvikas*—Dr. Basham p. 242.

[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*-IV-398 (explained in *Dīgha*-N. 1. p. 303; Di. 44-45).

migration of soul as discussed below. As the *Gaṅgās* is five hundred *yojanas* in length, half a *yojana* in breadth and five hundred *dhanūṣā* in depth (yojana = $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 1 dhanūṣā = 6 feet), so by this unit of measurement of space of the *Gaṅgās*, seven *Gaṅgās* make one great *Gaṅgās* (*Mahāgaṅgā*), seven *Mahāgaṅgās* = one *Sādīṇa-Gaṅgā*, seven *Sādīṇa-Gaṅgās* = one *Mṛtyu Gaṅgā*, seven *Mṛtyu Gaṅgās* = one *Lohitā-Gaṅgā*, seven *Lohitā-Gaṅgās* = one *Avantī Gaṅgā* and seven *Avantī Gaṅgās* = one *Pāramāva(n)tī Gaṅgā*; thus there become 117,649 *Gaṅgās* in all with the first and last *Gaṅgās*.[1]

There are stated to be two kinds of particles (grains) of sand in these *Gaṅgās*, viz. *sūkṣmavondikalevara* (having the fine form of body), and *vādaravondikalevara* (endowed with gross form of body). The first one is *sthāpya* (*thāppa*-not explained. If in every hundred years each one gross particle of sand gets diminished, the time by which the store of the seven *Gaṅgās* becomes empty of gross particles of sand would be one *Saras* (a period of time). By this unit of Sara one *Mahākalpa* is formed of 300,000 of such *Saras* and eighty-four *Mahākalpas* make one *Mahāmānasa*.[2]

This definition of *Mahākalpa* (the period of transmigration) is supported by the evidences of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*,[3] where it is stated that the *Mahākalpa* is the time required to empty a great lake seven times larger than one *Sara* (i.e. equal to 7 Saras) by removing water by the measure of one drop in every hundred years.

The *BhS* and the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* agree on this point that time is measured by introducing a *Sara* in both the cases, but they differ on this that *Mahākalpa* of the former is formed of 300,000 *Saras* in place of seven *Saras* of the latter.

[1] It is not clear from the study of the comm. what is meant by the number of these *Gaṅgās* except the one river-*Gaṅgās*.

[2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 550.

[3] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* 1, p. 164 (Buddhagosa's Commentary).

Besides this system of *Mahākalpas* of Ājīvikism as revealed in this canonical work, it also contains the theory of cosmic progress and decay of time (i.e. measurement of time upto *Sāgaropama*) similar to that of the *Nirgrantha* religion, for Gośāla proclaims himself as the twenty-fourth *Tīrthaṅkara* of the *Avasarpiṇī* age (or aeon of decline).[1]

Sannigabbha (Saṁjñīgarbha – Sentient birth)

It has already been pointed out that soul transmigrates through eighty-four *Mahākalpas*, seven celestial births, seven heavenly *bhavanas* (*saṁyūthas*), seven sentient or human births (*saṇṇigabbhas*) and seven reanimations till the attainment of its final emancipation.

Thus it is explained that soul (or being), giving up the body is born from infinite *saṁyūthas* (*devabhava*) as god in the upper *Mānasasaṁyūtha* (*devabhava*) where it passes time by enjoying the celestial enjoyments. After the decay of the span of its life and duration it is born from there in the first human womb as five-sensed human being; from there immediately after its death it is born as god in the *Mānasa-Saṁyūtha* (*devabhava*), having *Mānasa-Sara-pramāṇa-āyuṣ* (span of life having the period of *Mānasa-Sara*) from that celestial world again it is born as human being in the second *Saṁjñīgarbha*; from that state of existence after its death, it is born in the lower *Saṁyūtha* (*devabhava*), having *Mānasa-pramāṇa-āyuṣ*. Then falling from that celestial state of existence it it born in the third *Saṁjñī-garbha* as human being, from there after death it is born in the highest *Saṁyūtha* (*devabhava*) having *Mānuṣottarasara-pramāṇa*-length of life; having fallen from that celestial state of existence it is reborn in the fourth *Saṁjñīgarbha* as human being; from there immediately after death it is born in the middle *Saṁyūtha* (*devabhava*), having *Mānuṣottara-Sara-pramāṇa*-length of life; having fallen from that divine state of existence it is reborn in the fifth *Saṁjñīgarbha* as human being; from that state of existence it is reborn in the lower *Manuṣottara Saṁyūtha*, there

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 554.

having enjoyed the divine enjoyment, it is reborn from that celestial state in the sixth *Saṁjñīgarbha* as human being; from this state of existence it is born as god in the *Kalpa* called *Brahmaloka*, having the length of life of ten-*Sāgaropamas*, having fallen from there it is reborn as human being in the seventh *Saṁjñīgarbha*; after full course of pregnancy of nine months seven and a half nights and days it is born as a boy. In this process of *Saṁjñīgarbha* fourteen births are involved. Gośāla is said to have entered into these seven *Saṁjñīgarbhas* and seven *parivṛtya-parihāras* (re-animations) as already mentioned in connection with the account of his life.

Conception of Liberation

According to the doctrine of Ājīvikism as revealed in the *BhS* there is no short cut for a being to attain the final liberation without undergoing the process of so many births and rebirths till its *Karmas* get annihilated.

This conception of liberation in Ājīvikism as embodied in the *BhS* is also found in the Buddhist works where it is explained that there is no short-cut door to bliss without transmigration. Thus it is explained "Bījaka, wait on Destiny, whether (a man has) joy or sorrow, it is obtained through Destiny. All beings are purified through transmigration, (so) do not be eager for that which is to come."

"N' atthi dāraṁ sugatiyā Niyatiṁ kaṅkha Bījaka;
Sukhaṁ vā yadi vā dukkham Niyatiyā kira labbhati;
Saṁsārasuddhi sabbesaṁ mā turittho anāgate."[1]

Eight Finalities[2]

It is recorded in the *BhS* that Gośāla propounded the doctrine of eight lasts, viz. the last drink, the last song, the last dance, the last solicitation (or salutation), the last great tornado,

[1] *Jātaka*, VI, p. 229, Cf. Ime sattā. Saṁsāra Suddhikā; Jātaka, V, p. 228.
[2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 554.

the last sprinkling (*secanaka*) elephant, the last *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* and the last *Tīrthaṅkara* (i. e. Gaśāla himself) in the *Avasarpiṇī kāla*. In addition to these the *Ajīvika* leader preached the doctrine of four potables (drinks) and four Impotables (non-drinks) (cattāri pāṇagāiṁ and cattāri apāṇagāiṁ). They are as follows :—

Four Drinks—(1) *Goputthae* (*Goprṣṭha*= cow's urine), (2) *Hatthamaddiyae* (*hastamarditaka* = water soiled by hand), (3) *Ātavatattae* (*ātapatapta*=drink heated by the sunshine) and (4) *Silāpabbhatthae* (*Śilāprabhraṣṭa* = water dripped from a rock).

Four non-drinks

(1) *Thālapāṇaya* (*sthālapānaka* = water kept in wares like earthen jars etc., these cold and wet earthen pots are touched by hands, the water kept there-in is not drunk). (2) *Tayāpāṇaya* (*Tvak-pānaka* = juice squeezed out of unripe mango by putting it into the mouth, or out of the edible fruit of jujubee or young shoots of *darbha* grass, since its juice is not drunk), (3) *Simbalipāṇaya* (*Simbalipānaka* = water or juice chewed from the raw pulses under teeth, such as *Kalāya*, *Muṅga*, etc.) and (4) *Suddhapāṇaya* (*Śuddhapānaka* = the touch of limbs of dying monk by Pūrṇabhadra and Maṇibhadra with their cold and wet hands).

It is explained that if the dying monk on the last night of his full six months' penance, experiences (or submits to) the touch of the cold and wet hands of these two gods on his limbs, he binds *Karma* which turns into deadly poison, if he does not pay attention to it, fire gets generated in his body and it gets consumed by this fire, and he attains perfection and puts an end to all miseries.[1]

Initiation

The *BhS* throws some light upon the initiation of the *Ājīvika* monk by refering to the process of initiation, the observance of chastity, study and acquired knowledge of Gośāla in one of his former births as described by himself.[2]

[1] *Digha-Nikāya* (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* 162, translated in *Uvāsagadasāo*, appendix II, p. 21.

[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV. [3] *BhS*, 15, 1, 550.

Austerity

As regards the *Ājīvika* austerity the text gives some ideas about it by describing the practice of severe penance of Gośāla, raising his hands high in the sunshine, giving up six consecutive meals, living on a handful of lump of *kulmāṣa* (bean or rice gruel) and one sip of water in the initial stage of his asceticism. Thus he attained the faculty of condensed sufficient fiery energy at the end of six months.[1] He is also found to have performed the acts of austerities and meditation on the *Ātāpanabhūmi* during his stay in the premises of his female disciple, Hālāhalā, the potteress in the city of *Śrāvastī*.[2]

The evidences of the practice of austerities and meditation as revealed in the *BhS* are also fully corroborated by other Jaina[3] and Buddhist[4] works and other works[5] in details.

Thus the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* presents an account of their severe penances by describing the four kinds of their austerities, viz. *uggatava*, *ghoratava* (*ghoratapa*), *rasa-nijjuhaṇatā* (absention from liquids—rasa.. ghṛtādi) and *jihvendriya pratisaṁlīnatā* (indifference to pleasures of sense of taste).

The account of the practice of severe austerities by Bodhisattva born as an *Ājīvika*, in the peaceful atmosphere of a dense-forest throws light upon the nature of asceticism and meditation of this sect. According to the *Tamila Civañāna-cittiyāra* the *Ājīvika* doctrine ordains self-torturing asceticism to all souls as the road to spiritual liberation.

The evidences of the *Tittira Jātaka* suggest the practice of secret magical rites of a repulsive tantric type which is also implied by the last behaviour of Gośāla.[6]

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 545 2 *Ib*, 15, 1, 530 ; 546

3 *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, IV. 309 ; *Aupapātika Sūtra*.

4 *Lomahaṁsa Jātaka*, 1. p. 390, *Jāt.* 1. p. 493. Also see *Nigaṇṭha Jātaka* ; *Tittira Jātaka*-III pp. 541-2.

5 *Civañāna Cittiyāra* ; ed. Mudāliyar-p. 235. v. 1. ; Sugiura : 'Hindu-Logic as prescribed in China and Japan–p. 16, quoting Hyaku-ron,soi 22. Dr. Hoernle identifies the *Āhībikas* with the *Digambara* Jainas E.R.E. 1. p-269. 6 *BhS*, 15, 1, 553,

Customs

It is recorded in the *BhS* that the *Ājīvika* layman observed the principles of non-violence as approved by the *Nirgrantha* religion. They regarded their leader Gośāla as god and attended upon their parents and they were non-eaters (or takers) of five kinds of fruits, viz. *udumbara* (udumbara fruit), *vaṭa* (banian fruit), *vora* (jujube), satara (*añjīra*) fruit, *pilaṅkhu* (a kind of fruit) and renouncer of onion, garlic and bulbous roots. They passed their time by the occupations without castrating domestic cattle (cows), branding them and perforating their noses with the thought free from the act of killing moving beings.[1]

Difference between Ājīvikism and Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma

The fundamental difference between Ājīvikism and *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma* as recorded in the *BhS* lies in the doctrine of reanimation as propounded by Gośāla in opposition to the established theory of Lord Mahāvīra on the birth and rebirth of beings.

Besides, there were other religious disputes between the *Ājīvika Śramaṇopāsakas* and the *Nirgrantha Śramaṇopāsakas* over the observance of *Sāmāyika-vrata* and other vows. For example, it is stated that a *N. Śramaṇopāsaka* observing *Śīlavrata, Guṇa-vrata, Viramaṇavrata, Pratyākhyānavrata* and *Pauṣadhavrata* becomes free from the thought of attachment to the worldly objects, wife and wealth as a result of his performance of these vows.

The *N. Śramaṇopāsakas* practise the following vows, viz. renunciation of three kinds of acts of killing (to kill, to cause to kill and to approve to kill), that of telling lie ; that of sexual union, and that of possession together with their divisions and *pratikramaṇa* (self-analysis), retrace from the past acts, confession and repentance), stoppage of the present act and renouncement of the future act by mental, vocal and bodily activities.[2] But the *Ājīvika-Śramaṇopāsakas* do not observe them.

[1] *BhS*, 8, 5, 329. [2] *Ib*, 8, 5, 328-29.

These statements appear to be self-contradictory and suffer from the sectarian bias, for it has already been pointed out that the twelve *Ājīvika* laymen observed the principle of non-violence preached by *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma* by worshipping their *Arhat* as god, attending upon their parents, renouncing five kinds of fruits and vegetables containing germs of life and carrying on occupation without castrating domestic cattle (cows) perforating their noses, etc., with the thought free from the act of killing mobile beings,

These facts clearly show that the *Ājīvika* doctrine of reanimation or *Niyativāda*, determinism in another form, the denial of Lord Mahāvīra's discipleship by Gośāla and the laxity of morals[1] are the real causes of difference betwen Ājīvikism and *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma*. But one should be cautious to draw a conclusion from the statements which suffer from the sectarian bias, for the *BhS* and other Jaina texts and Buddhist works have revealed that Ājīvikism was based on the solid ground of the eight principles of causation.

EIGHTH SECTION

Other Schools and Sects

Besides the Ājīvikas, there existed other schools of thought and heterodox sects in the society as depicted in the *BhS*, such as, four heretical schools of *Kriyāvādins*, *Akriyāvādins*, *Ajñānavādins* & *Vinayavādins*,[2] the *Parivrājakas*, the *Vānaprasthas*, the *Carakas*, other *Tīrthikas*, the followers of Lord Pārśvanātha's order, those of Jamālī, etc.

Kriyāvādins

According to the doctrine of *Kriyāvāda* soul exists, acts and is affected by acts. The *Kriyāvādins* may be identified

[1] *Vide*, *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, J. S. II–267, for fourrestrictions.

[2] *BhS*, 30, 1, 824.

with the followers of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* systems along with the *Śramaṇa Nirgranthas*, for they admit the existence of soul and its action.

Akriyāvādins

They deny the existence of soul and its action as an agent and they may correspond to the Buddhists who believed in the doctrine of *Kṣaṇikavāda* (momentariness).

Ajñānavādins

They do not admit the importance of knowledge for attaining spiritual liberation, because many contradictory theories assert themselves in the system of knowledge to establish their views on the attainment of salvation.

Vinayavādins

The *Vinayavādins* observed the principle of reverence for all beings as the highest virtue to attain spiritual realization and perfection. The *Sūtra-Kṛtāṅga*[1] treats of these four schools and their systems of thought in details and mentions 180 schools of the *Kriyāvādins*, 84 schools of the *Akriyāvādins*, 67 of the *Ajñānavādins*, and 32 groups of the *Vinayavādins*. The text throws a welcome light upon the system of thought and practice of religion of the *Vinayavādins* by presenting two cases of the two *Vinayavādins*, namely, Tāmalī of *Tāmralipti* and Pūraṇa of *Bebhela Sanniveśa*.

Initiation

It is stated that Tāmalī got initiated by *Prāṇāmā pravrajya* (*pāṇāmāpavvajjā* = *dīkṣā*) with the permission of his friends, kinsmen, own people, brother-in-law, attendants and his first born son.

On the day of conclusion of his fast he begged alms of pure rice from the high, low and middle class families of the city of

[1] *Sūtra-Kṛtāṅga*, 1. 12 ; 1. 12. p. 208 ; 1. 12. p. 223 a ; II. 240 ; *Sū-Ṭī*. 1. 12. p. 208 a. See-12-5. 8 ; *Anu. Sū.* 20 (*Viruddhas*) ; *Sū. Ṭīkā*-1. 12 p. 209-1. 12. 2 ; *Sū. Ṭī.* 1, 12, p. 209 ; *Sū. Ṭī.* 1. 12. p. 209 a.

Tāmralipti and took that food after washing it with water twenty-one times. It is called '*Prāṇāmā—Pravrajyā*', because he, being initiated, saluted any one high or low, whomever and wherever he saw, whether he perceived (the image of) *Indra*, or *Skanda*, or *Rudra*, or *Śiva*, or *Vaiśramaṇa* (*Kuvera*), or *Āryā* (*Pārvatī*), or *Koṭṭa kiriyā* (*Caṇḍikā*), or a king, or a merchant, or a crow, or a dog, or a *pāṇa* (*Caṇḍāla*), or an honourable person.[1]

Tāmalī, having realized his shattered physical condition as a result of his practice of austerity left this worldly life by observing the *pādapopagamana saṁlekhanā tapa*[2] like Skandaka.

Pūraṇa of *Bebhela Sanniveśa*[3], the other *Vinayavādin* got initiated by *Dānāmā Pravrajyā* to monkhood. According to this system he divided his alms into four parts—the first portion of which was given to the travellers, the second to the crows and dogs, the third to the fish and tortoise and the remaining part was kept for his use. For this reason it is called *Dānāmā Pravrajayā*. Pūraṇa also left the mundane world by observing the austerity of *Saṁlekhanā* like Tāmalī.

The evidences of the existence of the *Vinayavādins* are also found in other Jaina texts.[4]

Parivrājakas[5]

The *Parivrājakas* were the wandering teachers who moved in a group with the object of mutual discussion on ethical and philosophical subjects of studies. They also resided sometimes in monasteries (*maṭha*) which were out of bounds for women according to the rule of their monastic order. It is stated in the *BhS* that Skandaka a *Parivrājaka* was profoundly learned in the hidden knowledge of the four Vedas—*Ṛig.*, *Yaju.*, *Sāma.*, *Atharvan*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, *Nighaṇṭu*, *Saṣṭhitantra* (*Kāpilaśāstra*), *Saṅkhyāna* (Mathematics), *Sikṣā* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ritual), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *Chanda* (Metre), *Nirukta* (Exegesis),

[1] *BhS*, 3, 1, 134. [2] *Ib*, 3, 1, 135. [3] *Ib*, 3, 2, 144.
[4] See *Ovāiya Suya*, 38, p. 169; *Nāyā Ti*. 15- p. 194-a.
[5] *BhS*, 2, 1, 90. 11, 12, 436; 14, 8, 529-30.

Jyotiṣāmayana (Astronomy and Astrology), *Naya* (Logic) and Philosophy of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Parivrājakas*.[1]

The monks of this sect used the following articles in their ascetic life, viz. *Tridaṇḍa* (three staves) *Kuṇḍikā* (*Kamaṇḍalu* = water-pot) *Kañcuika* (*Rudrākṣamālā*-rosary), *Karoṭikā* (earthen vessel), *Bhrśikā* (a grass seat), *Keśyrikā* (sweeping duster), *Saḍnālaka* (teapoy), *Aṅkuśa* (axe or hook), *Pavitraka* (ring), *Gantrikā* (a rosary) *Kalāoikā* (fore-arm-ornament), *Chatra* (umbrella), *Upānaha* (shoes), *Pādukā*, (wooden sandals), *Dhātu-raktavastra* (red-coloured garment)![2]

Practice of Asceticism

Poggala (Pudgala), another *Parivrājaka*[3] is said to have practised the unbroken act of *Saṣṭha-Saṣṭha-tapa* (austerity), residing at a near distance of the *Śaṁkhavana Caitya* in the city of *Ālabhikā*, while the third *Parivrājaka*, Ammaḍa[4] by name lived with a retinue of his seven hundred followers in the city of *Kāmpilyapura* by peforming acts of penance. A detailed treatment of the account of the monastic life of Ammaḍa and his disciples is found in the *Aupapātika Sūtra*.[5].

Thus it is stated there that this *Parivrājaka* leader practised austerity by observing *ṣaṣṭha-ṣaṣṭha* tast, raising his arms high in the sunshine to absorb it. He did not take food prepared, or brought, or earmarked for him, or that kept for famine-striken people or rich men, nor did he take roots, bulbous fruits, seeds, and green vegetables. His followers begged alms from hundred houses (*gharasae*)[6].

According to the evidence of the text, the *Parivrājaka* doctrine consisted of the following principles, viz. charity, (*dāna-dharma*), purity (*śaucadharma*), and bath at holy places (*tīrthā-bhiṣeka*). It was their faith and practice to purify the impure body by using mud on it and then washing it with water and to take bath at the holy places with the hope and belief of

1, 2 *BhS*, 2, 1, 90. 3 *Ib*, 11, 12, 436. 4 *Ib*, 14, 8, 529-30.
5 *Aupapātika*, *Sūtra*, p. 27-8 *Sū*. 59 f. 6 *BhS*, 14, 8, 530.

attaining heaven. "Tanuaṁ udaeṇa ya maṭṭiāe pakkhāliyaṁ sui bhavati."

They observed the rules of not using any kind of conveyances in travelling, such as, cart or a litter, etc., non-entering a lake or a river for bathing, nor riding on a horse or an elephant, nor visiting (i.e. attending) the dancing performance or that of a bard, etc.

Vānaprastha Tāpasas (Forest recluses)[1]

As already mentioned in the second section of the fourth chapter in connection with the topic 'third stage of life,' a large number of *Vānaprastha-tāpasas* (forest recluses) lived in the society of the *BhS* by practising different kinds of austerities on the bank of the Ganges. They are as follows:

(1) *Hottiyā* (*Agnihotrikas* = offerers of fire-sacrifice), (2) *Kottiyā* (*Bhūmiśāyikas* = who slept on the ground), (3) *Pottiyā* (*Vastradhāriṇaḥ* = wearers of clothes), (4) *Jannaī* (*Yajña-yajinaḥ* = performers of sacrifice), (5) *Saḍḍhaī* (*Śrāddhāka* = Devotional class of ascetics), (6) *Thālaī* (*Gṛhītabhāṇḍa* = carriers of all their belongings), (7) *Huṁva-uṭṭiā* (*Kuṇḍika-Śramaṇādi* = those who carried, a vessel with them), (8) *Daṁtukkhaliyā*[2] (*Phalabhojinaḥ* = fruit eaters using teeth as mortar), (9) *Ummajjakā* (*Unmajjakā* = They bathed by only a dip into water), (10) *Sammajjakā* (They bathed without dipping into water), (11) *Nimmajjakā* (They remained in the water only for a short while), (12) *Saṁpakkhālā* (They rubbed and cleansed their bodies with mud), (13) *Dāhiṇa-kūlakā* (They dwelt only on the south bank of the Ganges), (14) *Uttarakūlakā* (They dwelt only on the north bank of it), (15) *Śaṁkhadhamakā* (They used to take their meals after blowing a conch-shell to keep the people away), (16) *Kūladhamakā* (They blew a conch-shell on the river bank to keep the people away at the time of taking their meal), (17) *Mṛgalubdhakā* (They killed

[1] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417 ff.

[2] The *Rāmāyaṇa* also refers to the *Dantilukhaliṁ* and *Unmajjaka* hermits III, 6.3; see also *Digh.* Com. Vol. 1— p. 270.

animals), (18) *Hastitāpasas* (They killed an elephant with arrows and lived on its flesh for a long time. According to their faith they committed one sin only by killing an elephant in a year or so, their sinful deed was atoned by the effect of the merit acquired by them through the observance of non-violence to other beings during this period).[1] (19) *Uddaṇḍagā* (They always walked about with their staff raised high and they are also referred to in the *Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi*[1] along with *Boḍiya* and *Sasarakkha* ascetics), 20) *Jalābhiṣeka-kiḍhinagātrā* (They did not take food by taking bath), (21) *Ambuvāsinas* (They lived in water), (22) *Vāyuvāsinas* (They lived in or on air), (23) *Jalavāsinas* (They submerged themselves in water), (24) *Celavāsinas* or *Velavāsinas* (They lived on the sea-coast), (25) *Ambubhakṣiṇas* (They lived by drinking water), (26) *Vāya* (or *u*)-*bhakṣiṇas* (They lived by inhaling air), (27) *Śaivālabhakṣiṇas* (They lived by eating moss),[2] (28) *Mūlāhārā* (They lived on roots of trees), (29) *Kandāhārā* (They lived on bulbous roots), (30) *Patrāhārā* (They lived on leaves), (31) *Puṣpāhārā* (They lived on flowers), (32) *Phalāhārā* (Those who lived on fruits), (33) *Bījāhārā* (They lived on seeds), (34) *Parisaḍiya-kaṁdamūlapāṁḍupatrapuṣpaphalāhārā* (They lived on rotten roots, bulbous roots, skin, leaves, flowers and fruits[4]), (35) *Rukkhamūliyā* (They lived under trees), (36) *Vālavāsinas* or *Vilavāsinas* (They lived in caves), (37) *Vakkavāsinas* (They put on bark-cloth), (38) *Disāpokkhiyā* (They sanctified all sides by sprinkling water and then collected flowers and fruits),

These *Vānaprastha tāpasas* passed time by making their souls burnt (i.e. purified) by the heat of five fires of austerity (*paṁcaggitavehiṁ*) like charcoal or cooked as charcoal, perched in a pan and burnt as fire-wood.[5]

[1] See *Sūyagaḍanga*. II, 6 (comm.), they appear as Buddhists; refer also to *Lalitavistara*-p. 248 for *Hastivrata* ascetics.

[2] The *Rāmāyana* III. 2, 13. refers to Māṇḍakarṇī, a hermit who lived on air; also see *Mahābhārata*, 1. 96-42.

[3] *Cf. Lalitavistara* p. 248.

[4] *Cf. Dīgha-Nikāya*—1. pp. 166 f.

[5] *Bhs*. 11, 9, 417-18.

These ascetics also find mention in other Jaina texts.[1] A full account of the system of *Vānaprastha* asceticism, particularly that of the *Diśāprokṣiṇa* forest recluse as practised by the royal sage Śiva, has already been given in the second section of the fourth chapter in connection with the third stage of life.

Carakas

The *Carakas* of the *BhS*[2] also figure in the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*[3] and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*[4] as wandering monks. It is stated in the *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra* that these ascetics, while moving in group begged alms (*Dhāṭibāhakā*) or moved on, while taking food (*Dhāṭibhaikṣopajīvinaśtridaṇḍinas*). They wore loin cloth (*kacchaṭaka*) and they are said to have been the sons of Kapila Muni (Kapilamunisūnavo).[5] It is recorded in the *Āvaśyaka Ṭīkā*[6] that they worshipped 'Skanda' and other dieties by burning incense in temples, after having risen early in the morning and besmeared them.

Other Tīrthikas

It appears from the *BhS* that other *Tīrthikas* (*Anya-yūthikas*) were one of the rival sects of the *Nirgranthas*, but many of them were converted by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma* and absorbed into his order. They cannot be identified with certainty. Among them the following appear in this canonical work, namely Kālodāyin, Selodāyin, Sevālodāyin, Udaya, Namudaya,* Selavālaya, Saṁkhavālaya and Suhatthi the householder.[7]

The other *Tīrthikas* held different thoughts and ideas on religious and philosophical problems contrary to those of *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma* preached by Mahāvīra. For

[1] *Nirayā*-3. pp. 39 ff. (Somila); *Āva. Cū.* p. 457 (king Prasannacandra and his queen).
[2] *BhS*, 1, 2, 25. [3] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, 20 ; *Nāyā-Ṭī.* 15.
[4] Vedic Index-1. p. 256.
[5] *Paṇṇa Ṭī.*—II, 20 p. 405 ; of *Āva-Cū.* p. 265.
[6] *Āva Ṭī*—p. 87. [7] *BhS*, 7, 10, 305.
*Naṃudaya seems to have been an Ājīvikopāsaka, Editor.

example, they maintained that *Jīva* (soul) of the being (*dehī*) existing in the acts of killing, telling lie upto wrong attitude of mind (i. e. eighteen sinful acts) was other than the soul and *Jīvātmā* was another, etc.[1]

Followers of Lord Pārśvanātha's order

There existed a number of monks of Lord Pārśvanātha's order following *Cāturyāma Dharma* during the time of Lord Mahāvīra who absorbed them into his order by converting them to his doctrine of *Pañcamahāvratas* (five great vows). Among them Kālāsavesiyaputta[2] Gāṅgeya[3], Kāliyaputta, Mehila, Ānandarakṣita, Kāsava, Keśīsvāmin[4] and others find mention as wandering teachers preaching the religion of *Cāturyāma* to the people.

Dissension and First Schism in the Nirgrantha Order led by Jamālī

The *BhS* throws an important light upon the first schism in the *Nirgrantha* order and the birth of Jamālī's sect out of his doctrinal difference with his Guru, Lord Mahāvīra in his life time. During his stay together with five hundred followers at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* in *Śrāvastī*, Jamālī fell ill and asked for a bed from them. He thought that he could not yet use this bed which was being prepared, so was action, when it was being done, it was not done. But Lord Mahāvīra explained that all actions, as soon as they were begun, were as good as already done. This doubt led the prince-ascetic to entertain ideas different from that of the community and finally this doctrinal difference resulted in the first schism led by Jamālī[5] in the *Nirgrantha* order.

1 *BhS*, 7, 2, 597. 2 *Ib*, 1, 9, 75. 3 *Ib*, 9, 32, 371.
4 *Ib*, 2, 5, 110. 5 *Ib*, 9, 33, 386-7.

NINTH SECTION

Deities

The *BhS* provides a list of the Brāhmaṇical deities worshipped by the people of its society who celebrated festivals in their honour, as already pointed out in connection with the topic Manners and Customs' in the eighth section of the fourth chapter on 'Social conditions'. They are as follows :—

Indra, Skanda, Mukunda, Nāga, Yakṣa, Bhūta,[1] *Rudra, Śiva, Ajjā* (*Pārvatī*, the consort of *Śiva*),[2] *Koṭṭakiriyā, Soma* (the lord of the Eastern quarter), *Yama* (the lord of the Southern quarter) *Varuṇa* (the lord of the Western quarter), and *Vaiśramaṇa* (the lord of the Northern quarter),[3] *Vaiśavānara* (the fire-god),[4] *Pūrṇabhadra* and *Māṇibhadra*, the two *Ājīvika* gods,[5] the goddesses—*Śrī* (the goddess of Luck), *Hrī* (the goddess of Modesty), *Dhṛti* (the goddess of resolution or satisfaction), *Kīrti* (the goddess of fame), *Buddhi* (the goddess of learning or intelligence) and *Lakṣmī* (the goddess of wealth).[6]

There was the prevalence of image worship of gods and goddesses, as it is revealed by the fact of the salutation and worship to the images of *Indra, Skanda, Rudra, Śiva* and *Ajjā*[7] (*Āryā, Pārvatī* or *Caṇḍikā*), *Koṭṭakiriyā* (the *Mahiṣāsuravadhikā*), made by Tāmalī of *Tāmralipti*, while practising the *Prāṇāma* austerity and that of the presentation of marriage gifts of the images of the female deities *Śrī, Hrī, Dhṛti, Kīrti, Buddhi* and *Lakṣmī*,[8] to the eight wives of prince Mahābala by his father, king Bala of *Hastināpura* for the purpose of their worship.

It appears from the reference to these goddesses that the trend of the worship changed from the abstract conception of the five or six attributes or virtues to their personifications from the Vedic period up to that of the *BhS*, as they are typically Vedic goddesses.

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 383 ; 3, 1, 134. [2] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134.
[3] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417. [4] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134 ; 11, 9, 417. [5] *Ib*, 15, 1, 550.
[6] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430. [7] *Ib*, 3, 1, 134. [8] *Ib*, 11, 11, 430.

In the Buddhist *Jātakas*[1] there appear the four Indian graces, viz. *Āśā* (hope), *Saddhā* (faith), *Siri* (Luck) and *Hri* (Modesty) as the four daughters of *Sakka* (*Śakra*), the king of gods.

Vedic gods :

The Vedic gods, such as, *Indra, Varuṇa, Agni* (*Vaiśvānara*), etc., appear as the personalities and characters endowed with the element of mental conditions, joys, and sorrows, richness, power and prosperity like the human beings, having their original character as hypostatic powers of Nature. But they are depicted as impersonal in nature, for the powers of Nature, such as, the storm, the rain, the thunder, the fire, the water, etc., are still closely associated with them, as it is evidenced by the fact revealed in their characters, e. g. *Indra* is the possessor of the thunder bolt,[2] *Vaiśvānara* is that of fire,[3] *Varuṇa* is that of water,[4] etc.

The evidences of the plurality of gods and goddesses, the worship of demons (*Yakṣa, Bhūtas*), trees, etc., show the faith of the people of its society in polytheism and many obscure cults of the primitive stage of belief which was the fountain-head of many cults emerged in course of the religious evolution in India.

TENTH SECTION.

Supernatural powers of the houseless Monks & Supernatural Elements

Supernatural power of the houseless monks

The *BhS* gives some ideas about the supernatural powers of the houseless monks by introducing the miraculous things demonstrated by them. It is stated that some of the houseless monks, meditating on soul perceive the goddess and a vehicle,

[1] *Jātaka*, V. p. 393 f. [2] *BhS*, 3, 2, 145 (*Vajjaṣ*).
[3,4] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

some perceive the vehicle but not the god and goddess; some perceive both and some do not perceive any of them at all by the process of *Vaikriya-Samudghāta* (Process of expansion of body and soul).[1]

It is further recorded that a houseless monk can fly into the sky by assuming the form of a man with a sword and a shield in hand, etc., but he did not assume nor does nor will do[2] it. He can go many *Yojanas* by assuming many forms of a horse by his own strength, self-action and self-application. But he is not certainly the horse.[3]

The text throws further light upon the supernatural powers of the monks by explaining *Cāraṇā*[4] (a faculty of movement) possessed by them and classifying it into two kinds, viz., *Vidyā-cāraṇā* and *Jaṅghācāraṇā*. The faculty of *Vidyācaraṇā* is born in a monk as a result of his practice of consecutive *Saṣṭha-tapa-karma* with the attainment of *Uttaraguṇalabdhi* (faculty) and that of the learning of the *Pūrvagata Śruta*, i. e. the tenth *Pūrva*. By the acquired power of the faculty of *Vidyācāraṇā* he may fly to different places and return to his original place within the twinkling of an eye. The faculty of *Jaṅghācāraṇā* of a monk, meditating on the self is born in him as a result of his consecutive *Aṣṭama-Aṣṭama-tapa-karma*. By the power of this faculty of *Jaṅghācāraṇā* he may go to the horizontal and upward directions and return to his original place within an instant.

Supernatural Elements

In the *BhS* the author has introduced some supernatural elements to teach the law of morality to the people in general for their proper guidance and conduct in following the path of religion and attaining spiritual realization by creating the fear of sin (*pāpa*), hells and the sufferings of infernal beings as the consequences of their former sinful acts and by holding before them a picture of heaven, an abode of enjoyment and happiness

1 *BhS*, 3, 4, 156.
2 *Ib.*, 3, 5, 161.
3 *Ib.*, 13, 9, 498.
4 *Ib.*, 20, 9, 681-85.

of gods and goddesses as the results of their meritorious acts in the previous births.

It is explained that the bondage of *Ayuṣkarma* (age-determining *karma*) of infernal beings caused by the result of a great amount of act of killing and possession, meat-eating, act of killing five-sensed beings and the rise of infernal *āyuṣ-kārmaṇaśarīra-prayoga-nāmakarma* (the *karmabandha* caused by the action of the infernal *kārmaṇaśarīra*). While that of celestial *āyuṣ-kārmaṇa-śarīra-prayoga* is effected by the act of self-control with attachment, i.e. self-control-cum-not-self-control, the unsaintly austerity (*bāla-tapakarma*), the dissociation of *karma* with *akāma* (without internal self exertion) and the act of bearing the suffering or enduring from the unfulfilled desire, troubles like hunger, etc., and the rise of the celestial *āyuṣkārmaṇa-śarīra prayoga-nāmakarma*.[1]

Infernal beings[2]

The infernal beings are deformed evil beings of the third sex, having a fine transformation body.[3] They suffer from various kinds of physical pains, such as, cold, hunger, thirst, etc., in hells, They who are consumed by passions and hatred, torment one another[4] with hellish thought, feeling and action. They enter into this infernal state of existence through *upapāta* (manifestation) as a result of their *karmas* and this state comes to an end with the decay of their span of life.

The infernal beings are endowed with cognition—*mati*,-*śruta-avadhi-jñāna* or *ajñāna* (as the case may be); intuition—*cakṣu-acakṣudarśana*; activities—4 mental, 4 vocal and *vaikriya*, *vaikriya-miśra* and *kārmaṇa-kāya* (physical) activities;[5] conditions of soul—black, dark, blue and grey (*leśyās*),[6] attitudes of mind—perverted (*mithyātva*), mixed (*mithyātva samyaktva*), right (*samyaktva*) attitude;[7] and conduct (*cāritra*) not self-discipline. They dwell in the numerous hells of the seven successive descending lower regions of the Universe, viz. *Ratnaprabhā* upto *Tamas-tamaḥ-prabhā*.[8]

1 *BhS.*, 8, 9, 351.
2 *Ib.*, 15, 1, 470-71.
3 *Ib*, 1, 5, 46; 5, 6, 209.
4 *Ib*, 1, 2, 21; 5, 9, 224.
5,7 *Ib*, 1, 5, 46.
6 *Ib*, 1, 5, 43.

The infernal state of existence has been dealt with in the *BhS* from different aspects, such as, their birth[1] and death,[2] etc.[3]

Celestial beings

The celestial beings are the gods and goddesses endowed with transformation bodies, a great longevity of life in comparison with that of the worldly beings, and great prosperity and power, splendour, enjoyment and happiness during their state of existence in heaven. With the exhaustion of *Devāyus* (celestial span of life) they fall from the heaven and are reborn as human beings. Like the worldly human beings, there are stated to be developed and undeveloped gods (i. e. those whose sense-organs are fully developed and those whose sense-organs are not fully developed).[4]

They are possessed of cognitions—*mati,-śruta,-avadhi-jñāna* or *ajñāna* (as the case may be); intuitions—*cakṣur-acakṣur-avadhi-darśana*; activities—4 mental, and 4 vocal activities and *vaikriya* (transformation); *vaikriya-miśra* and *kārmaṇakāyayoga*; 6 *leśyās* (with some difference among different classes of gods); attitudes of mind—perverted (*mithyātva*), *sāsādanā-samyaktva* (mixed) and right attitude (*samyaktva*); and conduct—not-self-control (*no-saṁyata*).

They are reborn as human beings or as animals. They do not find celestial and infernal states of existence (*gati*), *ānupūrvī*, *āyuṣ*, transformation—body and limbs, translocation—body and limbs, undeveloped, common body, two to four-sensed lower animal's *āyuṣ-karma*, fine body.

Classification of Gods

Gods are classified into four species, viz. *Bhavanavāsīs* (or *patis*), *Vāṇavyantaras*, *Jyotiṣkas* and *Vaimānikas*.[5] The *Bhavanavāsīs* who are the lowest of them are divided into ten classes, viz. *Asurakumāra*, *Nāgakumāra*, *Vidyut-kumāra*, *Suparṇa-kumāra*,

[1] *BhS*, 26, 8, 805 (birth); 20, 10, 685. [2] *Ib*, 20, 10, 687.
[3,4] *Ib*, 1, 7, 57, 58, 59.
[5] *Ib*, 2, 7, 115; 5, 9, 227; 13, 2, 473.

Agni-Kumāra Vāyu-kumāra, Stanita-kumāra, Udadhi-kumāra, Dvīpa-kumara and *Dik-Kumāra.*[1]

The *Asura-kumāra* gods live in the upper part of *Ratnaprabhā,* while the other *Bhavanavāsī* gods dwell in the earth.[2] They are like princes in stature and appearance, power, prosperity and splendour and enjoyment & happiness.

It is stated that *Camara-Asurendra* rules over 40 lakhs heavenly palaces, 64 thousand *Sāmānika* gods, 33 lakhs *Trāyastrimśaka* gods and 256,000 body guards[3] He is capable to assume various shapes with his divine power, such as, the figure of *Asura-kumāra*-gods, etc.[4] Two *Indras* rule over each class of these *Bhavanavāsī*-gods with their respective *Lokapālas* in the following order—*Camara* and *Bali* rule over the *Asurakumāras* ; *Dharaṇa* and *Bhūtānanda* over the *Nāga-kumāras* ; *Venudeva* and *Venudāli* over the *Suparṇa-Kumāras*; *Harikānta* and *Harisaha* over the *Vidyut-Kumāras* ; *Agni-Simha* and *Agnimānava* over the *Agnikumāras* ; *Pūraṇa* and *Viśiṣṭha* over the *Dvīpakumāras*; *Jalakānta* and *Jalaprabha* over *Udadhi-Kumāras* ; *Amitagati* and *Amitavāhana* over the *Dik-Kumāras*; *Velamva* and *Prabhañjana* over the *Vāyu-Kumāras* ; *Ghoṣa* and *Mahāghoṣa* over *Stanita-Kumarās* respectively.[5]

Their sexual desire is satisfied by coition.[6] They are endowed with black, dark, blue, grey and red conditions of soul.[7]

Vyantaras[8]

The *Vyantara* gods are divided into eight classes, viz. *Kinnara, Kimpuruṣa, Mahoraga, Gandharva, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Bhūta* and *Piśāca.*[9] They live in all the three worlds. Each of these classes has two overlords in the following order. *Kāla* and *Mahākāla* are two overlords of the *Piśāca-Kumāras*. *Surūpa* and *Pratirūpa* are those of the *Bhūtas* ; *Pūrṇabhadra* and *Maṇibhadra*

[1] *BhS*, 13, 2, 473. [2] *Ib*, 2, 7, 115 ; 3, 2, 142.
[3] *Ib*, 3, 6, 164. [4] *Ib*, 3, 1, 126.
[5] *Ib*, 3, 8, 169. [6] *Ib*, 2, 10, 82
[7] *Ib*, 16, (11-12), 590. [8] *Ib*, 2, 7, 115. [9] *Ib*, 3, 8, 169.

are those of the *Yakṣas*; *Bhīma* and *Mahābhīma* are those of *Rākṣasas*; *Kinnara* and *Kiṁpuruṣa* are those of the *Kinnaras*; *Satpuruṣa* and *Mahāpuruṣa* are those of *Kiṁpuruṣas*, *Atikāya* and *Mahākāya* are those of the *Mahoragas*; and *Gītarati* and *Gītayaśa* are those of the *Gandhakāyas* or (*Gandharvas*)[1]. *Pūrṇabhadra* and *Māṇibhadra* are also mentioned as the *Ājīvika* gods.[2] Their sexual desire, conditions of soul and *karman* are like those of the *Bhavanavāsī* gods.

Jyotiṣkas

The *Jyotiṣkas* consist of five classes of gods, viz. suns, moons, planets, *Nakṣatras* and fixed stars. Two gods rule over them viz. the moon and the sun.[3] They have been dealt with in the sixth chapter in connection with the topic 'Astronomy'.

Vaimānikas[4]

There are stated to be two classes of the *Vaimānikas*, viz. *Kalpopapannas* (residents of *kalpas*) and *Kalpātītas* (abodeless). The first group lives in the twelve *Kalpas*, viz. *Saudharma* upto *Acyutakalpa* as mentioned in the second section of the ninth chapter. The duration of life power, enjoyment, happiness, splendour, purity of the *leśyās*, strength of the senses, the sphere of activity of the *avadhi-jñāna* of the resident gods of each *Kalpa*, is increasing in each case, but the circumference of sphere of their travelling, the size of body, the possession and pride are growing less. There are different grades of these gods. One *Indra* rules over each of the group of these gods, for instance, *Śakra*, rules over *Saudharma-Kalpa* and *Īśāna*[5] over *Aiśānakalpa*.

Kalpātīta

The *Kalpātītas* are the gradeless gods having auspicious *leśyās* but no carnal desire in the slightest degree. They are

[1] *BhS*, 3, 8, 169.
[2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 554.
[3] *Ib*, 3, 8, 169; 17, 7, 473.
[4] *Ib*, 2, 7, 115.
[5] *Ib*, 3, 1, 131.

classified into two divisions, viz. *Graiveyaka* and *Anuttara* gods and sub-divided into different groups. The *Graiveyakas* are stated to be nine classes, viz. *Sudarśana, Supratibandha, Manorama, Sarvabhadra, Suviśāla, Somanasa, Sumaṅkasa, Priyaṁkara* and *Nandīkara*. The *Anuttara* gods are classified into five groups, viz. *Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta, Aparājita* and *Sarvārthasiddha*. They are endowed with *Samyagdṛṣṭi* and affected by the fourth stage of spiritual development. The first four classes undergo two births at the utmost and the fifth is born once more, then they attain liberation.

EIGHTH CHAPTER

History

FIRST SECTION

Life of Lord Mahāvīra as depicted in the BhS

The *BhS*, throws a welcome light upon various aspects of the history of its period, particularly the development of men and the society as revealed in its scattered evidences.

The political and social, economic and educational, and religious aspects of it have already been dealt with in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh chapters respectively, while the evolution of philosophical thought will be discussed later on. Here an attempt will be made and devoted only to the study of the development of personalities like Lord Mahāvīra and others, and that of the historical bearings of kings, clans and tribes during that period.

Life of Mahāvīra as depicted in the BhS

In the *BhS* Lord Mahāvīra appears as a great ascetic, a teacher, a philosopher, a religious reformer and the last of the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras*[1] wandering with the retinue of his monk-disciples from village to village, city to city throughout North India extending from Eastern Bihar upto the united kingdom of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, and preaching religion to the people of all social grades belonging to heterogeneous faiths, expounding and interpreting, developing and systematizing the metaphysical aspects of the *Nirgrantha* religion by refuting the arguments of his own followers and those of the other sects, and of the people at large on the religious and abstruse philosophical doctrines through his holy teachings partly in the form of questions and

[1] *BhS*, 20, 8, 677.

answers, partly in that of dialogues, legends, numerous parables. familiar similes, analogies and incidents of their daily lives.

Here he is found to have developed and systematized the fundamental principles of the doctrines of Jainism laid down by his predecessors on a firm ground by making some improvements on them, as their moral precepts demanded a deeper metaphysical foundation necessitated by the religious conditions of his time.

It is revealed in the question of Keśī put to Gautama Indrabhūti as recorded in the Jaina Sūtras[1] that there were no fundamental differences between the Laws preached by Lord Pārśvanātha and Lord Mahāvīra, because both of them pursued the same end. So the development of the metaphysical side of *Nirgrantha* religion was a historical necessity due to the existence of other strong oppositions of heterodox religious sects having different faiths, such as, Brāhmaṇism, Ājīvikism, those of the *Carakas*, *Parivrājakas*, *Vānaprasthas*, other *Tīrthikas*, etc., and the followers of Lord Pārśvanātha, and the first schism led by Jamālī, his own disciple.

In such a condition of religious firmament Lord Mahāvīra reformed and consolidated the whole *Nirgrantha Saṅgha* on a solid ground of metaphysical principles by absorbing the followers of Lord Pārśvanātha and strengthened it by converting, initiating, and admitting those of the other sects and the common people to his order.

In this respect he only followed in the foot steps of Lord Pārśvanātha and erected a great edifice of *Nirgrantha* religion on the foundation laid by his great predecessor.

He persisted in carrying out his mission with best effort, attention and undaunted courage against a heavy opposition. He brought it to a successful conclusion, and passed away with glory, entrusting his work to be continued by his devoted followers to perfection.

[1] S. B. E. Vol. XIV. p. 122, Pt. II. Jacobi's Jaina Sūtras.

In the *BhS* there is presented such a vivid picture of his life and work, his association with his disciples, contemporaries, his miraculous powers and magnificent personality.

Parentage of Lord Mahāvīra

The text throws a unique light upon the parentage of Lord Mahāvīra as revealed in course of his sermons delivered at the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* and *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma* in the assembly of Ṛṣabhadatta, his wife Devānandā, Gautama Indrabhūti and others.

On the first sight of Devānandā at the Master just after her arrival at this *Caitya*, together with her husband from their house, milk gushed forth from her breast and she stood gazing at him with unwinking eyes.

Having observed these striking physical and mental conditions of Devānandā, Gautama Indrabhūti, the first disciple of Lord Mahāvīra requested his Guru to explain the cause of the flow of milk from her breast.

In that great assembly of his followers the Master made the sensational revelation of the incident of his birth in the *Brāhmaṇa* family of Ṛṣabhadatta and Devānandā and told Gautama Indrabhūti and others thus, "surely Goyamā, Devānandā is my mother, I am the son of Devānandā, the *Brāhmaṇī*, then that Devānandā......having the flow of milk from her breast and being overwhelmed with joy stands gazing at me due to the attachment for the former son."[1]

Now this incident of the flowing of milk from her breast on the sight of her former son reveals the natural human trait of a mother for her son and gives a new turn to his birth-story and parentage.

This fact leads one to think fresh and to examine the account of the transfer of his embryo from the womb of Devānandā to that of Triśalā, the *Kṣatriyāṇī* and vice versa,

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 381.

caused by the God, *Indra* through *Harinegameṣī*, as it was not desirable that an *Arhat* or a *Cakravarttin* or a *Baladeva* or a *Vāsudeva* or a *Tīrthaṅkara* should be born in a *Brāhmaṇa* family or a poor family.[1]

The echoes of the same story of the transfer of the embryo as recorded in the *Kalpa Sūtra*[2] is also heard in the *BhS* in connection with the holy teachings of the Master on the function of *Harinegameṣī*.[3]

In this connection it should be observed that Lord Mahāvīra is attributed with the epithets '*Kāsavā*'[4] (*Kāśyapa*), '*Samaṇa*' '*Nigaṇṭhanāta* (or *nāya*) *putta*' (*Śramaṇa Nirgrantha-jñātṛputra*)[5] by which he was also known to the Buddhists[6] of his time.

The epithet '*Nāyaputta*' denotes that he was the scion of the *Nāya-Nāta* or *Jñātṛ* clan of the *Kṣatriyas*, just as Lord Buddha was known by the epithet '*Śākyaputra*', for he was a son of the *Śākya* clan, while the attributive title '*Kāsavā*' signifies that he belonged to the *Kāśyapagotra*.

Thus one evidence of the *BhS* reveals that Lord Mahāvīra was born in the *Brāhmaṇa* family of Ṛṣabhadatta of *Brāhmaṇa-kuṇḍagrāma*, while the other shows that he belonged to the *Jñātṛ* clan of the *Kṣatriyas*' and the third one suggests the transfer of his embryo from the womb of Devānandā, to that of Triśalā, the wife of king Siddhārtha belonging to that clan, as it is recorded in the *Kalpa Sūtra*.[7]

But the *Digambara* tradition[8] does not believe in the story of the removal of his embryo by *Harinegameṣī* and tells that he was born in the *Jñātṛ Kṣatriya* family of king Siddhārtha.

[1] *Kalpa Sūtrā* 17. [2] *Ib*, 28. [3] *BhS*, 5, 1, 187.
[4] *Ib*, 15, 1, 540. [5] *Ib*., 15, 1, 547.
[6] Dialogues of the Buddha S. B. E. II. p. 60, (*Sāmaññaphala*).
[7] *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 28.
[8] *Apabhraṁśa Mahāpurāṇa-Sandhi* 95-102 (Life of Mahāvīra).

Lord Mahāvīra was also known to the Buddhist works as *Nigantha Nātaputta*[1] but they do not explain why he was attributed with the name '*Nātaputta*'.

It is apparently clear from the study of these conflicting evidences of the *BhS* and the other sources that the Master belonged to the *Jñātkṛa Kṣatriya* clan. But the solution of the problem of his parentage hinges upon the reconciliation of the evidences of his *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kṣatriya* origins, as recorded in the *BhS* and the *Kalpa Sūtra* respectively.

So there are two traditions of his birth, running side by side in the *Śvetāmbara* Canons. It may be an effort of some authors to reconcile these conflicting traditions by introducing the story of the transfer of the embryo and tracing the origin of Lord Mahāvīra to a *Brāhmaṇa* family in later times when the social distinction and rigidity between the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kṣatriya* castes became well-marked.

Taking the facts of Nature into consideration, several explanations to the problem of the parentage of the Master are possible to be made in this regard.

It may be associated with the Kṛṣṇa-legend to magnify his personality, as recorded in the *Purāṇa*[2] that Lord Kṛṣṇa, though born of Devakī, was transferred by Vāsudeva to the family of Nanda and Yaśodā, just after the moment of his birth to be brought up there, having apprehended the danger of the destruction of his life by Kaṁsa.

The views of some scholars[3] that Lord Mahāvīra was adopted by the childless Triśalā as son do not agree with the fact, because he had his eldest brother named Nandīvarddhana.[4]

[1] *Digha Nikāya*, 1. pp. 47 Foll; *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*; *Sāmagāma Sutta*, M. N. II, pp. 243, Foll: Vinaya texts, S. B. E. Vol. XVII, pp. 108, Foll.

[2] *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, pt. II, 3rd *Adhyāya*, 10th *Skandha*, vv. 48-53, pp. 137-39.

[3] Mrs. Stevenson's 'Heart of Jainism'; Buhlar: The Indian Sect of the Jainas.

[4] *Kalpa Sūtra*.

Similarly the opinions of a few scholars[1] that Devānandā was the foster-mother (nurse) may be rejected on the ground that she appears in the *BhS* as a rich aristocratic lady, followed by a retinue of servants and waiting maids belonging to different Indian tribes and foreign nationalities.

It seems plausible on the evidences of the *BhS* that Lord Mahāvīra may be the son of Devānandā or he was the son of Triśalā according to the *Digambara* tradition which does not believe in the story of the transfer of his embryo.

Birth-place of Lord Mahāvīra

The determination of the exact location of the birth-place of Lord Mahāvīra is interlinked with the solution of the problem of his parentage.

The genuine evidences of purely human trait as depicted in the scene of the accidental meeting of the Master with his mother Devānandā, i.e. the flow of milk from her breast on the recognition of her former son in him, and the sensational self-revelation of the incident of his birth in the *Brāhmaṇa* family, suggest that he was born in *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma* to the west of which lay *Kṣatriya-kuṇḍagrāma*.

But according to the *Kalpa Sūtra* he was born in the *Kṣatriya* family of king Siddhārtha of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma*.

In connection with these conflicting statements the epithet '*Vesālie*'[2] occuring in two places of the *BhS* is of great importance in reference to the designation of Lord Mahāvīra himself.

Thus it is said in the *Skandaka Uddeśaka* that there lived a *Nirgrantha Vaiśālika Śrāvaka* named Piṅgalaka in the city of *Śrāvastī*.[3]

There is the other statement of historical colouring that the *Śramaṇopāsikā*, the princess Jayantī, the aunt of king

[1] See 'Darśana and Cintana'; Buhler : The Indian Sect of the Jainas.

[2] *BhS*, 2, 1, 90; 12, 2, 441.

[3] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.

Udayana of *Kauśāmbī* was the first donor of abode to the *Vaiśālika Śrāvakas* and monks.[1]

In both the cases Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri[2] explains the epithet '*Vesālie*' (*Vaiśālika*) by Lord Mahāvīra and in fact a matronymicum[3] "Viśālā Mahāvīra-Jananī tasyāḥ apatyamiti Vaiśālikaḥ Bhagavān tasya vacanam Śṛṇoti tadrasikatvāt iti Vaiśālika Śrāvakaḥ."[4]

Thus it is evidently clear that the epithet '*Vesālie*' attributed to Lord Mahāvīra reveals his historic association with *Vaiśālī*, i.e. he was a citizen of the ancient city of *Vaiśālī*.

The geographical data furnished by the *BhS* shows that *Vaiśālī* was divided into three quarters, viz *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma*, *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma*, and *Vāṇijyagrāma*[5] with which the Master was associated in connection with his religious activities.

As regards the exact location of the birth-place of Lord Mahāvīra, Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle[6] was the first scholar to identify it with *Vāsukuṇḍa*, a village in *Basārh* (*Vaiśālī*) in the district of Muzaffarpur, North Bihar, and he has subsequently been supported by Hermann Jacobi[7] and other scholars.[8]

Boyhood of Lord Mahāvīra

The *BhS* makes only one brief statement that Lord Mahāvīra, having lived in the household life up to the age of thirty years, got initiated and undertook the state of houselessness from that of houseness by taking one piece of divine cloth (*devadūsa*) with the attainment of godhood of his parents[1]. Except this information it does not throw any light upon his boyhood.

[1] *BhS*, 12, 2, 441. [2] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90.
[3] Indian Antiquary—Vol. XVII., Weber. See—*Sūtra Kṛtāṅga*, 1, 2, 3, 22.
[4] *BhS*, 2, 1, 90. See Commentary.
[5] B.C. Law : Some Ksatriya tribes of Ancient India, p. 38.
[6] *Uvāsagadasāo*, (p. 3-5-6). Lec. 8.
[7] Hermann Jacobi, S.B.E. Vol. XXII, pp. X-XIII.
[8] See—Homage to *Vaiśālī*, p. 85-90.

In this respect other Jaina texts present a picture of his family life, revealing two stages—the one of boyhood and the other of household.

Thus it is recorded in the *Kalpa Sūtra*[2] that his birth was celebrated by his parents for ten days, together with the citizens of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma* with great pomp and grandeur in a very colourful way, like that of Mahābala of the *BhS*.[3]

According to the *Śvetāmbara* tradition Lord Mahāvīra married Yaśodā,[4] a *Kṣatriya* girl of *Kauṇḍinya gotra* who bore him a daughter named Anojjā[5]. She was given in marriage to Jamālī, a *Kṣatriya* prince who became his disciple later on and led the first schism in the *Nirgrantha* order on account of his doctrinal difference with the Master in regard to the theory of *Karma*.[6]

Both the *Ācārāṅga*[7] and the *Kalpa Sūtra*[8] fully corroborate the evidence of the *BhS* that Mahāvīra left the world at the age of thirty after the death of his parents.

Ascetic Life of Lord Mahāvīra as revealed in the BhS

The text reveals that in the first year of his asceticism Lord Mahāvīra having observed the vow of fast of half a month by half a month, passed time in his first intermediate residence at *Asthikagrāma* during the rainy season.

In the second year he practised austerity by observing the fast of one month by one month during the rainy season, having taken shelter in a weaver's workshop at outer *Nālandā* in the neighbourhood of *Rājagṛha*.

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 541

[2] *Kalpa Sūtra*—Fifth lecture, 99—106, 107.

[3] *BhS*, 11, 11, 429.

[4,5] *Ācārānga Sūtra*, *15* (Fifteenth lecture). *Vide* 'Mahāvīra' by Dr. B. C. Law 5. 21.

[6] *BhS*, 9, 33, 386. [7] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 1, 158, 15. 17.

[8] *Kalpa Sūtra*, Fifth lecture—109-110, 111, 112. See Jacobi's Jain Sūtras.

It was here in the corner of the same workshop that Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra took residence to pass the rainy season without getting any shelter elsewhere at outer *Nālandā*.

On the conclusion of his first one month's fast, Lord Mahāvīra was greatly welcomed, honoured and worshipped by Vijaya, a householder of *Rājagṛha* according to the prevailing customs and was entertained by him with abundant food, drink and other presents, when the Master approached the latter's house for begging alms.

As a result of this act of honouring and entertaining such a saint like Lord Mahāvīra, five kinds of celestial things appeared in the house of Vijaya, revealing the supernatural power of the Master viz. rains of streams of wealth (*Vasudhārāvuṭṭhā*), droppings of five-coloured flowers (*dasaddhavaṇṇe kusume nivāie*), tossing up of garmments by the gods (*celukkhevkae*), beating (playing) of divine drum (*āhayāo devadundubhīo*), in the sky the sound "*Aho dāṇe* (oh gift), *aho dāṇe* (oh gift)" was proclaimed by the gods.

Having heard of this incident in the presence of many people of that locality Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra also went out of that weaver's workshop to see the miraculous things and found them true in accordance with the story spread among the people. It is said that he entreated Lord Mahāvīra to accept him as his disciple, after worshipping and saluting him. But the Master remained silent and returned to that weaver's workshop without regarding and recognizing the request of the former.

Similarly Lord Mahāvīra observed the vows of the second, third and fourth as one month's fast in succession, while staying in that workshop during the rainy season. On the conclusion of these fasts he went out on begging tours to the houses of Ānanda and Sudarśana of *Rājagṛha* and to that of Bahula of *Kollāga Sanniveśa* lying at a near distance of outer *Nālandā* respectively.

Everewhere he was accorded welcome, worshipped, honoured and entertained by these individual householders with

abundant food and drink according to the prevailing social customs. As a result of these acts of honour and entertainment offered by them to the Master the same miraculous incidents as happened in the case of Vijaya took place in their respective houses also.

On the second and third occasions also Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra made the same request to Lord Mahāvīra to accept him as his disciple, but it was turned down by the Master in silence without paying any regard to it.

On the day of the conclusion of his fourth one month's fast Lord Mahāvīra, being prayed by Gośāla again at *Kollāga Sannivesa* accepted him as his disciple and practised the austerity of '*Anityajāgaraṇa*' (thinking on non-enternality) for six years in the market-place of that town (*Paṇiyabhūmi*)[1] by experiencing gain and loss, happiness and sorrow, honour and dishonour.[2]

In the next scene the *BhS* throws a side light upon the doctrinal difference between Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra and Lord Mahāvīra on the problem of the reanimation of a *Tilastambhaka* (Sesamum Indicum plant).

One day in the first part of Autumn, while going along with Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra to *Kūrmagrāma* from *Siddhārtha-grāma* the Master explained the question raised by the former on the sight of a sesamum plant, standing at a place by the side of their way, whether it would grow or not and where would its seven seeds (*Tilapuṣpajīvas*) be born after its death. Mahavīra said that the plant would not get destroyed, it would certainly grow and its seven seeds would be born in one capsule of the plant still again.

Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra did not believe in this explanation of Lord Mahāvīra, and so he, slowly falling back, pulled it out by

[1] See also the *Kalpa Sūtra* for '*Paṇiyabhūmi*' and its identification. It is doubtful whether Lord Mahāvīra stayed in one place for six years as ascetic, it may be that he passed six rainy seasons.

[2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 541.

the roots and threw it in a corner of the field at the same moment. Immediately there appeared a shower of rain by which it was again revived to life and those seven seeds were reborn as seven *tilas* (sesames) in one of its capsules.

Next, is presented an account of the superior spiritual power of the Master, as it is revealed in its application by him to save the life of Gośāla from the effect of the fiery energy (*tejoleśyā*), released by Vaiśyāyana, a *Bālatapasvin* of *Kūrmagrāma*, on Gośāla for the act of his insulting behaviour towards that ascetic. *Vaiśyāyana*, being inflamed with the fire of wrath at the provocative and mocking questions of Gośāla in the midst of his meditation climbed down from his meditating place, expanded and released his physical fiery energy on the latter to kill him. But his life was saved by Lord Mahāvīra by warding off the fiery energy of that ascetic with his own cold spiritual energy.[1]

The Master narrated the whole fact to Gośāla on his asking to know the reason of the painful utterance of that ascetic, "This is gone, O Lord, this is gone" (se gayameyaṁ Bhagavaṁ se gayameyaṁ Bhagavaṁ)[2], as he knew his hot fiery energy checked, warded off and ineffective and withdrew it, having found no trouble or injury or dismemberment of the body of his insulter.

So, Lord Mahāvīra, being requested by Gośāla to teach him the process of acquiring the faculty of condensed abundant fiery energy (*saṁkṣipta vipula tejoleśyā*) revealed and explained its secrecy thus: "He who passes time by taking *sanakha kulmāṣapiṇḍika* (smallest quantity of bean or rice gruel), and *vikaṭāśana* (*viyaḍāsae* i.e. fermented food), observing the vow of *ṣaṣṭhaṣaṣṭha* (two consecutive days' fast) and practising continuous acts of austerities, raising his arms high, facing the sun, heating his body with the sunshine in the meditating place (*ātāpanabhūmi*), becomes endowed with the faculty of '*Saṁkṣipta vipula tejoleśyā*' at the end of six months."[3]

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 543.
[2] *Ib* 15, 1, 543.
[3] *Ib*, 15, 1, 543.

One day some time on his way to *Siddhārthagrāma* from *Kūrmagrāma* Lord Mahāvīra, being accompanied by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra arrived at the same spot where was standing the sesamum plant.

Having come to that place, the latter told the former that his previous explanation about it was false and incorrect, because it did not grow and had got destroyed and its seven seeds were not reborn in one of its fruits after their deaths.

On this statement of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra the Master narrated the whole fact regarding the re-animation of that plant, uprooted by the former previously, due to an immediate shower of rain.

But Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra would not still believe in the statement of Lord Mahāvīra about its re-animation and those of other plants that they fostered the same body in which they were reborn after their deaths. So he went back to that Sesamum plant and plucked out one capsule from it; while counting seven sesamum seeds, which were splitted up by him from the capsule, by placing them on his palm, this kind of thought arose in his mind "thus surely, all beings also are born after death and foster."[1]

This was the doctrine of '*Parivarttavāda*' (re-animation) of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra which has already been dealt with in the seventh chapter in details in connection with the topic 'Ājīvikism'. This is the cause of his dissociation from Lord Mahāvīra, and he left the Master for ever, after having received from him the instruction in the process of acquiring the fiery energy.[2]

The evidences of the association between Lord Mahāvīra and Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra at this period of asceticism are also corroborated by the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa[3] in which a more detailed account of their ascetic life is found.

[1,2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 544.

[3] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa (7th Cen. A. D.)

Next, Lord Mahāvīra appears as a *Chadmastha* ascetic (he who has not yet attained omniscience), practising the *aṭṭama-tapa* (a kind of austerity) in the eleventh year of his asceticism to attain (i. e. perform) the *ekarātrimahāpratimā-vrata* (the vow of great *pratimā* of one night) in the *Aśokavana* (*Aśoka* garden) of the city of *Susumārapura*.

The scanty evidences of the practice of austerity and meditation of Lord Mahāvīra, furnished by the *BhS*, are supplemented by the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* and the *Kalpa Sūtra* which throw much light upon his severe asceticism.

It is to be observed that the accounts of his austerity as given in the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* and the *Kalpa Sūtra* do not bring in Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra to form an episode in these works and the names of the places where he obtained residence during the first twelve years of his asceticism do not agree with those referred to in the *BhS* except the one, namely *Aṭṭhikagrāma*.

Lord Mahāvīra as religious teacher and his itinerary

The *BhS* clearly reveals that *Śramaṇa* Mahāvīra as an omniscient religious teacher travelled over different places of Northern India, extending from Eastern India (West Bengal) up to *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, preaching and expounding the doctrine of the *Nirgrantha* religion to the people of all classes and his own followers and those of the other sects and converting and initiating them to this *Śramaṇa Dharma*. He was well acquainted with the great sixteen states (*Solasa Mahājanapadas*), existing and flourishing in his time.

The following places visited by him appear to be the scenes of his religious and spiritual activities among the people of all social grades, viz. *Rājagṛha*, (*Guṇaśilaka Caitya*), *Nālandā*, *Campā* (*Pūrṇabhadra Caitya*), *Kajaṅgalā* (*Chatrapalāśaka Caitya*), *Vāṇijyagrāma* (*Dūtipalāśaka Caitya*), *Śrāvastī* (*Koṣṭhaka Caitya*), *Hastināpura* (*Sahasrāmravana*), *Ālabhikā*, *Kauśāmbī*, *Vītībhaya* (*Sindhu-Sauvīra*), *Kāmpilyapura*, *Ullukatīra* (*Ekajambuka Caitya*), *Viśākhā*, *Saravaṇa* and *Meṇḍhikagrāma*.

[4] *BhS*, 3, 2, 144.

Besides these, there are other places which were well known to Lord Mahāvīra, such as *Kāśī*, *Kośala*, *Prācīnajanapada*, *Vindhyagiri*, *Puṇḍra*, *Śatadvāra*, *Tāmralipti*, etc.

Of all these places *Rājagṛha* appears to be the main centre of his religious activities, where he appeared more than sixty times to deliver his sermons and to expound the Law in the assembly of his followers on different religious and philosophical problems raised by his first disciple, Gautama Indrabhūti and others.

Next in importance comes *Vāṇijyagrāma* which was visited by him four times in the course of his religious tours, while *Campā* stands next to *Vāṇijyagrāma* in regard to his sacred visit to this city where he passed time thrice at the *Pūrṇabhadra Caitya*.

He paid two visits to each of these cities, viz. *Śrāvastī*, and *Ālabhikā* and one to each of these places, viz. *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma*, *Moyā*, *Kajaṅgalā*, *Mithilā*, *Nālandā*, *Hastināpura*, *Kauśāmbī*, *Vītibhaya*, *Kāmpilyapura*, *Viśākhā* and *Meṇḍhikagrāma*.

It is not possible to construct an itinerary of Lord Mahāvīra in a successive and systematic order on the basis of the scattered geographical data provided by the *BhS* except in one or two cases.

His activities as religious teacher among the people at different places as revealed in the Bhagavatī Sūtra

Lord Mahāvīra's visit to Ālabhikā

Lord Mahāvīra paid two visits to the city of *Ālabhikā* where he stayed at the *Śaṅkhavana Caitya*. On the first occasion he settled the religious dispute between Ṛṣibhadraputra and other *Śramaṇopāsakas* over the celestial state by approving the explanation given by Ṛṣibhadraputra on this subject.[1] While on his second visit to this city the Master converted Poggala, a *Parivrājaka* to *Śramaṇa Dharma* on his express desire by explaining to him the question of the duration of the life of the gods in *Brahmaloka*.[2]

[1] *BhS*, 11, 12, 433. [2] *Ib*, 11, 12, 436.

The Master at Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma

During his visit to this place Lord Mahāvīra stayed at the *Bahuśālaka Caitya*. It is here he delivered his sermons on different topics in the great assembly of his followers like Gautama Indrabhūti, Āryā Candanā and others and initiated Ṛṣabhadatta, and Devānandā,[1] and Jamālī, together with his five hundred followers,[2] to asceticism on their express desire to undertake the state of houselessness. The Master handed over Devānandā to the charge of the nun, Āryā Candanā, to teach and guide her in learning the prescribed religious texts, practising austerities and meditation, and thus attaining Śramaṇahood and final liberation.

It is stated that one day Jamālī, being followed by his five hundred fellow-monks left the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* for *Śrāvastī* without the permission of his religious teacher and passed time there in the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* by practising austerities and meditation.[3] Lord Mahāvīra also left this *Caitya* for *Campā* where he passed time in the *Pūrṇabhadra Caitya*.

It is here the Master explained to Jamālī the questions put to him by *Indrabhūti* to silence his pride whether the Universe was eternal or non-eternal or whether soul was eternal or non-eternal, out of pity, when the prince-ascetic failed to answer to them but declared himself as *Kevalin* (omniscient) in their presence after his arrival at this *Caitya* from *Śrāvastī*.

But Jamālī left his teacher for the second and last time without believing in his doctrinal interpretations of these problems.[4]

Lord Mahāvīra appeared twice more in *Campā* and stayed at the *Pūrṇabhadra Caitya*. Here he explained the questions of Gautama Indrabhūti on the astronomical and cosmological subjects.[5]

On the last occasion the Master came to this place from the *Guṇaśīlaka Caitya* of *Rājagṛha* and after a short while he left

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380; 382.
[2] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383-385.
[3-4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 386.
[5] *Ib*, 5, 1, 176.

for the city of *Vītībhaya*, the capital of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* ruled over by king Udāyana.[1]

It is here in the *Mṛgavana* garden he initiated the king to *Śramaṇa Dharma* on his inner urge to undertake the state of houselessness from the worldly life.

His visit to Vāṇijyagrāma

It is recorded in the *BhS* that Lord Mahavīra paid his four sacred visits to *Vāṇijyagrāma* and delivered his religious discourses in the assembly of his followers on different religious and philosophical subjects at the *Dūtipalaśaka Caitya.*

It is here the Master converted *Gāṅgeya,* a follower of Lord Pārśvanātha's sect to his *Pañcayāma Dharma* and absorbed him into his order by explaining the questions whether all beings were born and would die at an interval or without an interval, birth and its divisions with reference to the combination of one, that of two, upto that of innumerable numbers of different kinds of beings and four kinds of birth and their respective causes.[2]

On another occasion Lord Mahāvīra explained the questions raised by his disciple, Sāmahastin on the existence and total number of *Trāyastriṁśaka* gods of *Camara* upto those of *Śakra,* those of *Īśānendra* and those of *Sanat-Kumāra,* when Gautama Indrabhūti failed to give a satisfactory answer to the same problems put by his brother-monk to him.[3]

Here again on the third occasion the Master expounded the theory of time and its divisions, the cause of the longest day and shortest night, that of the shortest day and longest night on the request of Sudarśana, a merchant of *Vāṇijyagrāma.*[4] He, being reminded of his former life as prince Mahābala in the family of king Bala of *Hastināpura* and his initiation conducted by *Śramaṇa* Dharmaghoṣa, the disciple's disciple of Vimala, the thirteenth *Tīrthaṅkara,* etc., undertook the state of houselessness, having his inner urge for emancipation doubled, after getting initiated by

[1] *BhS*, 13, 6, 491.
[2] *Ib*, 10, 4, 404.
[3] *Ib*, 9, 32, 339.
[4] *Ib*, 10, 4, 404.

Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma* on his advice.[1] On the fourth occasion the Master had a religious and philosophical debate with a proud *Brāhmaṇa* of *Vāṇijyagrāma* named Somila at the *Dūtipalāśaka Caitya* on the following questions : whether he had *Yātrā* (auspicious activity of life), *Yāpanīya* (observance or exertion), and *Avyābādha* (diseaselessness) ; whether *Sarṣapa*, *Māṣa* and *Kulattha* were eatable or uneatable to the *Śramaṇa-Nirgranthas*, and whether he was one or two, imperishable, undecaying and constant in many past, present, and future transformations of life. The *Brāhmaṇa* was fully convinced of the holy teachings of explanations of Lord Mahāvīra to these questions and was finally converted by the Master to *Śramaṇa Dharma* as a *Śramaṇopāsaka* on his express desire.[2]

Lord Mahāvīra appeared once on the scene laid at *Vaiśālī* in connection with the result of the participation of soldiers in the two great wars called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*[3] and *Rathamusala Saṁgrāma*[4] as already discussed in the first section of the third chapter.

His visit to Kajaṅgalā

It is stated that during his stay at the *Chatrapalāśaka Caitya* lying outside the city of *Kajaṅgalā*, Lord, Mahāvīra converted Skandaka, a *Parivrājaka* of *Śrāvastī* to *Śramaṇa Dharma* on his express desire by explaining the questions to him "Is the Universe finite or infinite ?, is *Siddha* (the perfect) finite or infinite ?, by what kind of death does the dying being increase or decrease the Universe ?, when Skandaka, having failed to explain these subjects put to him by Piṅgalaka (a *Śramaṇopasaka* of *Śrāvastī*) came to this *Caitya* from there and requested the Master to have their correct answers.[5]

Lord Mahāvīra in Kāmpilyapura[6]

Here in *Kāmpilyapura* Lord Mahāvīra initiated and conver-

[1] *BhS*, 11, 11, 424.
[2] *Ib*, 18, 10, 647,
[3] *Ib*, 11, 11, 432.
[4] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300 ; 7, 9, 301-3.
[5] *Ib*, 2, 1, 90, 91-92.
[6] *Ib*, 14, 8, 530.

ted Ammaḍa, a *Parivrājaka* together with his seven hundred followers to *Śramaṇa Dharma*.

His visit to Kauśāmbī[1]

During his august visit to *Kauśāmbī* the Master delivered his religious discourse in the assembly of Jayantī, her nephew king Udayana, his mother Mṛgāvatī and others at the *Candrāvataraṇa Caitya*. It is here that he initiated the princess to asceticism as nun on her express desire, after a great discussion on the abstruse religious and philosophical doctrines between her and the Master.

His visit to Mithilā[2]

On one occasion Lord Mahāvīra appeared at the *Mānabhadra Caitya* in the city of *Mithilā* and explained the questions raised by Gautama Indrabhūti on the location and shape of *Jambūdvīpa* island.

Lord Mahāvīra at Moyā[3]

During his stay at the *Nālandā Caitya* situated outside the city of *Moyā* the holy teachings of explanation took place between Agnibhūti, the second *Gaṇadhara* and the Master and between Agnibhūti and Vāyubhūti, the third *Gaṇadhara* on the topics of the prosperity, power and ability of the gods and the goddesses to assume various shapes, the union of two Indras of the northern and southern hemispheres, their quarrel, etc.

The Master in Hastināpura[4]

In the *Sahasrāmravana* (mango-grove) of *Hastināpura* Lord Mahāvīra converted Śiva, a *Vānaprastha* ascetic (forest recluse) to *Śramaṇa Dharma* on his express desire by explaining to him the question of the number of islands and seas in the Universe, etc.

His activities in Rājagṛha

It has already been pointed out that Lord Mahāvīra appeared sixtyfour times on the scenes laid at the *Guṇaśīlaka*

1. *BhS*, 12, 2, 441, 442.
2. *Ib*, 3, 1, 126.
3. *Ib*, 9, 1, 362.
4. *Ib*, 11, 9, 417-18.

Caitya in *Rājagṛha* and that most of his teachings as embodied in the *BhS* were delivered at this place on various subjects in the assembly of his followers, for it was a great centre of his activities.

Here came king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra and queen Cellanā,[1] followed by their retinue of officials, servants, etc., to attend his holy teachings. At this *Caitya* the Master made a reference to the monk-disciples of Lord Pārsvanātha's order,[2] living at the *Puṣpavatī Caitya* in the city of *Juṅgikā* in his time.

It is here again that Lord Mahāvīra converted some followers of Lord Pārśvanātha's order to his doctrine of *Pañcamahāvrata Sapratikramaṇa Dharma* from that of *Cāturyāma Dharma* by his holy teachings of explanation on the number of worlds, its shape and multitudes of people, infinite nights and days and their revolution.[3]

At this *Guṇaśilaka Caitya* he initiated and converted the other *Tīrthikas*, namely, Kāḷodāyin, Selodāyin, Sevālodāyin, Udaya, Nāmudāya, Tammudāya, Annavāḷaya, Selavālaya, Saṅkhavālaya and Suhatthī on their express desire to *Śramaṇa Dharma* by his religious discourse on the doctrine of '*Astikāya*'.[4]

His visit to Śrāvastī

Lord Mahāvīra paid two august visits to the city of *Śrāvastī* and stayed there at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* with his followers. On the first occasion he initiated Śaṅkha to asceticism on his express desire by explaining the significance of the observance of *Pauṣadha Vrata* (vow of fast) and the binding of eight *Karma-prakṛtis* by beings under the sway of passions, viz. anger, pride deceitfulness and greed.[5]

On the second occasion Lord Mahāvīra revealed in the assembly of his followers there at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* the incident of the birth of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in the cowshed of Gobahula at *Saravaṇa* and the account of his life and association with the Master as his disciple, when the *Ājīvika* leader passed time in the premises of Hālāhalā, the potteress, in that city by proclaiming

[1] *BhS*, 1, 1, 4. [2] *Ib*, 2, 5, 107. [3] *Ib*, 5, 9, 226.
[4] *Ib*, 7, 10, 305. [5] *Ib*, 12, 1, 437-38-39.

himself as *Jina* and practising austerities, having been surrounded by his followers.

As already pointed out in connection with the topic 'Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra as teacher' in the sixth section of the seventh chapter, this matter of disclosure of his birth in a low family and the revelation of his past life, made by Lord Mahāvīra enraged him very much and finally led to a spiritual duel between him and the Master at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya*, resulting in the death of Sarvānubhūti and Sunakṣatra, two disciples of the Master, caused by the fiery energy released by the *Ājīvika* leader on them, while defending their teacher's honour, and his own spiritual defeat, as his fiery energy became ineffective in the case of the Master who was endowed with more spiritual power than he possessed. Then Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra cursed Lord Mahāvīra that he would die as *Chadmastha* at the end of six months, having the attack of bilious fever due to the effect of fiery energy released by him. At this curse the Master retorted to the *Ājīvika* leader that he himself would die as *Chadmastha* at the end of seven nights.[1]

After the departure of Gośāla from the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* with spiritual defeat Lord Mahāvīra gave the account of the power of his fiery energy by which he could reduce sixteen great states, viz. *Aṅga*, *Vaṅga* and others to ashes and that of the last stage of his life and death, etc.[2]

His visit to Meṇḍhikagrāma[3]

Having left the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya*, Lord Mahāvīra appeared at *Meṇḍhikagrāma*, together with his retinue of followers. It is here in the *Sālakoṣṭhaka Caitya* the Master suffered from the bilious fever, accompanied by the passing of blood stool. He allayed the fear of his disciples, Siṁha and others against the street-talk of the four castes that this disease was the effect of the fiery energy released by the *Ājīvika* leader, Gośāla on his body, and told them that he would live for another sixteen and a half years as *Jina* unharmed. He got cured of this serious

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 553.
[2] *Ib*, 15, 1, 557.
[3] *Ib*, 15, 1, 553-561.

disease by taking cooked cock's flesh (*kukkuṭa māṁsa*)*, brought by his disciple, Siṁha from the house of Revatī, a female householder of *Meṇḍhikagrāma* on his instruction.

Lord Mahāvīra in Ullukatīra

The Master paid two sacred visits to the town of *Ullukatīra*, and stayed at the *Ekajambuka Caitya.* During the first one he explained the question raised by Gautama Indrabhūti whether the physician, operating on the piles of a meditating houseless monk or the said monk was effected by *Kriyā*,[1] while on the second occasion he dealt with the subject : prosperous gods, matter, transformed matter, the account of the former life of Gaṅgadatta-deva as the king of *Hastināpura*, his initiation by Munisuvrata to *Sramaṇa Dharma*, his rebirth as god in the heaven and his final liberation.[2]

His visit to Viśākhā[3]

During his stay at the *Bahuputrika Caitya* in the city of *Viśākhā* Lord Mahāvīra narrated the accounts of the initiation of Kārttikadatta, the guild-president of *Hastināpura*, together with his eight-thousand fellow merchants, conducted by Munisuvrata to *Sramaṇa Dharma* and their undertaking of the state of houselessness and attainment of monkhood, etc.

The life of Lord Mahāvīra as wandering teacher is also depicted in other Jaina texts[4] where further accounts of his religious activities among the people are found in a graphic manner. He carried on his sacred mission by developing and systematizing the *Nirgrantha* religion on metaphysical grounds, preaching religion to the people, elevating and leading them to the path of freedom and liberation.

It is said that after thirty years of his missionary activities as venerable wandering religious teacher, he left this mundane world cutting asunder all the bondages of birth, decay and death,

[1] *BhS*, 16, 3, 572. [2,3] *Ib.* 16, 3, 574.
[4] *Uvāsagadasāo. Vide* 'Mahāvira'—His Life and Teachings' Dr. B. C. Law, pp. 37-38.
* The commentators explain the words as a particular kind of vegetable—Editor.

in the fourth month of the rainy season in the seventh fortnight of *Kārttika* on its fifteenth day in the last watch of the night in king Hastipāla's office of the writers in the town of *Pāvā*.[1]

The account of the life of Lord Mahāvīra as depicted in the *BhS*, and the other Jaina texts is also corroborated by the Buddhist works which mention him as the head of the *Nirgrantha* order, a man of experience, a great ascetic, old and well-striken (bent in years), revered by the people of all classes.[2]

It appears from the study of the evidences of the Buddhist texts that the Master was a senior contemporary of Lord Buddha[3] and predeceased him.[4]

The teachings of Lord Mahāvīra as embodied in the *BhS* reveal that the bold flight of human imagination in the absence of adequate varifying data at the time of this text is the most thought-provoking and wisdom-evoking, as it has rightly been said by Gomperz[5] that inexperience is the mother of wisdom. This truth is amply and brilliantly expressed in the speculative daring, not sacrificing the logical subtlties, in the thoughts evolved by the religious and philosophical ideas of the Master.

He brought an immortal and eternal life with him and left it in his demise to be worshipped by mankind.

SECOND SECTION

Chronology of Lord Mahāvīra

It is recorded in the *BhS* that Lord Mahāvīra renounced the world with the attainment of godhood of his parents, having lived the life of a householder for thirty years (tīsaṁ vāsāiṁ āgāravāsamajjhe vesittā).[6]

[1] *Jaina Sūtra* p. 264 ; (*Kalpa Sūtra*), 1. 22-23.
[2] Dialougues of the Buddha—S. B. E. 11 (3) p. 66, *Sāmaññaphala Sutta*, *Dīghā-Nikāya*, 1. p. 491.
[3] Cf. *Sambhuya Sutta*, *Sutta Nipāta*, pp. 92, foll.
[4] *Sāmagāma Sutta*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 243 foll.
[5] Gompers : Greek thinkers, Vol. I.
[6] *BhS*, 15, 1, 541.

In the first year of his asceticism he passed the first rainy season in *Asthikagrāma* and the second in a weaver's workshop at outer *Nālandā* in the second year.

By this year Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra also took shelter in the same workshop without obtaining any residence elsewhere and was accepted by the Master as his disciple after his repeated earnest requests on four occasions as already mentioned

It is further learnt from this work that Lord Mahāvīra passed six years with Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in the Market place (*Paṇiyabhūmi*) of *Kollāga Saṇṇiveśa* as it is already discussed.

After this period the latter left the former on the doctrinal difference arisen out of the problem of the birth and rebirth of a sesamum plant.

Next, he is found to pass time at the premises of the workshop of Hālāhalā, the potteress in the city of *Śrāvastī*, having attained the round of twenty-four years of his initiation when the spiritual duel took place between him and Lord Mahāvīra at the *Koṣṭhaka Caitya* on the revelation of the story of his birth and life, made by the Master in a reviling manner.

It is stated that when Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra cursed Lord Mahāvīra by saying that he would die within six months due to the effect of the fiery energy released by him on his body, the Master replied that he would live as *Jina* for another sixteen years, but the *Ājīvika* leader himself would die within seven days.

During the time of his suffering from the bilious fever at *Meṇḍhikagrāma* he made the same statement to his disciple, the houseless monk Sīha, to allay his fear, that he would live for another sixteen years and a half as *Jina*, unharmed.[1]

The calculation of these numbers of years (30 + 2 + 6 + 18 (24) + 16) amounts to a figure of seventy-two years which is the total length of the life of Lord Mahāvīra.

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 557.

This account of the total span of life of the Master is also fully corroborated by the *Kalpa Sūtra*[1] which states that he left the world at the age of thirty and passed time as ascetic, practising austerities for more than twelve years in the state of *Chadmastha* and some thing less than thirty years as *Kevalin* and religious teacher, forty-two years as recluse, and seventy-two years on the whole. He breathed his last at the age of seventy-two in the writers' office of king Hastipāla in the town of *Pāvā*.

The solution of the problem of the Chronology of Lord Mahāvīra hinges upon the fixation of the date of his demise (*Nirvāṇa*).

The text reveals that the Master was contemporary of the kings, Seṇiya-Bimbisāra[2], and his son, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru[3] of *Magadha*, Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī*[4], Udayana of *Kauśāmbī*,[5] Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*,[6] and Mahāsena of *Avantī*.[7]

It has already been discussed in connection with the topic 'Political Conditions' in the first section of the third chapter that the two great wars called *Mahāśilākaṇṭakasaṅgrāma* and *Rathamusalasaṅgrāma* were known[8], heard and remembered[9] by Lord Mahāvīra.

Moreover, in the *BhS* Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra also refers to the sprinkling scent-elephant, the last *Tīrthaṅkara* and the last *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*[10], after the sixteen years of which the Master is said to have died. He also knew the existence of sixteen great states flourishing during his life time.

The evidences of these two great events are also fully corroborated by those of the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*[11] as already discussed in the first section of the third chapter. While in the Buddhist works[12] Lord Mahāvīra appears as a contemporary of

[1] *Kalpa Sūtra*, 5, 122. *Vide* Jacobi's Jaina Sūtras Pt. I. p. 256-264.
[2] *BhS*, 1, 1, 4. [3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. [4] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
[5] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441. [6] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. [7] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
[8] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. [9] *Ib*, 7, 9, 301.
[10] *Ib*, 15, 1, 554. [11] *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*, 1.
[12] E.g. *Jātaka* I, 509; *Digha Nikāya* II, 150.

Lord Buddha along with the other five teachers, viz. Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajitakesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana and Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, as it is evidenced by the fact that Upālī and Siṁha, the general, were converted by Lord Buddha to his faith.

The kings, Seṇiya-Bimbisāra, Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru and Prasenjit were also associated with both the teachers.

Moreover, the *Majjhima Nikāya*[1] records the demise of *Nigyantha Nātaputta* as taking place at *Pāvā* and being followed by a serious confusion and quarrelling among his folfowers in the life time of Lord Buddha.

When this message was conveyed by one of his disciples to him, he apprehended the same fate of his order after his death.

These evidences of the *BhS*, the other Jaina texts and Buddhist works[2] show the synchronism between Lord Mahāvīra and the above mentioned kings, Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra and Lord Buddha in the sixth-fifth Century B. C.

Now, according to the Buddhist records[3] Lord Mahāvīra predeceased Lord Buddha, while the study of the references to the two great political events, viz. *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka-Saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusala-Saṅgrāma* as recorded in the *BhS* and a complete silence of the *Pāli* canons about them suggests that the latter predeceased the former who was alive at the time of the occurrences of these two wars and was associated with the court of *Magadha*, as it is evidenced in the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*[4].

But it is to be observed that the evil designs of king Kūṇika-Ajātśatru on *Vaiśālī* and the *Vajjis* were well known to Lord Buddha as pointed out in the first section of the third chapter. Besides these facts, there is a gap of some years between

[1] *Majjhima Nikāya*—1. *Sāmagāma Sutta*.
Vide 'Mahāvīra—His Life and teachings' Dr. B.C. Law, pp. 6-7.
[2] *Majjhima Nikāya*—II, pp. 243 ff,
[3] *Ib*, II, 243; *Pāṭika Sutta*, *Digha. N.* III.
[4] *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta*—1.

these two great events according to the statement of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra[1] as recorded in this canonical work, because he knew only about the first war on the eve of his death, after the sixteen years of which the demise of Lord Mahāvira, by whom the event of second one also was known, heard and remembered, took place at *Pāvā*. Even then the alliance between the *Mallakis* and the *Licchavis* existed, as it is evidenced by the fact of the celebration of the great decease of the master by their joint illumination of lights.[2]

Dr. Hoernle[3] has attempted to reconcile the two opposite views on the question of the pre-decease of Lord Mahāvīra and that of Lord Buddha as recorded in the *Pāli* Records and suggested 484 B. C. for the death of the Master and 500 B. C. for that of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra and the occurrence of the *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka-Saṅgrāma* and the defacto accession of king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru and the date of decease of Lord Buddha in 482 (or 483) B.C. in the eighth regnal year of the Magadhan king.

This interpretation of the chronology of the war that it took place in the first year of Ajātaśatru's reign cannot be accepted on the ground that the *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* makes it apparently clear that it occurred after the death of king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra.

Further, it is pointed out by Jacobi[4] that the traditional date of the demise of Lord Mahāvīra is 470 years before the *Vikrama* Era (58 B. C.), i.e. 528 B.C. according to the *Śvetāmbaras* and 605 years according to the *Digambaras* (i.e. 527 B. C.) on the suggestion that this *Vikrama* of the latter is meant for *Śālivāhana* (78 A.D.) Era.

Another tradition quoted by Hemachandra[5] says that

[1] *BhS*. 15, 1, 554.
[2] *Kalpa Sūtra* 128. *Vide*, Jaina Sūtras—S B.E XXII of Jacobi p. 266.
[3] Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics-Ājīvikism pp. 259 ff.
[4] S.B.E. XXII (2.66), para 128, *Kalpa Sūtra* 6 ff. *Vide*, Political History of Ancient India. p. 213 f. note no. 3. fifth Ed.
[5] *Sthavirāvalicarita*, *Pariśiṣṭa Parva*, VIII, 339.

Maurya Candragupta became king one hundred and fifty-five years after the liberation of Lord Mahāvīra.

So according to this tradition the date of the Master's liberation may be assigned between 481 and 467 B.C., because king Candragupta ascended the throne at a date between 326-312 B. C.

But the Buddhist works record the demise of Lord Mahāvīra before that of Lord Buddha as already mentioned.

According to the cantonese tradition the *Parinirvāṇa* of the *Śākya* sage took place in 486 B. C.[1], while the Ceylonese writers record this event of *Parinirvāṇa* in the eighth regnal year of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.[2]

On the basis of the Cantonese date of Lord Buddha's decease, the date of accession of Ajātaśatru would fall in 493 B.C.

A gap of sixteen and odd years is found to exist between the date of accession of Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru and that of the demise of Lord Mahāvīra, while according to the Buddhist works it will be less than eight years on the ground that the Master died before the Blessed one.

A reconciliation of the divergent views on the chronology of Lord Mahāvīra as recorded by the Jaina and Buddhist works can be made, if it is supposed that the former accepts the date of accession of Kūṇika as the king of *Campā* as the starting point and the latter make their calculation from a date of his actual ascendancy to the throne of *Rājagṛha*.

Dr. Hiralal Jain has tried to throw light upon the chronology of Lord Mahāvīra in his article on 'Date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa'[3] to show that "all the Jaina traditions boil down to this that there were 155 years from Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* to Candragupta's coronation, 410 years up to Vikrama's coronation, and 470 years up to Vikrama's death, and that the *Vikrama* Era

[1] Early History of India of V. Smith, fourth Ed. 179.
[2] *Mahāvaṁsa*, Ch. II.
[3] Nāgapur University Journal, December, 1940. No. 6. Date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa by Dr. Hiralal Jain, pp. 50-54.

began with the death of Vikrama". But the interval of 155 years between Lord Mahāvīra's *Nirvāṇa* and Chandragupta's coronation would put the Master's demise in circa (320 + 155), i. e. 475 B. C.

Having taken into consideration all these evidences it may be suggested on the basis of the above analysis of the facts furnished by the Jaina and Buddhist works that the demise of the Master took place in the eighties of the fifth Century B. C. although much reliance cannot be placed on the traditional chronology in the absence of further evidences about it.

THIRD SECTION

Kings

Political History

The *BhS* throws some light upon the political history of its period by making a few statements of historical colouration, e. g. the incidental references to king Seṇiya Bimbisāra and queen Cellanā of *Magadha*[1], the two great wars called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma*[2] and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma*[3], fought between king Vajjividehaputta Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru) of *Campā* and the Vaiśālian Confederacy of nine Mallakīs, nine *Licchavīs*, *Kāśī*, *Kośala*, and their eighteen *Gaṇarājas* and the final victory of the Magadhan king over them at the time of Lord Mahāvīra, the mentions of king Udayana, the son of king Śatānīka and queen Mṛgāvatī, the daughter of king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī* and the grandson of king Sahasrānīka, the nephew of princess Jayantī,[4] king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*, his son, Abhijit Kumāra and his nephew, Keśikumāra and his coronation, king Mahāsena,[5] king Śiva of *Hastināpura*[6] and some *Kṣatriya* clans, such as, the *Ugras*, the *Bhogas*, the *Kauravyas*, the *Ikṣvākus*, the *Rājanyas*, etc.[7]

It has already been discussed in the first section of the third chapter on 'Political Conditions' that India was divided into sixteen great states—both monarchical and non-monarchical,

[1] *BhS*, 1, 1, 4. [2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. [3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 301.
[4] *Ib*, 12, 1, 441. [5] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. [6] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.
[7] *Ib*, 9, 33, 383; 20, 8.

flourishing side by side with their respective political ideals of imperialism and republicanism during the time of Lord Mahāvīra. And there was no political unity among these states under one paramount sovereign, so a political struggle went on between *Magadha* under king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru and *Vaiśālī* and its allies for establishing their political and economic supremacy over the North-eastern region of India and it ended in the final victory of the Magadhan king over the combined forces of his rival camp led by king Ceṭaka. Thus the ancient republicanism of *Vaiśālī* had to bow down its head to the aggressive imperialism of *Magadha*

The effect of the two wars was far-reaching, as it went a long way to pave the way for the expansion of *Magadha* to all directions and to bring about the political unification of India under the leadership of its rulers of the successive dynasties—the *Nanda* and the *Maurya* till the *Kaliṅga* war which changed the whole character of its foreign policy of war to that of peace. So the political conditions will not be dealt with again in details in this section.

As regards the other historical kings, the *Kṣatriya* clans, Indian tribes and foreign peoples an attempt will be made here to form an exact idea of their political life and position in the history of those days and of the extent of the country on the basis of the *BhS.*

With regard to the monarchies the text makes mention of the kingdom of *Magadha* with its capital at *Rājagṛha*, presided over by Seṇiya-Bimbisāra[1] and his son, king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru[2], ruling at *Campā* in succession, to the west and north-west lay the kingdoms of *Kāśī*[3] and *Kośala*[4] with their capitals at *Vārāṇasī* and *Śrāvastī* respectively, still further to the north-west there was the kingdom of *Hastināpura* ruled over by king Śiva[5]. There lay to the south of *Kośala* the kingdom of *Vatsa* with its capital at *Kauśāmbī*[6] on the *Yamunā* under the kingship of Udayana, the

[1] *BhS*, 1, 1, 4.
[2] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300. 301.
[3-4] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300.
[5] *Ib*, 12, 2, 441.
[6] *Ib*, 11, 9, 417.

son of Śatānīka, still farther in the south there was the kingdom of *Avantī* of Mahāsena[1] with its capital at *Ujjayinī*. To the far west lay the country of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* with its capital at *Vītībhaya* under the rulership of king Udāyana and his nephew Keśīkumāra in succession.[2]

In the north there lay the republican states[3] of the *Licchavīs* of *Vaiśālī* and of the *Mallakīs* of *Pāvā* and *Kuśīnārā*.

It appears that the royal family of *Kauśāmbī* and that of Ceṭaka, the president-king of *Vaiśālī* were united by a matrimonial alliance, as it is revealed by the fact that queen Mṛgavatī, the wife of king Śatānīka, the mother of king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī* was the daughter of Ceṭaka.[4]

Similar relations were established by him with the royal houses of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* and *Magadha* by offering his other two daughters, Prabhāvatī and Cellanā to king Udāyana of *Vītībhaya*[5] and king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra[6] of *Rājagṛha* respectively.

It is stated in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[7] that Cellanā, the youngest of the seven daughters of king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī* was carried off by king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra privately from the female apartment of the palace of the republican president in the presence of his son, Abhaya, born of his queen Sunandā and then she was married by him,

King Seṇiya[8]

In the *BhS* king Seṇiya of *Magadha* only once appears together with his queen, Cellanā on the scene laid at the *Guṇaśilaka Caitya* in *Rājagṛha* in connection with his pilgrimage to Lord Mahāvīra to attend his religious discourse delivered there. It is also recorded in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[9] that the lion of kings visited the lion of the houseless ascetics.

[1,2] *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. [3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 300-303. [4] *Ib*, 12, 1, 441.
[5] *Ib*, 13, 6, 451. [6] *Ib*, 1, 1, 4.
[7] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 165 f.
[8] *Ib*, 1, 1, 4. [9] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 20. 58.

Except this brief statement this canonical work does not throw any light upon the life and career of this king and his political achievements.

In this respect other Jaina[1] and Buddhist[2] works and the *Purāṇas*[3] provide a good deal of information regarding the genealogy of the dynasty of Seṇiya, his private life and reign, and the contemporary history of his time.[4]

It is said in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[5] that he was born in the *Vāhiya* clan. According to the *Purāṇas*[6] Seṇiya-Bimbisāra belonged to the *Śaiśunāga* dynasty, while Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[7] is of opinion that he was born of the *Śiśu-Nāga* dynasty.

But Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the *Buddha Carita*[8] connects him with the *Haryaṅka* family as its scion, while the *Mahāvaṁśa*[9] refers to *Śiśunāga* as a founder of a separate line of kings which ruled after that of Seṇiya-Bimbisāra.

The *Vāyu-purāṇa*[10] states that *Śiśunāga* will take away the glory of the *Pradyotas* who were contemporaries according to the Jaina and Buddhist works.[11]

According to this statement *Śiśunāga* must come after the first *Pradyota* called Caṇḍa who was the contemporary king of *Avantī* of Seṇiya-Bimbisāra and Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru, as it is evidenced in the *BhS*, other Jaina texts and Buddhist works and supported by the ancient Sanskrit poets and dramatists of India.[12]

[1] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 165 f. p 158; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 1; *Antagaḍadasāo*, 7, p. 43 f.
[2] *Jātaka* Nos. 239, 283, 492; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, Books of Kindred sayings 110.
[3] *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 99-314. See Dynasties of the *Kali* Age (Pargiter 68-9) for the Purāṇic account.
[4] See P.H.A. I. 6th Ed. Dr. H.C. Ray Chaudhury, pp. 205-209.
[5] *Avaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 165. *Vide*, I. A. I., p. 378.
[6] D.K.A., 68-9. [7] *Vide*, Age of Imperial Unity, p. 19.
[8] *Buddha Carita*, XI, 2, Aśvaghoṣa.
[9] *Mahāvaṁśa*; *Vide*, Age of Imperial Unity, p. 19.
[10] *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99, 314.
[11] *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99, 314.
[12] Indian Culture, VI, 411.

Late Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury[1] also has tried to show that Seṇiya-Bimbisāra did not belong to the *Śaiśunāga* dynasty but to that of *Haryaṅka-kula* of Aśvaghoṣa.[2]

So the view of Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury may safely be accepted by taking into consideration the above facts, though the statement of the *Purāṇas* that *Śiśunāga* was an ancestor of Bimbisāra remains uncorroborated by independent evidences.

It is stated in the *Mahāvaṁśa*[3] that Bimbisāra was anointed king by his own father at the age of fifteen.

This statement cuts across the view of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who inferred from the epithet 'Śreṇika' that he was previously a general probably of the *Vajjis*, having sway over *Magadha* and later on he carved out a kingdom and founded his own dynasty.[4]

It should also be observed that he is known to the *BhS*, as king Seṇiya (Śreṇika), while in the *Buddha Carita* he is called Śreṇika-Bimbisāra. It is to be noticed that the *Mahāvaṁśa* does not mention the name of his father at all.

According to Turnour and N. L. Dey the name of his father was Bhātiyo Bhaṭṭya,[5] while the Tibetans call him as Mahāpadma.

This new king endowed with political sagacity and foresight launched the small state of *Magadha* to the career of conquest and aggrandizement by following a policy of expansion in regard to the inter-state relation which has been dealt with by late Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury[6] and other scholars in great details on the basis of the evidences furnished by the Jaina and Buddhist sources about his political career and political achievements.

[1] Political History of Ancient India, Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury, Fifth Ed., p. 115.
[2] *Buddha Carita* of Aśvaghoṣa, XI, 2, P.H.A.I., p. 115 f. etc.
[3] *Mahāvaṁśa* (translated by Geiger, p. 12).
[4] Carmicæl Lecture 1918. 1.67 ff. See Dynasties of *Kali* Age: Pargiter pp. 68-9 for the purāṇic account.
[5] Turnour, *Mahāvaṁśa* 1. p. 10; J. A. S. B. 1872, i. 298, 1914, 321; Essay on Guṇādhya p. 173. The *Purāṇas* name Hemajit, Ksemajit, Kṣetrojā or Kṣetraujā as the father of Bimbisāra. Refer to P. H. A. I. p. 117 f. n. 5.
[6] P. H. A. I. pp. 205-209.

King Kūṇika

As already discussed in the third chapter on 'Political Conditions' King Kūṇika of *Campā* appears here as the victor in the political struggle over his rival confederate army of nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśi* and *Kośala* and their eighteen *Gaṇarājas* led by Ceṭaka, the president-king of *Vaiśālī* Republic.

Kūṇika, the son of king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra, was attributed by the names of Kūṇika[1] and Asogacanda[2] as derived from the incidents of the tearing of his little finger by a cock's tail, when thrown on a dung hill according to one tradition and the illumination of the garden of *Aśoka* tree where he was cast according to another tradition, just after his birth. The third epithet *Vajjividehaputta*[3] or *Videhaputta*[4] was attributed to him because of his maternal relation with *Videha*.

Both the Jaina[5] and Buddhist[6] works record the accounts of Kūṇika's ascendancy to the throne of his father, Seṇiya-Bimbisāra by putting him into the prison where he breathed his last with painful tortures at the hands of his own son.

It is said that Kūṇika transferred his capital to *Campā* from *Rājagṛha* only to forget this unbearable tragic incident and sorrow.[7]

It appears from the Jaina[8] and Buddhist[9] works that king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru was intimately associated with the *Nirgrantha* order as well as with the Buddhist church and had predilection for both religions, as it is revealed by the fact that he was claimed as a devoted follower of both the faiths.

1 *Ovāiya Sutta* 6. p 20.
2 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* p. 166.
3 *BhS*, 7, 9, 300.
4 Comm. on *Digha Nikāya* 1. p. 139.
5 *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* 1 ; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* II, p. 171.
6 See Comm. on the *Digha Nikāya* p. 135 ff for the Buddhist verson.
7 *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* 1 ; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* II, p. 171.
8 *Aupapātika Sūtra* 12. 27. 30 ; 6 p. 20 ; Hemachandra's *Pariśiṣṭa Parvan* Canto IV ; *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* pp. 684, 687
9 *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* ; *Digha Nikāya* 1. 50 ; *Digha-Nikāya* II. 168.

King Ceṭaka[1]

In the *BhS* Ceṭaka, the president-king of *Vaiśālī* figures as the father of queen Mṛgāvatī, the wife of king Śatānīka and the mother of king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī* as already mentioned in the beginning of this section.

According to the *Bṛhatkathākośa*[2] he was the son of Keka and Yaśomatī and was the scion of the *Haihaya* clan. It is recorded in the *Mahāpurāṇa* that he was the maternal uncle of Lord Mahāvīra.[3]

In the political struggle of the confederacy of *Vaiśālī* with *Magadha*, Ceṭaka sustained defeat together with his allies at the hands of king Kūṇika due to the superior technical military strategy and skill planned and demonstrated by his military experts with the introduction of the two war-engines—*Mahāśilākaṇṭaka*[4] and *Rathamusala*[5], combined with the forces of treachery of the ascetic, Kulavālaya and the courtesan, Māgahiyā. The city of *Vaiśālī* fell to the hands of the Magadhan king after a long drawn war and a siege laid by him; Ceṭaka committed suicide by throwing himself into a well with an iron image suspended on his neck to avoid the surrender and capture, torture and dishonour at the hands of his enemy, king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.[6]

King Śatānīka and king Udayana

The *BhS* throws some light upon the dynastic history of king Udayana of *Kauśāmbī* by giving a genealogical list of his family.

Thus it is recorded that king Udayana was the son of king Śatānīka and queen Mṛgāvatī, the daughter of king Ceṭaka,

1 *BhS*, 12, 2, 441.
2 *Bṛhat Kathākośa*, 55, 165.
3 *Mahāpurāṇa* - Puṣpadanta. *Vide*, Life in Ancient India: Dr. J. C. Jain p. 382.
4 *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* - 1 ; *BhS*, 7, 9, 300.
5 *BhS*, 7, 9, 301.
6 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* II. pp. 164 ; *BhS*, 7, 9, 300, 301 ; *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* - 10.535 f.
See, *Digha Nikāya-Mahāparinirvāṇa Suttanta* & its comm.

and the grandson of king Sahasrānīka and Ceṭaka, and the nephew of Jayantī.

This genealogical list of this royal family as found in the *BhS*[1] is also corroborated by the *Purāṇas* and Bhāsa.

The particular difference between these two sources is that the *Purāṇas*[2] name Vasudāna as the father of Śatānīka, while Bhāsa[3] mentions Sahasrānīka as the father of Śatānīka who was also known as Parantapa.[4]

King Śatānīka

According to the *Svapnavāsavadattā*[5] king Śatānīka is said to have married a princess of *Videha*, for his son was designated *Vaidehīputra*. It is stated that he made an expedition against *Campā*, the capital of *Aṅga*, at the time of reign of its king Dadhivāhana.[6]

King Udayana

The *BhS*[7], other Jaina texts[8] and Buddhist works[9] show that king Udayana was a contemporary ruler of king Ceṭaka[10], king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra,[11] king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru,[12] king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*[13] and king Pradyota Mahāsena of *Avantī*.[14]

A critical discussion of the reference to the pilgrimage of queen Mṛgāvatī placing her son, king Udayana before her to Lord Mahāvīra at the *Candrāvataraṇa Caitya* in the city of *Kauśāmbī* in accompaniment of Jayantī with a large royal retinue clearly suggests that the king was still probably minor and his mother was widow at that time during which she acted as the queen-

1 *BhS*, 12, 2, 441.
2 The *Purāṇas* : *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*—p. 29, 73. *Vide* P. H. A. I. p. 132.
3 *Svapnavāsavadattā*, Act VI, p. 129.
4 Buddhist India : Rhys Davids p. 2.
5 *Svapnavāsavadattā*, Act VI, p. 129.
6 J. A. S. B. 1914 – p. 321.
7 *BhS*, 12, 2, 441.
8 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* – p. 88 f.
9 Commentary on *Dhammapada*, 21-23.
10 *BhS*, 12, 2, 441.
11 *Ib*, 1, 1, 4.
12 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491
13 *Ib*, 7, 9, 300
14 *Ib*, 13, 6, 491. See *Svapnavāsavadattā* also.

regent to govern the state of *Vatsa* in his name.[1] This suggestion is supported by the evidences of the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[2] in which it is recorded that on the sudden death of her husband, king Śatānīka, the royal sceptre of *Vatsa* fell on her and she acted as the queen-regent of her minor son, Udayana.

Queen Mṛgavatī cleverly rejected the renewed demand of Pradyota to marry him by requesting him to allow her postpone her consent till Udayana attained his youth and became capable enough of governing the kingdom independently without her regency, as the *Avanti* king became unsuccessful in his attempt to secure her by following the path of war with her husband, king Śatānīka, being enamoured with her beauty.

After this event one day queen Mṛgāvatī joined the *Nirgrantha* order of Lord Mahāvīra as nun with the permission of Pradyota in the presence of the Master before whom it was impossible for the *Avanti* king to refuse her request. At the same time she very cleverly entrusted her son, Udayana to the care of king Pradyota. Thus she outwitted him and saved her chastity and dignity of womanhood like a queen.

There are many popular legends about king Udayana, his captivity by king Pradyota Mahāsena with a clever feat made through a wooden camouflaged elephant, his love affairs with Vāsavadattā, the daughter of the *Avanti* king and elopment of the princess and his war with *Avanti*, etc., which are running in the Jaina,[3] Buddhist[4] and Brahmaṇical[5] works. It is difficult to find out the kernel of the historical truth from these messes of popular fables.

It appears from all these facts that king Udayana was a great king who earned glory by his victory over some of his contemporary rulers and made matrimonial alliances with the

[1] *BhS*, 12, 2 442. [2] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 88f.
[3] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*—II ; *Vide*, Life in Ancient India : Dr. J. C. Jain. p. 399. [4] Commentary on *Dhammapada*, vv. 21-23.
[5] *Svapnavāsavadattā* of Bhāsa.

royal families of *Avantī*,[1] *Aṅga*,[2] and *Magadha*.[3] His career was short and meteoric.

King Śiva

King Śiva was the ruler of the small kingdom of *Hastināpura*[4]. After having installed his son, Śivabhadra on its throne the king took to the *Vānaprastha* ascetic life by getting himself initiated by the *Diśāprokṣiṇa* ascetics. Later on he was converted by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma* with proper initiation from *Vānaprastha* stage of life.[5]

King Udāyana of Sindhu-Sauvīra

King Udāyana[6] ruled over the united kingdom of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* with its capital at *Vītībhaya* by exercising his authority over sixteen states, three hundred and sixty-three cities, Mahāsena and other ten unnamed subordinate kings and the dignitaries of the state, such as, *Rājeśvara*, *Talavara*, etc.

As already mentioned in connection with the topic 'Royal Succession' in the second section of the third chapter the king undertook the state of houselessness, getting himself initiated by Lord Mahāvīra, after having placed his nephew, Keśīkumāra in the affairs of the kingdom instead of his own son, Abhijit-Kumāra on the ground of his spiritual welfare. This evidence of joining the ascetic order by king Udāyana is also corroborated by that of the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*.[7]

The study of the references to sixteen states not specifically mentioned, Mahāsena and other ten unnamed kings, the matrimonial relation of king Udāyana with the president-king of *Vaiśālī* and the political asylum of the prince, Abhijit Kumāra in the court of Kūṇika of *Campā* throws a welcome light upon the inter-state relation as existing during that period.

[1] Commentary on *Dhammapada*, vv. 21-23.
[2] The *Priyadarśikā* of Sri Harṣa; *Vide* P.H.A.I. 5th Ed. p. 203.
[3] P.H.A.I. 5th Ed. p. 203. [4] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417-18.
[5] *Ib*, 11, 9, 418. [6] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.
[7] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 171 f. See also p. 36 (he was poisoned to death by minister's son later on).

If the identification of Mahāsena with Pradyota of *Avantī* is accepted, then the evidence of the *BhS* gives a new turn to the contemporary history that the *Avantī* ruler was a crowned vassal of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*.

This fact is corroborated by the other Jaina texts[1] that king Udāyana inflicted a crushing defeat on Pradyota in his own kingdom and branded his forehead with a frontlet legend '*dāsīpai*' (husband of slave girl) by marching on *Ujjayinī* with his ten vassals on the issue of a sandal-wood image of Lord Mahāvīra which was taken away by the *Avantī* king along with its care-taker, a slave girl named Devadattā from *Vītībhaya* to *Ujjayinī*. But on the approach of *Pajjusana* the Sindhu king set him at liberty by granting him pardon and investing him with a gold plate (*sovaṇṇa-paṭṭa*) in order to cover the letters '*dāsī-pai*' and restored his former kingdom to him. It is said that from that time the kings were invested with the golden plate.[2]

The other Jaina texts[3], the *Purāṇas*,[4] and the Buddhist works[5] throw much light upon the life and political career and character of the *Avantī* king and his relation with Seṇiya-Bimbisāra of *Magadha*, Śatānīka and his son, king Udayana of *Vatsa*, Puṣkarasārin of *Taxila*,[6] and *Mathurā*[7].

FOURTH SECTION

Clans

As already pointed out in the beginning of this chapter that the *BhS* makes incidental references to the following *Kṣatriya* clans, viz. *Ugras*, *Bhogas*, *Rājanyas*, *Ikṣvākus*, *Jñātris*, *Kauravyas* and *Kṣatriyas*.[8]

[1] *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīka*, 18, pp. 253 ff.; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 400.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 88 ff. *Vide*, Life in Ancient India, p. 396.
[4] See P.H.A.I. Fifth Ed. p. 204.
[5] S. B. E. XVII, p. 187. (Comm. on *Dhammapada*, 21, 23.) *Majjhima Nikāya*, III. 7.
[6] Essay on Guṇāḍhya, 176.
[7] *Vide*, P. H. A. India-Fifth Ed. p. 204.
[8] *BhS*, 9, 33, 383.

The members of these *Kṣatriya* clans were associated with the Government along with the other high dignitaries of the state and enjoyed an important status in the society and occupied a place in the contemporary history of the period of the *BhS*. They are also recorded in other Jaina texts[1] as the *Kṣatriya* clans.

Ugras

The *Ugras* of the *BhS* are mentioned in the *Uvāsagadasāo*,[2] while in the Buddhist *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[3] they are found as being associated with *Vaiśālī* and *Hatthigāma*.[4] The earliest reference to the *Ugras* occurs in the Vedic literature which states, "Rule here a mighty benevolent (king) upto tenth decade of thy life" "Daśamimugraḥ sumanā vaśeha".[5]

The evidences regarding the identification of the *Ugras*, furnished by all the Jaina,[6] Buddhist,[7] and Brahmanical[8] sources show that they were a *Kṣatriya* clan settled over different parts of Northern India during the time of Lord Mahāvīra. The existence of this clan may still be traced in the *Ugas* of *Rājputānā*[9] and the *Ugra-Kṣatriyas* of Burdwan (West Bengal)[10] commonly known as *Āguri*.

Bhogas

The *Bhogas* were one of the *Kṣatriya* clans occupying an important position in the state as well as in the society according to the evidences of the Jaina[11] and Buddhist[12] works.

[1] *Ovāiya Sutta*, 23, 38; *Kalpa Sūtra*, S. 211; *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p 139 etc.
[2] *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p 139.
[3] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 1.26 (*Uggo-gahapati Vesaliko—Nipāta*, 1.14.6.).
[4] *Nipāta*, 1. 14. 6, IV. The *Dhammapada* commentary refers to a city of *Ugga*.
[5] *Atharva Veda*, III, 4. 7. *Vide*, Hindu Polity : K. P. Jayaswal, p. 189 f., note 9.
[6] *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 139.
[7] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 1, 26 (*Nipāta*, 1.14.6).
[8] *Atharva Veda*, III, 4. 7, *Vide*, Hindu Polity p. 189 f., note 9; *Manusmṛti* X, 9; See *Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi*, V, 896.
[9] The *Rājpūtānā* Gazetteer, p. 275 ; *Vide*, Sherring's Hindu Tribes and castes Vol. III, p. 46.
[10] *Vide*, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 139. [11] *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 139.
[12] *Mahāparinivvāna Suttanta*, 1, (*Digha Nikāya*) 122-26; Cf. also *Sutta Nipāta*, 194.

Rājanyas

The *Rājanyas* are also mentioned in the Brāhmaṇical works[1] and the numismatic legends.[2] The term '*Rājanya*' appears to be a synonym with '*Kṣatriya*' in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* hymn of the *Ṛg-Veda*[3] where reference is made to the four social orders, viz. *Brāhmaṇa* (priest), *Rājanya* (prince or warrior), *Vaiśya* (commoner), *Śūdra* (servile class).

A class of nobles, being of the kingly family formed the *Kṣatriya* class of the later times in a nascent form. In the periods of Pāṇini[4] and the *Mahābhārata*[5] the *Rājanyas* appear as a distinct ruling republican *Kṣatriya* clan.

The numismatic evidences support the literary accounts as recorded in the above mentioned works that they were a ruling republican *Kṣatriya* clan, as it is revealed by the legend of their coins in *Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭhī* scripts: "Rājanya Janavadasa".

Obv. Humped bull to L. Rev. Rājanya Janavadasa standing figure.[6]

These coins may be assigned to the later half of the first century B. C. It appears from the find spots of their coins that they were probably settled over *Mathurā* and some region in the *Mathurā* and some region in the western or north-western *Rājpūtānā*.[7]

A critical study of all these literary and numismatic evidences shows that the *Rājanyas* of the *BhS* were a *Kṣatriya* clan in *Vaiśāli* and other regions at the time of Lord Mahāvīra.

Ikṣvākus (Ikkhāgā)

The *Ikṣvākus* appear also in the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist works as the celebrated *Kṣatriya* clan which produced many

[1] *Ṛgveda*, X, 90; Pāṇini, IV. 2. 104; *Mbh. Śā. Parva*, Ch. 81.
[2] Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, p. 485.
[3] *Ṛgveda*, X, 90, V, 12.
[4] *Pāṇini*, IV, 2, 104; See also *Kātyāyana*.
[5] *Mahābhārata-Śānti Parva*, Ch. 18.
[6] Cambridge History of India Vol. 1, p. 485.
[7] Age of Imperial Unity, p. 160 ;.

legendary personalities. The first reference to a prince, *Ikṣvāku* by name is found in a passage of the *Ṛg-Veda*.[1] Both the Vedic[2] and Purāṇic[3] literatures furnish a long list of kings belonging to the *Aikṣvāka* dynasty from Ikṣvāku himself down to king Prasenjit of *Kośala*, the contemporary ruler of king Seṇiya-Bimbisāra. The evidences of the Vedic and Purāṇic works are also supported by the *Rāmāyaṇa*[4] in which the royal family of *Kośala* is said to have discended from a king named Ikṣvāku, while in the Buddhist works[5] the branches of this family are found ruling at *Kuśinārā* and at Benaras respectively. The epigraphic records[6] also reveal that a *Ikṣvāku* dynasty reigned in the south in the 2nd and 3rd century A. D.

Thus it appears that this famous *Kṣatriya* clan spread over different parts of India with the process of Aryanization of the country upto the far south. The *Ikṣvākus* of the *BhS* were one of its branches as being associated with *Vaiśālī*.

Jñātṛika (Nāyā)

The *Jñātṛikas* became celebrated by the birth of Lord Mahāvīra in the family of its chief Siddhārtha, in *Kṣatriyakuṇḍa-grāma*.[7] It was the Master who raised the status of this clan to a high pedestal of honour and glory by bringing them into prominence as the last *Tīrthaṅkara*

According to the *Uvāsagadasāo*[8], the *Jñātṛikas* settled over *Kuṇḍagrāma*, *Kollāga* and *Vāṇijyagrāma*, the three quarters of *Vaiśālī* which are identified with the present villages *Vāsukuṇḍa*, *Kolhuā*, and *Baniyāgaon* respectively of *Basārh* (*Vaiśālī*) in the Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar. The association of the *Jñātṛikas* with *Vaiśālī* is well supported by the epithet '*Vesālie*',[9] attributed to Lord Mahāvīra, a scion of this clan.

[1] *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 60.
[2] *Atharva-Veda* XIV, 39-9 ; *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* 1-2-10 et. seg.
[3] *Vāyupurāṇa* 1. 47. 11. [4] *Rāmāyaṇa* 1. 47. 11.
[5] *Kuśa Jātaka* No. 531 ; *Mahāvastu* 111. 8.
[6] *Nāgārjunikuṇḍa* Inscription, En. Indica XX p. 16. 19 f.
[7] *Kalpa Sūtra* (Jaina Sūtra II pt. II S. B. E. Vol. XIV p. 416.
[8] *Uvāsagadasāo* II. p. 4 f. 4. [9] *BhS* 2, 1, 90 ; 12, 2, 441.

Kauravyas (Korovvā)

The *Kauravyas* appear to be one of the branches of the famous *Kuru* clan as mentioned in the Brāhmaṇical[1] and Buddhist[2] works and epigraphic records.[3] The first reference to this famous clan occurs in the *Ṛg-veda* which alludes to king Kuruśravāṇasa (the glory of the *Kurus*, or as the hearer of the *Kurus*). But this king was also known as Trāsadasyava (descendant of Trasadasyu)[4] who was the king of *Purus* inhabiting the region on the *Sarasvatī*.[5]

The merging of these *Tṛtsu Bharatas* and their rival clan, the *Purus* resulted in the formation of the *Kurus*[6] later on the land of the *Sarasvatī* which came to be known as *Kurukṣetra*, the field of the *Kurus*, the centre of Indo-Aryan Culture.[7] In the Buddhist Records the land of this clan appears as one of the sixteen great states[8] where they ruled In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya the *Kurus* are mentioned as a *Kṣatriya* clan, having the republican form of government, still holding the title '*rājā*' ('rāja-śabda-upajīvinaḥ').[9] They also played some active part in North Indian politics during the rule of king *Dharmapāla* of Bengal[10] who installed his protégé, Cakrāyudha on the throne of *Kannauja* with the consent of the elders of the *Kurus* and *Pañcālas*, after defeating Indrāyudha.

These evidences show that the *Kauravyas* of the *BhS* were an eastern branch of the famous *Kuru* clan.

Kṣatriyas (Khattiyā)

The *Kṣatriyas* of the *BhS* may be a clan of that name

1 *Ṛg-Veda* IX. 33. 4. ; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VIII. 14 (tra. Keith *Ṛgveda*, *Brāhmaṇas* p 331, Cf *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III, 1, 1. foll. *Manu-Smṛti* II, 17. 19 ; *Bhagavat*, *Gītā* 1st verse ; *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparva*) Ch. 129, pp. 394. 5.
2 *Aṅguttara Nikāya* Vol. I. p. 213. Vol. IV pp. 252, 256 and 260 ; *Digha Nikāya* II, pp. 200. 201 & 203.
3 *Khālimpura* Inscription of Dharmapāla of Bengal.
4 *Ṛg-Veda*, IV, 38, 1 ; VII, 19, 3 ; etc.
5 Vedic Index, 1.327. 6 Vedic Index, 1.167
7 *Ib.* 1, 167, 8. *Vide*, Cambride History of India, Vol. 1, p. 117.
8 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. 1, p. 213. 9 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 455.
10 *Khālimpura* Inscription of Dharmapāla of Bengal.

which is also mentioned in the Grammar of Pāṇini[1] in association with the *Gotras*, *Janapadas* and *Sanghas*, where they, as the original founders, gave their names to the region where they settled down.

"Janapadaśabdāt Kṣatriyadāñ".

They may be identified with the *Kathaioi* or Cathaeans of the Greek writers some of whom place "*Cathaia* and the country of Sopheithes, one of the monarchs, in the tract between the rivers, *Hydaspes* (*Jhelum*) and *Acesines* (the *Cenāba*); some on the other side of the *Acesines* and of the *Hydaratis* (the *Rāvī*) on the confines of the territory of the other Poras, the nephew of Poras who was taken prisoner by Alexander".[2]

The Kathaians were well-known and renowned for their bravery and skill in the art of warfare. It is stated by Onesikritos that the most beautiful man among them was chosen as king in *Kathaia*.[3] The *Kṣatriyas* of the *BhS* may be one of the branches of that famous *Kṣatriya* clan of that name who probably migrated to the east and settled over the *Vaiśālī* region in course of time.

FIFTH SECTION

Tribes and Races

As already pointed out in the first and third sections of the fourth chapter the *BhS*,[4] while giving a list of female servants and slaves makes mention of their respective tribal, racial and country names. They are as follows: *Cilāiyā*, *Babbariyā*, *Isiganiyā*, *Vāsaganiyā*, *Jonhiyā*, *Pallaviyā*, *Lhāsiya*, *Lausiyā*, *Ārabī*,

[1] *Pāṇini*, 1. 168.
[2] Strabo, H. and F's translation III. p. 92. See Jolly S.B.E. VII, 15: Ep. Ind. III, 8. Ct. Pāṇini II, 4, 20, *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 85, 16. *Vide*, P.H.A.I, Dr. Ray Chaudhury, 5th Ed. p. 251 for the identification and location of the *Kathaioi*; Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1. 371.
[3] Mc. Crindle : Ancient India as described in classical literature p. 38.
[4] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380.

Damilī, *Siṅghalī*, *Pulindī*, *Pukkhalī*, *Bahalī*, *Muruṇḍī*, *Sabarī* and *Pārasī*. Most of these names occur also in other Jaina texts, the *Purāṇas* and foreign accounts and are well-known and can be identified with certainty, while the others are obscure and unidentifiable.

Cilāiyās (Cilātikās)

The *Cilāiyās* (Skt. *Kirātas*) are also mentioned in other Jain texts,[1] Brāhmanical works,[2] epigraphic records[3] and foreign accounts[4] as a distinct non-Aryan tribe. In the *Nāgārjunīkuṇḍa* Inscription the *Cilātas* are branded as dishonest traders. Of the foreign sources the *Skyrites* of the account of Magasthenes, having merely orifices instead of nostrils probably represent the *Kirātas*. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea mentions "the Cirrahadae – a race of men with flattened noses, very savages" among many barbarous tribes settled over a region beyond Bengal towards the north.

Ptolemy places *Kyrrahadae* among the tribes of *Sogdian* (modern Soghd) which is separated from Bactrianā by the river *Oxus*.

Thus it is known that the *Cilātas* were settled over the regions along with greater parts of the southern side of the *Himālayas* and they also inhabited the eastern region of India near the river *Brahmaputra* in Assam, eastern parts of Tibet (Bhoṭa), eastern Nepal[5] and Tiperah.[6]

Babbariyās (Barbarikās)

The *Babbariyās* are the peoples of the *Barbara* tribe

1 *Jambuddīva Pannatti*, 56. p. 23.
2 *Mbh.*, XII, 207; *Viṣṇu purāṇa* (Wilson's edition, pp. 156-90. *Srimat Bhagavat Gītā*, II. 4.18.
3 *Nāgārjunīkuṇḍa* Inscription of Vīrapurisadatta, 14th regnal year.
4 Magasthenes India; Periplus of Erythraean Sea Schoff; Ptolemy-Mc. Crindle-Ancient India, p. 277.
5 Lé Nepāl. II. pp. 72-8, Sylvain Levi.
6 J. A. S. B. XIX. Leong-Chronicles of *Tripurā* p. 536.

which finds mention in other Jaina texts,[1] the *Mahābhārata*[2], the *Purāṇas*[3] and foreign records.[4]

All the evidences from the Indian and foreign sources show that the *Barbaras* were settled over the Himālayan belt from *Kāśmīra* upto North Bihar[5] as well as in *Sindha*[6]

Isigaṇiyās (Iṣikas or Ṛṣikaṇikas or Ṛṣikas)

The *Isigaṇiyās* may be identified with the *Iṣikas* of the *Matsya Purāṇa*[7] and the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[8] in the former they are associated with the *Kāruśas*, *Āṭavyas*, *Śabaras* etc., while in the latter they are mentioned along with the *Ābhīras*, *Āṭayas*, etc. They may be located in the Hyderabad region in the Deccan.

Vāsagaṇiyās[9]

The *Vāsagaṇiyās* (*Vāsagaṇikās*) may probably be identified with the *Nāmavāsakas* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[10] and the *Vanavāsakas* of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[11] and the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*.[12]

The term '*Vāsagaṇiyā*' may denote the peoples of the kingdom of *Vanavāsī* the name of which still exists as the name of a town near the north-western border of Mysore.[13] It is also mentioned in the *Nāgārjunīkuṇḍa* Inscription of Vīrapurisadatta[14] as a distinct territorial unit. *Vanavāsī* may be identical with

[1] *Pauma Cariu* of Sayambhū, *Sandhi*, 21.
[2] *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparva*), Ch. 31-99 ; XII, 207. 43.
[3] *Mārk. Purāṇa*, 57, 59 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, XXI, 45, 51.
[4] Periplus of the Erythraean Sea ; Ptolemy, Mc. Crindle, p. 148.
[5] *Paumacariu* of Sayambhū, *Sandhi*, 21. It is said here that the *Barbaras* of the *Himālayas* attacked the country of Janaka from the north in league with the *Pulindas* & the *Śabaras*.
[6] C. A. G. I. pp. 692-4. Early History of India, p. 110; 11th ed.
[7] *Matsya Purāṇa*, III. 46 48.
[8] *Vāyupurāṇa*, 45-126 ; see also *Mbh*. IX, 365.
[9] *BhS* (Comm.), 9, 33, 380.
[10] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57.
[11] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, XLV, 125.
[12] *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, XIV, 52. 13, 523. 33.
[13] Rice, Mysore and Coorg (1. pp. 89, 95).
[14] *Nāgārjunīkuṇḍa* Inscription of Vīrapurisadatta, 14th regnal year.

ancient *Vaijayantī*,[1] *Busantion* of the Periplus[2] and *Banaousii* of Ptolemy.[3]

Joṇhiyās (Joṇhikās = Yaunas = Yavanas = Greeks)

The *Joṇhiyās* may be identical with the *Yaunas* (*Yavanas* = Greeks) of the *Mahābhārata*[4] and other Brāhmaṇical works,[5] who are mentioned along with the *Kāmbojas*, *Gandhāras*, etc.

Pallaviyās (Paḷhavas = Pārthians)

The *Pallaviyās* are the *Paḷhavas* which find mention in the *Purāṇas*[6], the two epics[7], epigraphic and numismatic records[8] and foreign accounts.[9] Prof. Rapson[10] thinks that the word '*Paḷhava*' is a corruption of '*Pārthava*' the Indian name for the Pārthians. So the *Paḷhavikās* may definitely be identified with the female members of the Pārthians who were originally an Iraniam people settled on the frontiers of *Masandarān* and *Khurāsān*, circa 249-8 B. C.

The establishment of the rule of the Pārthians in the 1st Cen. A. D. in North-West India is evidenced by the numismatic[11] and epigraphic records[12] and the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.[13]

1 *Sātavāhana* Inscription, *Nāsika* cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī, 18th regnal year.
2 Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (Schoff).
3 Mc. Crindle : Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 129.
4 *Mahābhārata*, XII, 207.
5 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Wilson's edition), pp. 156. 90.
6 *Vāyu Purāṇa* ; *Vide* Tribes in Ancient India p. 93, Samskrit-English-Dictionary : Monier-Williams. P. 612.
7 *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, LIV 1018-20 (B) *Mahābhārata*, XII ; 207 (?)
8 *Nāsika* cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. *Vide*, Select Inscriptions *Jūnāgaḍha* R, I. of Rudradāman, 150 A. D. Also see, Select Inscriptions of Dr. D. C. Sirkar ; Parthian coins, C. H. I. Vol. 1.
9 Periplus of the Erytraean Sea.
10 Cambridge History of India Vol. 1, Rapson ; see Takt-i-Bāhī Inscription of Gondopharnes,
11 Pārthian Coins—C.H.I. Vol. 1, Rapson.
12 *Takt-i-Bāhī* Inscription of Gondopharnes.
13 Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.

Lhāsiyās (Nāsikyas ?)

The *Lhāsiyās* may correspond to the *Nāsikyas* of the *Purāṇas*[1] who were located in the *Nāsika* region of the present *Mahārāṣṭra* state. But there is still uncertainty about their identity without further evidences.

Lausiyās (Lausikās)

The *Lausiyās* are not yet identified. Can they be the people of modern Laos in South-East Asia ?

Ārabīs (Arabs)

The *Ārabīs* were the people of Arabia (Arab) whose relation with India may be traced even in the first Century A. D. and even earlier on the basis of the evidence of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea[2]. According to the *Nausāri* grant of Avanījanāśraya[3] the Governor of Pulakeśī II, the *Cālukya* king of *Vātāpī* repulsed the incursion of the Arabs into *Thānā* (near Bombay), Broach, the Gulf of *Debal* and *Al-kikān* (the district round *Kelat*) by inflicting a defeat on them in the 7th Century A. D. It is a well-known fact that they conquered *Sindhu* in 637 A. D. under the generalship of Md. Bin Kāsim by making war on Dāhira, the then ruling king of the state.[4]

The appearance of the Arabs at the time of Lord Mahāvīra seems to be a matter of historical controversy without further corroborative evidences, though the Periplus suggests their early relation with India in the B. Cs.

Damilīs (Drāviḍas)

The *Damilīs* were the famous south Indian race, having the same name now known as the *Tāmilas*. They are also

[1] *Purāṇas—Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* LVII, 48, 51 ; LVIII, 24 ; *Vāyu-Purāṇa* XLV ; *Matsya-Purāṇa* CXIII, 50.
[2] Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.
[3] *Nausāri* grant of Avanī-Janāśraya ; see also Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II. Refer to Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I.
[4] Advance History of India—Dr. R. C. Mazumdar.

mentioned in other Jaina,[1] Buddhist[2] and Brāhmaṇical[3] works, epigraphic records[4] and foreign accounts.[5] The land of the *Damilas* is referred to in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea as *Damirica* which is the same as *Limirike* of Ptolemy, that is, *Tāmilakam*, a region lying to the south of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā* extending upto Cape-Comorin.

This clearly reveals that the *Damilas* were the *Drāvidians* of the past and the *Tāmilas* of the present day.

Siṁhalīs (Ceylonese)

The *Siṁhalīs* were the people of ancient Ceylon with its capital at *Anurādhāpura*. They are also mentioned in the ancient Buddhist texts[6] and epigraphic records[7] as a distinct race living in an island country.

According to the tradition recorded in the *Mahāvaṁśa*[8] and *Dīpavaṁśa*[9] this island country is known as *Sīhaladdīpa* after the name of Vijayasiṁha, the famous Indian adventurer from *Siṁhapura* in *Lāṭa*, and her people are called *Siṁhalīs* (Lion-tribe).

The Siṁhalese chronology commences also with the landing of Vijayasiṁha which synchronizes with the demise of Lord Buddha in 483 B. C.

It appears from the above facts that there had been waves of immigration to *Siṁhala* from ancient India and her cultural and commercial relation with that country since a long time. In course of this relation some slave girls might have been imported from there to India to be employed in the service of the royal and rich aristocratic families of North-Eastern India.

1 *Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya* 1. 123.
2 *Dīpavaṁśa* ; *Mahāvaṁśa* ; *Cullavaṁśa* ; *Sāsana-vaṁśa*—33.
3 *Mahābhārata*—Ch. 118. 4 ; *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*—IV. 28. 30.
4 *Nāgārjunikuṇḍa* Inscription of Vīrapurisadatta, 14th regnal year.
5 Periplus of the Erythraean Sea : Ptolemy's Ancient India.
6 *Mahāvaṁśa*, VI-VIII ; *Dīpavaṁśa*, IX.
7 Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta ; *Vide*, Select Inscriptions of Dr. D. C. Sirkar.
8 *Mahāvaṁśa*, VI-VIII. 9 *Dīpavaṁśa*, IX.

Pulindās (Pulindas)

The *Pulindas* are also mentioned in other Jaina texts[1], Brāhmaṇical[2] and Buddhist works[3], epigraphic records[4], and foreign accounts[5] as a distinct non-Aryan tribe.

The earliest reference to the *Pulindas* occurs in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[6] where they are associated with the *Āndhras*, the *Puṇḍras*, the *Śabaras*, etc., who belonged to the clan of *Viśvāmitra* but were essentially constituted of the *Dasyus*. In the Aśokan Edict[7] they are also mentioned along with the *Āndhras* who were settled on the frontier of his empire. Their name is interpreted in the Tibetan *Mahāvyutpatti*[8] by Gym Po as "outcaste and in Chinese by *Tukva* the race which kills the beasts for their food."[9] The *Pulindas* appear also in the geography of Ptolemy[10] as *Poulindai* with the epithet *'agriophagoi'* which means wild-eaters.

It appears from all the sources[11] that they were a well-known non-Aryan tribe settled over the region extending from Mālwā to the *Godāvarī*.[12]

Pukkhalīs (Puskalīs)

The *Pukkhalis* may be the *Puṣkalas* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[13] They were associated with *Puṣkalāvatī*, the old capital of *Gandhāra* which is also recorded in the foreign accounts by different variations of this name, such as, Greek forms—*Peukelaotis*,

[1] *Paṇhavāgaraṇa*, St. 332, 397 ; *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1. ; *Pauma-Cariu* of Sayambhū, S., 21.
[2] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*-7. 18 ; *MārkaṇḍeyaPurāṇa*—57. 45 8 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, III 46-8 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa*. 5, 12. 6 ; *Mbh*, III, 188 ; *Rāmā*. 4, 43 103 ; 44, 129 ; *Raghuvaṁśa*, XV, 32.
[3] *Mahāvaṁśa*, 1 68. [4] Aśokan R. E. XIII.
[5] Ptolemy's Ancient India–VII. 164.
[6] *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*-7. 18. See *Mbh*, 175, 6685 and *Mahāvaṁśa*, 1, 68 for their different origins.
[7] R. E. XIII [8] *Mahāvyutpatti*. 188, 15.
[9] *Vide*, Pre-Aryan, Pre-Drāviḍian in India pp. 88-91, Sylvain Levi.
[10] Ptolemy's Ancient India VII. 164.
[11] *Mārkaṇḍeya. Purāṇa*, 57, 45-8 ; *Matsya P.* III. 46-8 ; *Pauma-cariu*, S. 21, etc.
[12] Pre-Aryan and Pre-Drāviḍian India pp. 88-91 ; translation by Dr. P. C. Bagchi.
[13] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57.

Peukolaos, *Proclais* of Ptolemy[1] etc. The first of these names is probably derived from the *Prākṛta* '*Pakkhalavaḍī*' occurring in the legend of a piece of gold-coin of the Indo-Scythic period in *Kharoṣṭhī* "Pakkhalavaḍī devatā" (the deity of *Pakhalavatī* or *Puṣkalāvatī*)[2]. It is *Pu-se-ke-la-fa-ti* of Hiuen Tsang,[3] the Chinese transliteration of *Puṣkalāvatī* or *Puṣkarāvatī*, the Skt. form of the name of the city founded by Puṣkara, the son of Bharata.[4] It corresponds to the modern villages of *Cārasāḍā* and *Prāg* in *Hastanagar* group in the Peshawar district (N. W. P.)[5].

The above discussion shows that the *Pukkhalīs* of the *BhS* were the people of *Puṣkalāvatī* region.

Bahalīs (Vāhlikas)[6]

The *Bahalīs* of the *BhS* may be identical with the *Vāhlikas*, the people of Bactria (modern Balkh in Afganistan). The *Vāhlikas* are mentioned in the *Meharauli* Iron pillar Inscription of king Candra where it is recorded thus, "Tīrtvā saptamukhāni yena samare Sindhor-jitā Vāhlikāḥ."[7]

This epigraphic evidence shows that they inhabited a region beyond the river Indus by crossing which king Candra inflicted a defeat on them.

According to the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*[8], *Takkhasilā* was the capital of the *Bahalī* country which was given to *Bāhubalī* by Ṛṣabhadeva before his renunciation of the world.

The literary[9] and numismatic[10] evidences show that the *Vāhlikas* (Bactrian Greeks) established their rule in the North-West India under the leadership of Demetrius in the second

[1] Ptolemy's Ancient India, p. 115.
[2] Indo-Scythic coins, Gardener.
[3] Wattars on Yuan Chwang, 1, 214 ; *Vide* C. A. 1. p. 105.
[4] See *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, (Wilson's edition, Vol. V. Ch. 4).
[5] C A. G. I, p. 105
[6] *BhS* (Comm.), 9, 33, 380.
[7] *Meharauli* Iron Pillar Inscription of king Candra.
[8] *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi*, *i*. p. 180
[9] Turn's Greeks in Bactria and India ; *Patañjali Mahābhāṣya* (Indian Antiquary, 1872, p. 300).
[10] Indo-Greek coins.

century B. C. The Indo-Greek relation began long before Demetrius since the time of Indian invasion of Alexander in the fourth Century B. C. It may be presumed that some Bactrian female slaves might have been imported to India in course of trade to be employed in the service of the royal and rich aristocratic families in North-Eastern India.

Muruṇḍīs (Muruṇḍas)

The *Muruṇḍīs* of the *BhS* also appear in other ancient works of India, epigraphic records and foreign accounts as a distinct foreign race who migrated from outside and settled over different parts of India by establishing their rule which continued upto the period of Candragupta II, the *Gupta* king. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*[1] they are described as a *Mleccha* tribe known by the name '*Maruṇḍa*', while Ptolemy[2] mentions them as *Moroundai* and places them on the Western border of the *Gangāradai*. The *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra[3] identifies the *Muruṇḍas* with the *Lampakas*, the *Lambaṭas* of Ptolemy who are located in the vicinity of the fountain head of the modern Kabul river in the region around *Laghamān* (*Langhāna*). In the Allahabad pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[4] the *Śaka-Muruṇḍas* are mentioned along with the other foreign potentates who came of their own accord to pay their homage to the *Gupta* king while a *Muruṇḍa-Swāmin* is referred to in a Central India Inscription of the 6th Century A. D.[5] Sten Konow thinks that the word '*Muruṇḍa*' signified 'Lord' as the later form of the word '*Śaka*'.[6] It appears from the study of these evidences together with the epigraphic[7] and numismatic[8] records of the *Śakas* that the *Muruṇḍas* were a

1 *Vāyu Purāṇa; Vide*, Tribes in Ancient India p. 94.
2 Ptolemy's A.I.-M.C. pp. 215-6.
3 *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, IV, 26.
4 Allāhābād Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.
5 *Vide*, Tribes in Ancient India : B. C. Law. 94.
6 Cf. Allāhābad Pillar Inscription ; *Vide*, Select Inscriptions of Dr. D. C. Sirkar.
7 Taxila Silvar Scroll. Ins. of *Patika* ; *Mathurā* Ins. of Soḍāsa, etc.
8 Coins of Indo-Scythic rulers (Gardener) ; *Andhra* coins : Rapson.

branch of the *Śakas*. But their existence at the time of Lord Mahāvīra seems to be a historical absurdity without further evidence.

Sabaris (Śabaras)

The *Sabaris* also find mention in other indegenous[1] and foreign accounts[2] as a distinct non-Aryan tribe. The *Paumacariu* of Sayambhū[3] locates them in the *Vindhyas*, while Cunningham suggests the identity of the *Sabarai* with the *Suari* of Pliny and holds that both of them are identical with the *Śabaras* of the Sanskṛit works—a wild tribe spreading over the region to the south of Gwalior and Marwar where they are still styled as *Surrius*.[4]

Pārasīs (Pārsīs = Persians)

The *Pārasīs* of the *BhS* were the people of *Pārasa* country (modern Persia) who are also referred to in other Jain texts,[5] foreign accounts[6] and epigraphic records[7] as a distinct race. The relation between India and Persia dates back to the hoary past of the Indo-Iranian unity when the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans and Perso-Aryans formed the common racial group till the final comptete historical separation of these two peoples took place through the process of migration into different countries. But a certain community of interest, both political and economic brought about the relation of the two Nations again in the North-West of

1 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* VII. 18; *Matsya Purāṇa* 144. 46-9; *Rāmā.* 1. 1. 55. etc.
2 Ptolemy's Ancient India—Mc. Crindle, Ed. S. N. Mazumdar—p. 173.
3 *Pauma Cariu*: Sayambhū, S. 21.
4 *Vide*, Tribes in Ancient India: Dr. B. C. Law—p. 172.
5 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*—p. 448; *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*; *Kālakācāryakathānaka.*
6 Herodotus' accounts 1. 177; Hdt. II, 94. Cf. ch. III, 89; III, 94 II, 44; cf. III, 102.
7 Darius, Persepolis Edict (15-18). 518-515 B. C.; Nākshi-Rustam (NK 9-23-26) after 515 B. C.
Behistun Inscription, 1. 14-17; sar rese. Cf. 10-18.
N. R. 9-22-30, Persian coins; *Vide*, C. H. I. Vol. 1, Plato, 1. Ch. XIV. pp. 285-308.

India during the Achamenid rule over this region, as it is evidenced in the classical Greek accounts and the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Achamenids. The Indo-Persian trade-relation established by the Indian merchants is mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, the *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā* and it is also supported by the account of *Kālakācārya-Kathānaka*. The presence of the female attendants of *Pārasa* in the North-East of India during the time of Lord Mahāvīra appears to be a historical fact in the Light of the evidences furnished by the classical Greek accounts and Persian records—both epigraphic and numismatic. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśī[1] II, shows that the diplomatic relation with Persia was established by him late in the 7th Century A. D.

Bhuttuyās[2]

The *Bhuttuyās* may be identified witn the people of ancient *Bhoṭa* country the name of which is still preserved in that of modern Bhūṭān.

[1] Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśī II. See Bombay Gazetteer Vol.I.
[2] *BhS*, 3. 2. 143

NINTH CHAPTER

Cosmology, Cosmography, and Geography

FIRST SECTION

Cosmology

In the *BhS* the entire Universe is conceived of as comprising *Loka* (the inhabited Universe) and *Aloka* (Non-Universe-uninhabited by beings), both of which were eternal and without succession.

"Dovi ee sāsayā bhāvā, aṇāṇupuvvī"[1].

There are prescribed to be four kinds of the Universe (*Loka*), viz., *Dravyaloka* (the Universe of substane), *Kṣetraloka* (the Universe of space), *Kālaloka* (the Universe of Time), and *Bhāvaloka* (the Universe of state).

The *Kṣetraloka* is divided into three regions, viz. *Adhaḥloka-Kṣetraloka* (lower region), *Tiryagloka-Kṣetraloka* (horizontal region) *Ūrddhvaloka-kṣetraloka* (upper region); they are further sub-divided into different worlds.

Thus there are stated to be seven kinds of *Adhaḥloka-Kṣetraloka* viz. *Ratnaprabhā-pṛthivī, Śarkarāprabhā, Vālukāprabhā, Paṅkaprabhā, Tamā, Tamaḥtamā* (i.e. *Adhaḥ-Saptamā*),[2] innumerable *Tiryagloka-Kṣetra-loka*, such as, *Jambūdvīpa* island upto *Svayambhūramaṇa* island and sea, and there are fifteen *Ūrddhvaloka-Kṣetralokas*, viz. (1) *Saudharma*, (2) *Aiśāna*, (3) *Sanatkumāra*, (4) *Māhendra*, (5) *Brahmaloka*, (6) *Lāntaka*, (7) *Mahāśukra*, (8) *Sahasrāra*, (9) *Ānata*, (10) *Prāṇata*, (11) *Āraṇa*, (12) *Acyuta*, (13) *Graiveyakavimāna*, (14) *Anuttara-Vimāna*, (15) *Īṣadprāgbhāra-pṛthivī-Ūrddhvaloka*.[3]

It is stated that the border of the Non-Universe (*Alokānta*) is touched by that of the Universe (*Lokānta*), while the borders of the Universe are connected by the following stages (*sthānas*) one after another, viz. the intervening space (*avakāśāntara*),

[1] *BhS*, 1, 6, 53. [2] *Ib*, 11, 10, 420. [3] *Ib*, 11, 10, 420.

air (*vāta*), a highly rarified air (*tanuvāta*), a thick atmosphere (*ghanavāta*) a cloudy atmosphere (*ghanodadhi*), earth, islands, seas and continents (*Varṣas*).[1]

In the cases of *Lokānta* and *Alokānta*, the *Lokānta* and the seventh intervening space, the *Lokānta* and the seventh world, *tanuvāta* and *ghanavāta*, *ghanodadhi* and the seventh world there is no succession.[2]

Shapes of the Universe and the Non-Universe

The Universe is of the shape of a well-placed lid (*śarā*) on a water-pitcher; its lower region is wide apart standing as if on two legs; the middle one is narrow; the upper one is shaped like the mouth (face) of a standing drum.[3]

The Non-Universe is stated to have a round shape with perforation in the centre [4]

The shape of the *Adhahloka* (lower region) is said to be like that of a lid of a vessel; that of the *Tiryagloka* (horizontal region) is like that of a cymbal (*Jhallarī saṁṭhie*) and that of the *Ūrddhvaloka* (upper region) is like that of a standing drum.[5]

According to the *BhS* there are infinite living, non-living and living-cum-non-living substances in the lower, horizontal and upper regions of the Universe from the point of view of substance, while they do not exist in the Non-Universe from the same point of view, but there is one part of non living substance (*ajīvadravyadeśa*) i.e. space which is the infiniteth part of the whole space (*Ākāśa*).

In those three regions of the Universe, Time is eternal from the point of view of time and there are infinite states of colour, smell, etc., upto the infinite states of not-heaviness-cum-lightness in the Universe, while in the Non-Universe there are no states of colour, etc., but only space.[6]

Extent of the Universe and Non-Universe

The text deals with the question of immeasurable largeness of the Universe and the Non-Universe with the help of

1,2 *BhS*, 1, 6, 53. 3 *Ib*, 7, 1, 261; 11, 10, 420
4,5 *Ib*, 11, 10, 420.

examples of the inability of ten swiftest gods to reach the end of the Universe and that of the Non-Universe with their fastest divine speed. But the uncrossed space of the Universe and that of the Non-Universe of those gods are much more than their crossed space of the Universe and that of the Non-Universe.[1]

Thus the Universe is stated to be very spacious; in the east it is countless *Koṭikoṭi yojanas* (crores & crores of leagues); in the west it is countless, etc., likewise it is in the south and the north; thus with regard to the upper and lower regions also it is countless crores of leagues in length and breadth.[2]

In this extensive Universe there is no part, having the size of an atom, where this soul (or being) was not born nor died from the point of view of the state of eternality of the Universe, its beginningless state, the eternality of *Jīva* (soul), manifoldness of *Karma*, and many births and deaths

It is explained by a familiar analogy of one large enclosure and one hundred he-goats, kept therein by some man that as within six months every part of that enclosure, having the size of an atom, becomes touched with the excrement, or urine, or phlegm, or mucus of nose, or vomit, or bilious humour, or pus, or semen, or blood, or skin, or hairs, or hoofs, or nails of those he-goats, just like that in every part of the Universe having the dimension of an atom, the soul was born and died.[3]

Existence of Beings in the Universe

All beings from the one-sensed being upto the quasi-sensed beings (*anindriya*) exist in the part of Space of the Universe without causing any trouble to one another like the female dancer and spectators witnessing the performance of dance-drama by her in a theatre hall.

As she or they cannot cause any pain, or trouble, or injury, or dismemberment of the body of one another with their respective looks, so the beings exist in one part of Space of the Universe without binding, touching and causing pain to one another.[4]

[1] *BhS*, 11, 10, 421.
[2] *Ib*, 12, 7, 457.
[3] *Ib*, 12, 7, 457.
[4] *Ib*, 11, 10, 422.

Centres of the Universe

Having gone deep into the innumerable parts of the Space of *Ratnaprabhāpṛthivī*—here comes the centre of the Universe. After having crossed a little more than the half of the intervening space of the fourth infernal world *Paṅkaprabhā*, here is stated to be the centre of the lower region.

Above the *Sanatkumāra-Māhendrakalpas* and below the *Brahmaloka-kalpa*, is *Riṣṭavimāna*, here lies the centre of the upper region.

In the *Jambūdvīpa* island, just in the middle part of the *Mandāra*-mountain there are above and below the *Ratnaprabhāpṛthivī* two smaller parts of elevation (or width), here is located the centre of the horizontal region called *Rucaka*, having eight parts, because from this point flow the ten directions—East, East-South[1] etc.

It is stated that the seven skies are not heavy, nor light, not-heavy-cum-light, but are neither heavy nor light.

Similarly the seven *tanuvātas* (rarified air) are not heavy, not-light but heavy cum-light and not neither heavy nor light. Thus the seven *ghanavātas*, (thick atmosphere[2], *ghanodadhi* (cloudy atmosphere), and the skies of the seven worlds should be known like the seven skies as neither heavy nor light.[2]

Order of the Universe (Lokasthiti)

There are eight kinds of *Lokasthiti* (order of the Universe), viz. (1) *Ākāśapratiṣṭhitavāta* (air resting on the support of space), (2) *Vātapratiṣṭhita-udadhi* (sea resting on the support of air), (3) *Udadhipratiṣṭhita pṛthivī* (earth resting on the support of the sea), (4) *Pṛthivī-pratiṣṭhita-trasa-sthāvara-prāṇa* (mobile and immobile beings resting on the support of the earth), (5) *Ajīva-jīvapratiṣṭhita* (non-living substances resting on the living substances), (6) *Jīva Karmapratiṣṭhita* (beings resting on the support of *Karma*), (7) *Ajīva-jīvasaṅhṛta* (non-living substances collected by the beings (or souls) and (8) *Jīva-Karmasaṅhṛta* (souls of beings collecting *Karma*-matters (i.e. souls affected by *Karmas*).[3]

[1] *Bhag* 13, 4, 479. [2] *Ib*, 1, 9, 73. [3] *Ib*, 1, 6, 54.

The *Lokasthiti* is explained by an example thus, "as some person fills a leather bladder with air and binds its mouth with a knot; then he ties a knot in the middle of it and opens the upper knot (i.e. mouth) and bleeds the air from its upper part and fills it with water, Next he, binding the mouth of the bladder opens the middle knot; as a result of this action the filled up water will rest on the uppermost portion of the air."

"Or some man fills the bladder with air, ties it to his waist and enters into very deep water with the superhuman power, but he will rest on the upper surface of the water with the help of the upward force of this filled up bladder without getting immersed into the water."[1]

SECOND SECTION

Cosmography

The *BhS* throws some light upon the Cosmography, but it does not give a complete account of the conception of the world.

According to it the world is conceived of as comprising innumerable island-continents, each being separated by one encircling sea which increases double and double as compared with each preceding one,[2] such as, *Jambūdvīpa* island, *Lavaṇa-Samudra* (salt sea), *Dhātakī-khaṇḍa, Kālodadhi, Puṣkaravaradvīpa, Abhyantara-Puṣkarārddha-Manuṣyakṣetra, Puṣkarārddha Samudra*, etc...... upto *Svayambhūramaṇa* island and sea.[3]

The *Jambūdvīpa*-island is the smallest of all islands and seas and is situated in the centre of all "Ayaṁ Jambuddvīve...... samuddāṇaṁ savvabhaṁtare".[4]

The *BhS* makes incidental references to *Bhārata, Airāvata, Mahāvideha, Haimavata, Hairaṇyavata, Harivarṣa, Ramyakavarṣa, Devakuru* and *Uttarakuru* as sub-continents in connection with the discussion on fifteen *Karmabhūmis* and thirty *Akarmabhūmis*.[5]

[1] *BhS*, 1, 6, 54. [2] *Ib*. 6, 8, 251; 9, 2, 363-4.
[3] *Ib*. 11, 9, 418. [4] *Ib* 2, 9, 117; 6, 5, 241. [5] *Ib*, 20, 8, 676.

The *BhS* states that *Bhāratavarṣa* lies in the *Jambūdvīpa* island and mentions some mountains, such as, *Culla-Himavanta, Varṣadhara, Vaitāḍhya,* etc. and the rivers—*Gaṅgā* and *Sindhu*, etc.

Besides these descriptions, it does not give a clear systematic account of cosmography, but it refers to the *Jambūdvīpa-Prajñapti* and the *Jīvābhigama Sūtra* for the detailed treatment of the conception of the world, the location of *Jambūdvīpa* island and its shape, etc.[1]

According to the *Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti* also the *Jambūdvīpa* island is in the centre of all islands and seas and smallest of all; it is circular like the shape of *apūpa* (cake) soaked (or seasoned) with oil, that of a wheel of a cart, that of a pericarp of a lotus, that of the full moon; it is one lakh *Yojanas* (leagues) by length and breadth, three lakhs two thousand and sixteen *Yojanas*, three hundred twenty-seven *krośas*, twenty-eight hundred *dhanus* and more than thirteen and half *aṅgulas* by circumference.[2]

It is further stated that the *Jambūdvīpa* consists of seven *Kṣetras* (or *Varṣas*), viz. *Bhārata, Haimavata, Harivarṣa, Videha, Ramyaka, Hairaṇyavata* and *Airāvata.*

These seven *Kṣetras* are separated from one another by six *Kulaparvatas*, viz. *Himavāna, Mahāhimavāna, Niṣadha, Nīla, Rukmi* and *Śikharī.*

Of the above lands and mountains situated in the *Jambūdvīpa* island the dividing mountain is double the preceding land; the next land is double the preceding mountain due to its circular shape.

This order is followed upto *Videha* which is in the centre of this island continent, the extension of the forward mountain is half of *Videha*, that of the next forward land is half of the

[1] *BhS*, 9. 1, 362. See *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti.*
[2] *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti*, 1, 1, 3.

preceding mountain; thus this order should be known upto *Airāvata* land.[1]

According to this arrangement there are 190 divisions of *Jambūdvīpa* island, *Bhārata* 1 + *Himavāna* 2 + *Haimavata* 4 + *Mahāhimavāna* 8 + *Harivarṣa* 16 + *Niṣadha* 32 + *Videha* 64 + *Nila* 32 + *Ramyaka* 16 + *Rukmi* 8 + *Hairaṇyavata* 4 + *Śikharī* 2 + and *Airāvata*[2] 1.

In the *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti*, *Harivarṣa* is located to the north of *Bhāratavarṣa*; the Himalayan range is divided by the Himalayan mountain into two, viz. *Mahāhimavanta* or greater Himalayan and *Culla-Himavanta* or lesser Himalayan—the first one extending eastwards upto the eastern sea and the second westwards and then southwards below the *Varṣadhara* mountain upto the sea[3].

Further it is described that *Bhāratavarṣa* lies to the south of the *Himālayas* and between the eastern and western seas.

Nomenclature of Bhāratavarṣa

According to the *Jambuddīva-Paṇṇatti* the name of *Bhāratavarṣa* is derived from that of king Bharata, the first sovereign king of India[4].

Shape of Bhāratavarṣa

Bhāratavarṣa resembles the shape of a bed-stead (couch) from the north and a bow from the south "uttarāo pālaṅkasaṁṭhāṇasaṁṭhie dāhiṇāo dhaṇupiṭṭha-saṁṭhie.[5]

It is divided into six parts by the *Gaṅgā*, the *Sindhu* and the *Vaitāḍhya* mountain-range and it is $526\frac{6}{19}$ leagues in area.[6]

[1-2] *Jambuddīva Pannatti Saṁgaho*–2nd *Uddeśaka*–2, 10 (*gāthā*). See also Introduction p 113 (Jīvarāja Jain Granthamālā).

[3] *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti* 1. 9. *Vide* Dr. B. C. Law's India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism. p 4.

[4] *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti*, III, 41. [5] *Jambūdvīpa-Prajñapti*, 1, 9.

[6] *Ib*. It is described that *Bhāratavarṣa* is divided by the *Vaitāḍhya* into two halves, viz. the northern half and the southern half (*Jambu*. 1. 12). *Vide*, Dr. B. C. Law—India as described in the early texts

It is further stated that there is in the *Culla-Himavanta* a large lotus lake from the four outlets of which flow the four great rivers, viz. *Gaṅgā*, *Rohita* (*Brahmaputra*), *Sindhu* and *Harikāntā* (not definitely identified).[1]

A similar account of the conception of the world, *Jambūdvīpa* and *Bhāratavarṣa* as given in the *BhS* and the *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* is also found in the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist works with some differences.

According to the Brāhmaṇical works the world is conceived of as containing seven concentric island-continents (Saptadvīpā Vasumatī),[2] (Saptadvīpāvatī Mahī),[3] demarcated by the encircling seas which increased double as compared with each preceding one (dviguṇair vṛddhyā sarvataḥ pariveṣṭitāḥ).[4]

In some texts the number is increased to nine "Sasāgarā navadvīpā dattā bhavati Medinī"[5] or to thirteen (trayodaśā samudrasya dvīpānaśuan purūravāḥ)[6] or decreased to four.[7]

According to the earlier and later texts and commentaries the world consists of four islands, viz. *Jambūdvīpa*, *Pūrvavideha*, *Aparagodāna*, and *Uttarakuru*.[8]

Jambūdvīpa appears with *Sineru* (*Sumeru*) in the centre of all *Pūrvavideha* (eastern continent) is situated to the east of *Sineru*, *Aparagodāna* (the western continent) to the west, *Uttarakuru* or northern continent to the north and the *Jambūdvīpa* (southern continent) to the south.[9]

1 *Jambuddīva-Paṇṇatti*, IV 34. 35; *Vide*, Dr. B. C. Law's India as described in the early texts of Buddhism & Jainism.

2 *Patañjali Mahābhāṣya*, Kielhorn's Ed. Vol. 1, p. 9; *Vide*, Studies in Indian Antiquites, 6th Ch. P. 65.

3 *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* —37. 13; *Vide*, Studies in Indian Antiquties, Ch. VI; P. 65. Mark. P. Ch. 54. 7.

4 *Vide*, Studies in Indian Antiquities, Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, 6th Ch., P. 65.

5 *Padmapurāṇa*. *Sarga*, VI, I. 26.

6 *Mahābhārata*, 1, 74, 19 with Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri's commentary.

7 *Mahābhārata*, VI, 6, 13., *Vide*, Studies in Indian Antiquities, 6th Ch., P. 65.

8 *Vide*, India as described in the early texts of Buddhism & Jainism.

9 Dr. B. C. Law: Geography of Early Buddhism p. xvi.

In the Buddhist texts *Jambūdvīpa* signifies the continent of India.[1]

Comparative Study of the evidences furnished by the above three sources regarding Jambūdvīpa

According to the Jaina conception there are nine *Varṣas* of *Jambūdvīpa* in the centre of which lies the mount *Meru*, to the south of which are located *Himavāna*, *Mahāhimavāna* and *Niṣadha*, the three mountains by which *Bhārata*, *Himavata* and *Harivarṣa* are demarcated respectively.

By the same order *Nīla*, *Rukmi*, *Śikharī*, *Ramyaka*, *Hairaṇyavata* and *Airāvata Kṣetra* are placed; in between the *Niṣadha* and *Nīla* mountains *Videha* is situated, while *Devakuru* is placed in between two mountains, viz. *Saumanasa* and *Vidyutprabha* and *Uttarakuru* in between *Gandhamādana* and *Mālyavāna*.

Just like this *Jambūdvīpa* is discribed in the Brāhmaṇical works as an island having a space of 1,00,000 *Yojanas* and a shape like a lotus with *Meru* as its *Karṇikā* (Pericarp) and the *Varṣas* or *Mahādvīpas*, viz. *Bhadrāśva*, *Bhārata*, *Ketumāla* and *Uttarakuru*, as its four petals.

The elevated land around *Meru* is known as *Ilāvṛta* to the east of which lies *Bhadrāśva* in between *Mālyavāna* mountain and the eastern sea; to the west of *Ilāvṛta*, *Ketumāla* in between *Gandhamādana* and the western sea; to the north of this tract lie *Ramyaka*, *Hairaṇyavata*, and *Uttarakuru*; *Ramyaka* in between *Nīla* and *Śveta*; *Hairaṇyavata* in between *Śveta* and *Śṛṅgavāna*, and *Uttarakuru* in between *Śṛṅgavāna* and the north sea.

On the south of this tract are *Bhārata*, *Kiṁpuruṣa* and *Harivarṣa*; *Harivarṣa* lies in between *Niṣadha* and *Hemakūṭa*; *Kiṁpuruṣa* in between *Hemakūṭa* and *Himavāna*, and *Bhārata*, being the most southern *Varṣa* lying in between the *Himavāna* and the southern sea extending upto the ocean.

Thus taking *Bhadrāśva* and *Ketumāla* and *Ilāvṛta* there are nine *Varṣas* in the *Jambūdvīpa* island.

[1] Geographical Essays p. 5; M. R. E. of Aśoka R. E. xiii.

As in Jaina Geography the *Jambū* tree is situated in the region to the north of *Mandāra* mountain, so in the Brāhmaṇical Geography also it is mentioned as lying to the east of *Meru* on *Mandāra, Gandhamādana-Supārśva.*

The particular difference is that there are innumerable islands and seas encircling each other, while in the Brāhmaṇical Geography there are seven islands and seven seas, viz. *Jambūdvīpa, Lavaṇa-Samudra, Plakṣadvīpa, Ikṣurasa-Samudra, Sālmalidvīpa, Sura-Samudra, Kuśadvīpa, Kṣīra-Samudra, Śākadvīpa, Dadhi-Samudra, Puṣkaradvīpa* and *Śuddha-Samudra.*

It is difficult to identify all these islands, seas, continents, sub-continents, mountains and rivers, etc., with accuracy in the light of the modern knowledge of Indian Geography at the present state of informations.

Here and there a few identifications of them are possible.

So far as India is concerned, the account of its shape, size, nomenclature, mountains, rivers, etc., seems to be accurate.

THIRD SECTION

Geography

Janapadas (States)

It has already been pointed out in the first section of the third chapter on 'Political Conditions' that India was politically divided into sixteen great states during the time of Lord Mahāvīra, viz. *Aṅga, Vaṅga, Magadha, Malaya, Mālavaka, Accha, Vatsa, Kautsa, (Kaccha) Pāḍha (Pāṭha), Lāṭa, Vajjī (Vajja) (Videha), Moli, Kāśī, Kośala, Abāḍha (Avāha)* and *Sumbhuttara* [1]

Besides these, there is the mention of *Sindhu-Sauvīra,* sixteen unnamed small states[2] and many cities.

Most of these great states and cities are well known to the other ancient texts of India and can be identified with certainty.

[1] *BhS*, 15, 1, 554. [2] *Ib*, 13, 6, 491.

Aṅga

Aṅga is also mentioned in other *Jain* texts[1], Brāhmaṇical[2] and Buddhist[3] works, and epigraphic records[4] as a state of ancient India with its capital at *Campā* which stood at the confluence of the river of the same name[5] and the *Gaṅgā*[6].

The original name of the city was *Mālinī* as recorded in the *Mahābhārata*[7] and the *Purāṇas*.[8]

The earliest reference to *Aṅga* occurs in the *Atharva Veda*[9] where the *Aṅgas* are described as a distinct people in association with the *Magadhas*, the *Mujavantas* and the *Gandharvas* without locating their habitats, and they are also branded as *Vrātya*, a despised people who were outside the pale ob orthodox Aryanism.[10]

There are different legends grown round the origin of the name of *Aṅga*. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[11] the people of *Aṅga* were called *Aṅgas* after the name of an eponymous king Aṅga Vairocana, who is mentioned in the list of consecrated kings. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[12] tells that it was called *Aṅga* because it is here that *Anaṅga*, the cupid god left his body (*aṅga*) after taking shelter in this country to save himself from the fire of wrath of *Rudra*. The foundation of this country is attributed by the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*[13] to a prince, Aṅga by name.

Ancient *Aṅga* corresponds to modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr and comprised the western part of the district of Purnea and extended northwards upto the river *Kauśikī* or *Kośī*[14].

1 *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 1, 37. p. 55a
2 *Atharva Veda*, V 22. IV ; *Pāṇini*, VI, 1, 170 ; II, 4, 62 *Mbh.* 1, 104 ; *Rāmā*, 47, 14 ; (J A.S B. 1914 317),
3 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, P.T S. 213
4 *Hāthigumphā* Inscription of Khāravela ; *Belāva* grant of Bhoja-Varman (Inscriptions of Bengal Vol. III. pp. 15ff, etc.).
5 *Jātaka*, 506 6 *Mahābhārata*, III. 84. 163 ; 307, 26.
7 *Mahābhārata*, II, 5, 6, 7 XIII, 42, 16.
8 *Matsya Purāṇa*, 48, 97 ; *Vāyu* P. 98, 105 ; *Hari.* P. 31, 49.
9 *Atharva Veda*, 22, 14.
10 J. R. A. S. 1913. 155 ff. J.A.S.B. 1914. p. 317 ff.
11 *Aitareya Brahmana*. 1, 23, 14.
12 *Rāmāyaṇa* 1, 23, 14 ; J.A.S.B. 1914 p. 317.
13 *Mbh.* 1, 144, 55, 54 ; *Matsya Pu.* p. 48, 19.
14 See, Epi. I. XXVV. pt. 3, July 1937; *Vide*, B.C. Law : India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism.

Vaṅga

Vaṅga also finds mention in other Jaina[1], Brāhmaṇical[2], and Buddhist[3] works and several epigraphic records[4] along with *Aṅga*, *Magadha* and other *Janapadas*.

In the Jaina *Paṇṇāvaṇā Sutta* the people of *Vaṅga* are placed in the first rank of the Aryans along with those of *Magadha*, *Aṅga* and others.[5]

The earlist appearance of *Vaṅga* is found in the *Aitareya Araṇyaka*[6] as well as in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* where the *Vaṅgas* are branded as impure people along with the *Puṇḍras*, *Kaliṅgas* and others.

According to the collective evidences furnished by the *Śakti Saṅgama Tantra*[7], the commentator of *Vātsyāyana Kāma-Sutra*[8], the *Paṇṇāvaṇā Sutta*, the *Mahābhārata*[9], the *Raghuvaṁśa*[10] and *Daśakumāra carita*[11], *Vaṅga*, in the wider sense, was the vast territory extending from the eastern bank of *Lauhitya* upto *Kapiśā* (*Kāśāi* river in Midnapore, West Bengal), while in the limited sense, it was the land including *Vikramapur* (East Bengal) and its adjoining regions lying to the eastern bank of the *Brahmaputra* comprising Eastern Bengal, "Vaṅga Lohityāt Pūrvena".

1 *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37, 55a.
2 *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II, 1, 1, 1, *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4, 170); *Mbh* XII; *Rāmā* Book II, etc.
3 *Anguttara Nikāya*, III, pp. 57 ff.
4 Meharauli Iron pillar Inscription of king Candra, C.I.I. Vol. III, pp. 141 ff; *Tirumalai* Ins of Rājendra Cola, *Gohaṛwā* plate of Lakṣmīkarṇa, E. I. XI 112, etc.
5 *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37.
6 *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II, 1, 1, 1. Cf Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 600; *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, (1, 1, 14).
7 *Śakti Saṅgama Tantra* (Ratnakaraṁ samārabhya Brahmaputrāntagaḥ Śive Vaṅgadeśe sayā proktaḥ sarvasiddhi pradarśakaḥ); see *Yoginitantra* 2. 2. 119, *Vide*, H. G. A. p. 268.
8 *Yaśodhara*—Vaṅga Lohityāt pūrvena.
9 *Mahābhārata* (*Vaṅgarāja*...). *Sabhāparvan*, Ch. XXX. 23-5.
10 *Raghuvaṁśa* (*Vaṅgānutkhāya tarasā*), Canto IV. 35-6.
11 I. H. Q. Vol. VII. No. 3, p. 533.

Magadha

Magadha is also recorded in other Jaina texts[1], Vedic[2] and Buddhist[3] works and in several epigraphic documents[4] as one of the great states of ancient India with its capital at *Rājagṛha*.

It is regarded as one of the holy places of the Jainas, because it is closely associated with the lives and works of Lord Pārśvanātha and Lord Mahāvīra for several centuries after their demises.

The earliest mention of the name of *Magadha* is found in the *Atharva Veda*[5] where the *Magadhas* appear along with the *Gandhāras*, etc, as despised people outside the pale of the Aryan society, but in the later Vedic works they are incorporated into the Aryan fold.

As regards the location of *Magadha* it is to be observed that this state pushed up its frontiers to all directions in different periods. According to the views of all scholars, *Magadha* roughly corresponds to the modern districts of Patna and Gaya of South Bihar, to the east of *Aṅga* demarcated by the river *Campā*, having the *Gaṅgā* on its north, the *Vindya* mountain to the south and the the river Sone to the west.[6]

Malaya

Malaya is also mentioned in other Jaina texts[7] as one of the sixteen great states and one of the twenty-five and a half Aryan lands with its capital at *Bhaddilapura* which corresponds to the *Kuluhā* hill in the Hazaribagh district to the south of Patna and south-west of Gaya in Bihar.[8]

1 *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37, p. 55a.
2 *Atharva Veda*, v. 22, 14.
3 *Aṅguttara Nikāya* III pp. 57ff ; p. 57 ff ; P. T. S. 1.213.
4 *Bhābrā* Edict of Aśoka; *Hāthīgumphā* Inscriptions of Khāravela E. I. p. X 12f. *Vide*, Select Inscriptions.
5 *Atharva Veda* 22-24
6 *Bṛhat Samhitā Kurmavibhāga* ; *Vide*, C. A. G. I. p. 6. A. G. I. pp. 518 ff ; Ancient India, p. 166 ; P. H. A. India, fifth ed. p. 53 ; Buddhist India, p. 14 ; see C. H. I., A. I. p. 182.
7 *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1-37, p. 55a.
8 S. B. M. p. 381. Jalore V. S. 1988

But there was a country named *Malaya* located in the south, having the mountain *Malaya* lying there.[1] It is identified with the country which corresponds to the present Malabar region with Travancore-Cochin.[2]

Mālavaka

Mālavaka is recorded in other Jaina texts[3] as one of the sixteen great states with its earlier and later capitals at *Avantī* or *Ujjayinī*[4] and *Dhārānagara* at the time of king Bhoja.[5] *Mālavaka* may be identified with *Avantī* of the Buddhist *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.[6]

This state also finds mention in several epigraphic records[7] and in the itinerary of Hiuen Tsang as **Mo la-pa**[8] **which corresponds** to modern Malwa.

Attha (Accha)

Attha appears also in other Jaina texts[9] as one of the great sixteen states with its capital at *Varaṇa* or *Varuṇā*. It may be identified with the place centring about Bulandshahr in the Uttara-Pradesh.[10]

Vattha (Vaccha = Vatsa)

Vattha (*Vatsa*) finds mention in other Jaina texts,[11] Buddhist[12]

[1] *Bṛhatkathākośa*. 75. 1.
[2] Geographical Dictionary, N. L. Dey. p. 122. *Vide*, L. A. I. p. 310.
[3] *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 37; *Niśitha Cūrṇi*, 16. p. 110; *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣyavṛtti*. 47.
[4] Geographical Dictionary, p. 122.
[5] *Vide*, Life in Ancient India, p. 310; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, P. T. S. 1. 213.
[6] *Vide*, Political History of Ancient India p. 96; 4th ed. Dr H. C. Ray Chaudhury.
[7] *Sāgartāla* (Gowalior Praśasti) Inscription of *Pratihāra* king, Bhoja, *Paiṭhana* plate of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* king, Govinda III; *Madhuvana* and *Bānskherā* Inscriptions of Harṣa-Varddhana.
[8] Watters on Yuan Chwang II. pp 242.
[9] *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, p. 37. 55a.
[10] *Vide*, Life in Ancient India, p. 264.
[11] *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 1. 37; *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Dr. Hoernle Vol. 1 Appendix 1. p. 7. Here *Vaccha* is referred to as people.
[12] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, P. T. S. 1. 213 (Here *Vaṁsa* is mentioned in stead of *Vaccha* or *Vatsa*).

and Brāhmaṇical[1] works as a distinct territorial unit with its capital at *Kauśāmbī* (*Kośām*).

According to the tradition recorded in the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*[2] the origin of the *Vatsas* and the building up of their land (*Vatsa-bhūmi*) are attributed to a prince of *Kāśī* and the foundation of the city of *Kośāmbī* or *Kauśāmbī* to a Cedi king, Kośāmba by name according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[3] Probably *Vatsa* corresponds to the region lying to the north-east of *Avantī* along with the bank of the *Yumunā* southwards from *Kośala*[4] to the west of Allahabad[5] and the south of the *Gaṅgā*.[6]

Kottha (Koccha = Kautsa)

Kottha may correspond to *Kauśikīkaccha* lying to the east of the river *Kauśikī* in the district of Purnea (N. Bihar).[7]

This *Kaccha* or *Kautsa* may probably be identical with *Kautsa* of the *Udayagiri* Inscription of Candragupta II, whose minister is called *Kautsa-śāba* i.e. a boy or man of *Kautsa*.[8]

Lāḍha (or Rāḍha)

Lāḍha is also mentioned in other Jaina texts[9] Buddhist works,[10] and several epigraphic records[11] as a separate unit of territory.

According to the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* it was a pathless land comprising two sub-divisions, viz. *Subbhabhūmi* and *Vajjabhūmi* where lived the rude people who set their dogs on Lord Mahāvīra

[1] *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 14. 3. It mentions the people of *Vatsa* as *Vasas*.
[2] *Harivaṁśa*, p. 29-73. [3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1, 32.
[4] Buddhist India p. 3.
[5] N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary p. 100.
[6] *Rāmāyaṇa*, 52, 101.
[7] N.L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary p.97. *Vide*, Life in Ancient India p. 298.
[8] *Udayagiri* Inscription of Candragupta II. *Vide*, Select Inscriptions: Dr. D. C. Sarkar p. 272, A. D. 401.
[9] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 1, 8, 3-4.
[10] *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1. 79 *Vide*, H.G. of Ancient India p. 254,
[11] Bhuvaneśvara Inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva ; *Terumalai* Rock Inscription of Rājendra Cola, etc.

and his followers. The *Terumalai* Rock Inscription of Rājendra Cola records two *Lāḍhas*, viz. *Uttara-Lāḍha* and *Dakṣiṇa-Lāḍha* (*Takkana-lāḍam*) as two independent teritorial units.

It may be that in the earlier times *Lāḍha* or *Rāḍha* was a large unit which included *Subbhabhūmi* and *Vajjabhūmi*, it is also found in later stage that the name *Suhma* gradually gave place to *Rāḍha* which was its synonym.

Lāḍha may correspond to the modern districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Burdwan, Bankura and major portion of Midnapore and some portions of Murshidabad districts.

Pāḍha (Paṇḍya)

Pāḍha of the *BhS* may be identified with *Pāḍham* in the district of Mainpuri in Uttara Pradesha.[1]

There is also a reference in the Aśokan Edict[2] to another *Pāḍha* (pāḍa) along with *Coḍa*, *Sātiyaputta*. and *Keralaputta* which are located in the south. This *Pāḍha* is identical with the *Pāṇḍya* country which finds mention in Indian[3] and foreign records[4] as distinct territorial unit with its capital at Madura.

Vajja

Vajja was the land of the *Vajjīs* (*Vrjīs*) of the Buddhist works which lay with its capital at *Vaiśālī* to the north of the *Gaṅgā* and extended as far as the Nepal hills; on the west it was probably demarcated by the river Gandaka from the territory of the *Mallas* and perhaps also the *Kośalas* : on the east by the forests that bordered the rivers, Kośī and Mahānandā.[5]

Vajja may also correspond to the greater *Videha* with its capital at *Mithilā* round Darbhangā.[6]

[1] John Allan-The Ancient India coins, p. 1.
[2] R. E. S. II. XIII.
[3] *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* 4, 1, 171 ; S.J.I. 1. 1. pp. 5, 59, 63, etc. *Mbh. Sabhā. P.* Ch. 31. V. 17. ; *Rāmā.* IV, Ch. 41 ; *Mārk. P.* Ch. 57, V. 45.
[4] A. I. Megasthenes & Arrian-pp. 162-163 ; Periplus ; Ptolemy p. 183.
[5] P.H.A.I. fifth Ed. p. 118.
[6] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 6.2.1. etc., *Jātaka*-6. 30-68, etc.

Moli (Malla)

Moli of the *BhS* is the *Malla* country of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.[1] This *Malla* territory is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[2] as the *Malla-Rāṣṭra* which was divided into two parts—*Malla* proper and the southern *Malla*.[3] This evidence of two units of *Malla* is also corroborated by the Buddhist works[4] which state that it was partitioned into two zones with their respective capitals at *Kuśāvatī* or *Kuśīnārā* (modern *Kāśia*) and *Pāvā*.

The *Malla* territory was hallowed by the sacred visits of Lord Mahāvīra[5] and Lord Buddha[6] respectively. The *Mallakīs* and the *Licchavīs* were closely united in their war with king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru of *Magadha*.[7]

These evidences show that *Moli* (*Malla*) lay on the mountain slopes to the east of the *Śākya* land and to the north of the *Vajjī* Confederacy.[8]

Avāha

Avāha has not yet been identified.

Kāśī

Kāśī figures also prominently as a distinct territorial unit with its capital city as *Vārāṇasī* in other Jain texts,[9] Brāhmaṇical[10] and Buddhist[11] works and epigraphic records[12] which throw much light upon its political, social, economic and cultural history.

[1] *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (P T S. 1.213; IV. 252, 256, 260).
[2] *Mahābhārata*, VI, 9, 34.
[3] *Ib*, II, 33, 3 and 12.
[4] *Kuśa Jātaka*, No. 531; etc.
[5] *Kalpa Sūtra*, Jaina Sūtras, pt. 1, p. 264.
[6] *Vide*, Hindu Polity, p. 43 (*Jāt*. 111, 157; 1, 2, 127. 4, 198-99, p. 44, f.n 12, M P.S 6. 23).
[7] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300-301
[8] Buddhist India, p 16., see also C. A. G. 1 (1924) 714, *Vide*, P.H.A. I, 5th Ed., p 12; C. A. G. I., pp. 430-3.
[9] *Nirayāvaliyā Sutta* 1, *Uvāsagadasāo* II, 90-8.
[10] Vedic Index, II, 116. n. (*Atharva Veda*) *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtras*, XVI, 29.5. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 19, *Pāṇini*, 4, 2, 116; *Rāmā. Ādikāṇḍa*, 13th *Sarga*, *etc.*, *Mbh. Udyogaparva*, Ch. 117, p. 746.
[11] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I. 213. *Dīgha Nikāya* II, 1. 46.
[12] *Mādhāinagara* grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. Cf. E. I., XXVI, pt. I India office plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.

Ancient *Kāśī* corresponds to the region round Benares district which was demarcated by *Kaśala* on the north, *Magadha* on the east and *Vatsa* on the west.[1]

In the days of Lord Mahāvīra *Kāśī* was one of the members of the *Vajji* Confederacy which was formed to fight with king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru.[2]

Kośala

Kośala also appears in other Jaina texts,[3] Brāhmaṇical[4] and Buddhist,[5] works as an independent state having two zones, namely, Northern *Kośala* with its capital at *Sāvatthī* (*Śrāvastī*) and Southern *Kośala* with *Sāketa* as its capital.

It was probably bounded by the *Gaṅgā* on the south, the mountains on the north, the Gandaka '*Sadānīrā*' on the east and *Gomatī* on the west and it may be identical with the present Oudha (*Ayodhyā*)[6]. *Kośalapura* (or *Kośala*), was associated with the birth of the fifth *Tīrthaṅkara*[7] and the activities of *Ājīvikism*, Jainism and Buddhism, as it is evidenced by the fact that its capital city *Śrāvastī* was hallowed by the presence of Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra,[8] Lord Mahāvīra[9] and Lord Buddha[10] respectively.

In the time of the Master, *Kośala* also joined the *Vajjī* Confederacy against *Magadha* and sustained defeat at the hands of king Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru[11].

Sumbhuttara (Suhma)

Sumbhuttara[12] appears to be identical with *Subbhabhūmi* of

[1] Buddhist India, p. 21, Rhys Davids.
[2] *BhS*, 7, 9, 300.
[3] *Pannavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37, 55a.
[4] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1, 4, 11; *Pāṇini* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī*). VI. 1.17; *Viṣṇu, P.* Ch. 4; *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 68, 13; *Mbh.* II, 30, 2, 3; 31. 12. 13.
[5] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 1. 213.
[6] Buddhist India p. 21, Rhys Davids
[7] *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 382. *Vide*, Life in Ancient India p. 300.
[8] *BhS*, 15, 1, 539 ff.
[9] *Ib*, 15, 1, 539 ff.
[10] Dialogues of the Buddha, I. pp 108, 288
[11] *BhS* 7, 9, 300. [12] *Ib*, 15, 1, 554.

the *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*[1] and *Suhma* of the Buddhist[2] and Brāhmaṇical[3] works. Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī[4] equates *Suhma* with *Rāḍha* in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.

Thus it appears that the centre of *Sumbhuttara* (*Suhma*) corresponds to *Triveṇī-Saptagrāma-Pāṇḍuā* area in the Hooghly district (West Bengal), as it is supported by the existence of the famous shrine of *Murārī*, of *Raghu-Kulaguru* (the Sun) and *Arddhanārīśvara* (conjoint form of *Śiva* and his consort *Pārvatī*) as recorded in the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī[5]. Its boundaries also extended upto *Tāmraliptа* (*Tamaluk*) at one time and it formed the part of greater *Rāḍha*.

Sindhu-Sauvīra

Sindhu-Sauvīra was one of the sixteen small states with its capital at *Vītībhaya*[6] ruled over by king Udāyana who was matrimonially related to the president-king, Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī*.

It appears that *Sindhu-Sauvīra* formed one united kingdom, but *Sovīra* or *Sauvīra* is mentioned as a separate territorial unit in the early Buddhist works[7], *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[8] and *Patañjali Mahābhāṣya*[9].

These two lands figure conjointly in the epics[10] and *Purāṇas*[11] and also in the *Jūnāgaḍha* Rock Inscription of Rudradāmana.[12] The unification of two territorial units suggests that the two peoples were considered as one and the same.

[1] *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (S B.E. Vol. XXII, pp. 84-5), *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 1.17
[2] *Tālapatta Jātaka*, No. 96, Vol 1. p. 393.
[3] *Mahābhārata*, Ch. 30,16 (*Sabhā P.*); *Raghuvaṁśa* 49-35, 49, 38; *Raghu*-IV. 3, 5, 6.; *Daśa-Kumāra Carita* 6th *Ucchvāsa* p. 102; *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, Ch. 17; *Harṣacarita*, 6th *Ucchvāsa*; *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī-V. 27.
[4] Nīlkaṇṭha's commentary on the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* '*Suhmāḥ-Rāḍhāḥ*'
[5] *Pavandūta* of Dhoyī, V. 27. [6] *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. *Paṇṇa*. 1, 37.
[7] *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* (*Dīgha* N. II p. 235).
[8] *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4. 2. 76; 4.1.143.) [9] *Mahābhāṣya*, 4. 2. 76.
[10] *Mbh.* (*Bhīṣma-Parva*) 5, 1, 14. Ch. 18. 13. 14. *Ādiparva* 4. 139. 21-3.
[11] *Mārk. P.* Ch. 57, 36; 58, 30; *Viṣṇu P.* Book II, Ch. III.
[12] J.R.I. of Rudradāmaṇa-150 p. 7.

Sindhu-Sauvīra corresponds to the region comprising the whole valley of the Indus from the Punjab to the sea including the delta and the island of Cutch.[1]

Puṇḍa (Puṇḍra)[2]

Puṇḍa was a small state situated at the foot of the *Vindhyagiri* with its capital at *Sayaduvāra* (*Śatadvāra*). It is also mentioned in the other Jaina texts[3]. Its identity has not yet been traced.

FOURTH SECTION

Geography

Some Towns and Cities

Aṭṭhiyagāma (Asthikagrāma)[4]

Aṭṭhiyagāma is also mentioned in the *Kalpa Sūtra*[5]. It was the place where Lord Mahāvīra passed his first rainy season during the period of his austerity.

According to the commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra* the earlier name of *Varddhamāna* (Burdwan, West Bengal) was *Asthikagrāma* where a temple was erected on the bones of the dead people[6] killed by a *Yakṣa Śūlapāṇi*, while Dr. B C. Law suggests the identification of *Aṭṭhiyagāma* with *Hatthigāma* (*Hastigrāma*) which lay on the high road from *Vaiśālī* to *Pāvā*[7]. It is not yet definitely identified.

Ālabhiyā (Ālabhikā)

Ālabhiyā was a city inhabited by Ṛṣibhadraputra and other *Śramaṇopāsakas*[8]. It also finds mention in other Jaina[9] and

1 C.A.G.I p. 284.
2 *BhS*, 15, 1, 559.
3 *Ṭhāṇāṅga*, 9, 693 ; *Antagaḍa*, 5, p. 26.
4 *BhS*, 15, 1, 541.
5 *Kalpa Sūtra*, 5, 122.
6 Commentary on the *Kalpa Sūtra*.
7 Mahāvīra ; His Life & teachings : B. C. Law. p. 33.
8 *BhS*, 11, 12, 423.
9 *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p. 103; Appendix p. 51-53; *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 516.

Buddhist[1] works as a city sanctified by the sacred visits of Lord Mahāvīra and Lord Buddha. It is here in the *Śaṅkhavana Caitya* Lord Mahāvīra converted Pudgala, a *Parivrājaka* to *Śramaṇa Dharma.* It is said that this city was also visited by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in one of his former births.[2]

It is identical with *Ālavi* of the Buddhist Records which lay between *Sāvatthī* and *Rājagṛha,* thirty *Yojanas* from *Śrāvastī* and twelve *Yojanas* from Benaras. It has been identified by Cunningham and V. Smith with the Ghazipura region[3], U. P.

Campā[4]

Campā was the capital city of *Aṅga* which was ruled over by king Kūṇika as already pointed out in connection with the identification of *Aṅga*. It is also referred to in other Jain texts[5], Buddhist[6] and Brāhmaṇical[7] works, and Chinese Records[8] as an important city having its political, social, economic, religious and cultural history. *Campā* was intimately associated with the development of Jainism[9] and Buddhism[10]. It was so celebrated in ancient India that its name was attributed by the Indian colonists in Cochin-China to one of their important colonies.[11] The city has been identified by Cunningham[12] with two villages, viz. *Campānagara* and *Campāpura* in the neighbourhood of Bhagalpur in Bihar.

Hastināpura[13]

Hastināpura was the capital city of king Śiva, the royal sage who was converted by Lord Mahāvīra to *Śramaṇa Dharma*

[1] *Sutta Nipāta*; The Book of Kindred Sayings Vol. 1 p. 275, Ch. XI. 17 etc.
[2] *BhS*, 15, 1, 556.
[3] Watters on Yuan Chwang II. pp. 61. 340.
[4] *BhS*, 5, 1, 176; 5, 10, 222.
[5] *Pannavaṇā*, 37; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, 8. p. 92 ff.
[6] *Jātaka*, 506.
[7] *Mahābhārata*, III, 84, 163; 307 26, *Daśakumāracarita* II. 2.
[8] Watters on Yuan Chwang, II. 181.
[9] *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 307, 383 (It was the birth place of Vāsupujja, the 12th *Tīrthaṅkara*, and the place of his *Nirvāṇa*.
[10] Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 144.
[11] I-tsing's travels, p. 58; *Vide*, Buddhist India, p. 21: Rhys Davids.
[12] Geography of Early Buddhism, London, 1932.
[13] *BhS*, 11, 9, 417; 11, 11, 428; 16, 5, 577.

from his *Vānaprastha* asceticism during the short stay of the Master in the *Sahasrāmravana* garden. It finds mention also in other Jaina[1] and Brāhmaṇical works[2] as the city of the *Kurus*. It is stated that Ṛṣabhadeva the first *Tīrthaṅkara* was an inhabitant of this city.

The *Vividha-tīrtha-Kalpa*[3] attributes the foundation of *Hastināpura* to king Hastī after whose name it came to be known *Hastināpura*.

It stood on the Ganges in the Meerut district of Uttara Pradesh and is identified with the modern town of the same name in Mawana Tahsil.[4]

Kayaṅgalā (Kajaṅgalā)[5]

Kayaṅgalā was a town outside of which lay in the north-eastern quarter the *Chatrapalāśaka Caitya* where Lord Mahāvīra once appeared from *Rājagṛha* and converted the *Parivrājaka* named Skandaka to *Śramaṇa Dharma*.

It is also mentioned in the Buddhist[6] works and the account of Hiuen Tsang.[7] According to the *Mahāvagga*[8] and the *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*[9], *Kajaṅgalā* formed the eastern boundary of *Madhyadeśa* (middle country) during the Buddhist period.

Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyan[10] identifies it with *Kaṅkajola* (or *Kākajola*) in Santhal Paragana in Bihar. It may correspond to the region in the Rajamahal area.

1 *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 9, 691.
2 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch, 57. 91, *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, 1, 3, 6; 1, 8, 45; Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 68, 13; *Mbh*. 1, 128.
3 *Vividhatīrtha-Kalpa*: Jinaprabhasūri, Bombay 1934. See also *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, 20, 1053-4, etc.
4 C.A.G.I., p. 707.
5 *BhS*, 2, 1, 90.
6 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, V, 54; *Majjhima Nikāya*, III, 298.
7 Watters on Yuan Chwang, II.
8 *Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E. II. 38.
9 *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, II, 429.
10 *Vinayapiṭaka*, p. 213n.: Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyan, *Vide*, Life in Ancient India, p. 295.

Kampillapura (Kāmpilyapura)[1]

Kampillapura appears also in other Jaina texts[2], Buddhist[3] and Brāhmaṇical[4] works. The earliest reference to it occurs in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*.[5] It is here Lord Mahāvīra converted Ammaḍa, a *Parivrājaka*, together with his 700 followers to *Śramaṇa Dharma*.[6] It was the birth place of Vimalanātha, the thirteenth *Tīrthaṅkara*.[7]

Ancient *Kampillapura* lay on the bank of the Ganges and it corresponds to modern Kampil which stands on the same river lying between Budayun and Farrukkhabad[8] in Uttara Pradesh at a distance of twentyeight miles north-east of Fatehgaḍh.[9]

Kummagāma (Kūrmagrāma)[10]

Kummagāma was a town which was visited by Lord Mahāvīra along with Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra during the period of his austerity. It is not yet definitely identified, but it appears to be situated in South Bihar according to the evidence of the *BhS*.

Kāyandī[11]

It was a city where lived some *Śramaṇopasakas*. It has not yet been identified.

Kollāya (Kollāḍa or Kollāga[11])

Kollāya was a small town in the neighbourhood of *Nālandā*. It is here Lord Mahāvīra is said to have accepted Gośāla

1 *BhS*, 14, 8, 530.
2 *Ovāiya Sutta*, 39-40 ; *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, 383.
3 *Jātaka*, II. 214 (Kumbhaka Jāt.).
4 *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VII. 4.19.1 ; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 2.8.3, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, *Sarga*, 33, V. 19; *Mahābhārata*, 1, 138, 73-74 ; *Pāṇini*, *Kāśikāvṛtti*, 4.2.121.
5 *Taittiriya-Saṁhitā*, VII, 4. 19, 1.
6 *BhS*, 14, 8, 430.
7 *Avaśyaka Niryukti*, 383.
8 C.A.G.I. 413 ; A.S.R I. 255.
9 Geographical Dictionary, p. 88 : N. L. Dey.
10 *BhS*, 15, 1, 542, (There seems to be a printing mistake in one latest Vol. of the *BhS*, where *Kuṇḍagāma* appears in place of *Kummagāma* which is found in all the Mss.
11 *BhS*, 10, 4, 404. (It may perhaps be identified with Kākandī Refer to Jain Shilālekha Saṁgraha, Pt. I, edited by P. C. Nahar—Editor).
12 *BhS*, 15, 1, 541.

Maṅkhaliputra as disciple after his repeated earnest request. It is not yet definitely identified. It may correspond to a village called *Koligāma* lying eight or nine li ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles = 1 li) south west of the *Nālandā* monastery.[1]

Kosambī (Kauśāmbī)[2]

Kosambī was the capital city of *Vatsa* kingdom (*Vattha* = *Vaccha*). It was hallowed by the august visit of Lord Mahāvīra and it is here in the *Candrāvatarana Caitya* the Master initiated the princess, Jayantī to *Śramaṇa Dharma* and admitted her to the *Nirgrantha* order on her express desire.[3]

Kosambī also finds mention in other Jaina texts[4], Buddhist[5] and Brāhmaṇical[6] works foreign accounts[7] and epigraphic records.[8] The foundation of this city is attributed by the Epics to a *Cedi* prince named *Kośāmba*, the third son of the *Cedi* king, Upacara-Vasu.[9] It is said that it was the birth place of the sixth-*Tīrthaṅkara*[10] and was also visited by Lord Pārśvanātha.[11]

Kosambī correspods to modern Kosām on the Yamunā about 30 miles south-west from Allahabad.[12]

Khattiyakuṇḍagāma (Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma)[13]

Khattiyakuṇḍagāma also finds mention in other Jain texts[14] where it is recorded as the birth-place of Lord Mahāvīra. It was a suburb of ancient *Vaiśālī* and it is identified by the scholars

1 Watters on Yuan Chwang II. 171. It is said that *Koligāma* (*Kollāga*) was the place of birth and death of Moggallāna P.T.S. Vol. 1 p. 89. (*Dhammapada* Commentary).

2 *BhS*, 12, 2, 441. 3 *Ib*, 12, 2, 442. 4 *Pannavaṇā*, 1, 37.

5 *Jātaka*, 4, 28. *Vide*, Buddhist India, p, 22. XXII 2. 2 113.

6 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Cf. Weber Ind. Hist. p. 123 ; Vedic India 1-193 ; *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, 63, 31 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1, 32, 1-6.

7 Legge : Fa-hien p. 96 ; Watters on Yuan Chwang 1 p. 365. 6 ; Ptolemy's Ancient India, p. 72.

8 Aśoka's *Kosāmbi*, pillar Edict ; Allahabad pillar Ins. C. II. Vol. III.

9 *Mbh*. 1, 63, 31. 10 *Āva. Nir*. 382. 11 *Nāyā*, 10, p, 230.

12 C. A. G. I. p. 709.

13 *BhS*, 9, 33, 383.

14 *Kalpa Sūtra*, 1 ; *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 243 ; *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 384.

with the present village, *Vāsukuṇḍa* in *Basarh* region in the Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar.[1]

Māhaṇakuṇḍagāma (Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma)[2]

Māhaṇakuṇḍagāma was also a quarter of ancient *Vaiśālī* and lay to the east of *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma*, as it is evidenced in the *BhS*. It appears that there were two *Kuṇḍagrāmas*, viz. *Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma* and *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma* ; the prince, Jamālī hailed from the former quarter, while Ṛṣabhadatta, the *Brāhmaṇa* from the latter locality.

It is here in the *Bahuśālaka Caitya* of *Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma* Lord Mahāvīra initiated Ṛṣabhadatta, his wife Devānandā, and the prince Jamālī to asceticism It may correspond to a place lying somewhere to the east of *Vāsukuṇḍa*.

Māhesariya[3]

It was an ancient city in the *Vindhya* region. It finds mention in other Jaina texts[4] and may correspond to *Māhiṣmatī* or *Maheśa* on the right bank of the *Nerbudā* (Narmadā) forty miles to the south of Indore.[5]

Mihilā (Mithilā)[6]

Mihilā appears as the capital city of *Videha* in other Jaina texts[7], Buddhist[8] and Brāhmaṇical[9] works with the historical background of its culture. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[10] attributes the name '*Mithilā*' to the city as well as to the country itself. According to the *Purāṇas*, Mithi, the son of Nimi popularly known as Janaka[11] was the founder of this celebrated city.

Here lay the *Mānabhadra Caitya* which was hallowed by the august visits of Lord Mahāvīra.[12] It is recorded in the Jaina

[1] Homage to Vaiśāli. p. 85-90.
[2] *BhS*, 9, 33, 380.
[3] *Ib*, 14, 8, 528.
[4] *Āva. Ṭī.* p. 249, a ; *Āva. Cū.* 2, 1, p. 333.
[5] G. D. pp. 119, 120.
[6] *BhS*, 9, 1, 312.
[7] *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 1. 37 ; *Kalpa Sūtra*, 5, 123.
[8] *Jātaka*, 3, 365, 4, 316 ; 6, 246 ; etc.
[9] *Rāmāyaṇa*. 1, 48, 11 ; *Mbh.* III, 210, *Vanaparva*, 254 ; etc.
[10] *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, XLIX, 9, 16.
[11] *Bhāgavat Pu.* IX, 13, 13
[12] *BhS*, 9, 1, 312.

texts[1] that *Mithilā* was the place of birth and salvation of the nineteenth and twenty-first *Tīrthaṅkaras*.

It corresponds to modern Janakapur,[2] a small town within the border of Nepal as it was called *Janakapurī* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[3]

Meṇḍhiyagāma (Mendhikagrāma)[4]

Meṇḍhiyagāma was a town which was visited by Lord Mahāvīra after his departure from *Śrāvastī*. It is here in the *Sālakoṣṭhaka Caitya* he suffered from the bilious fever and got cured of it by taking well seasoned *Kukkuṭa-Māṁsa*, presented by Revatī, a female householder of this town. It is not yet identified.

Moyā[5]

Moyā was hallowed by the sacred visit of the Master who once took his temporary abode there at the *Nālandā Caitya* lying to the north-eastern quarter of this city. It is not yet identified. May it correspond to the region round the present Mokamah in Bihar ?

Nālandā[6]

Nālandā was a suburb town of *Rājagṛha* where Lord Mahāvīra took his temporary residence in a weaver's workshop in the second year of his asceticism. It is here the first meeting between Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra and the Master took place.

Nālandā also finds mention in other Jaina texts,[7] Buddhist works,[8] Chinese accounts[9] and epigraphic records.[10] It was intimately associated with the development of Jainism and Buddhism. It is identified with modern Baragaon situated at a

[1] *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, 383.
[2] C. A. G. I, p. 718.
[3] *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1, 48, 11.
[4] *BhS*, 15, 1, 557.
[5] *Ib*, 3, 1, 126.
[6] *Ib*, 15, 1, 126.
[7] *Sūyagaḍaṅga* II, 7, 68.
[8] *Saṁyutta, Nikāya* II, p 220; *Digha Nikāya*, 1, p 211; *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol 1, 371 ff.
[9] I-tsing-Record of the Buddhist religion-Introduction, p. xvii; Watters on Yuan Chwang II. pp. 164, 166.
[10] Shahpur Stone Image Inscription of Ādityasena ; *Nālandā* ; *Vagīśvarī* stone image Inscription in the 1st year of Gopāla (J.A.S.B- 1908, VI. pp. 105-6 new series), *Nālandā* copper plate of Devapāla.

distance of seven miles north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna on the archaeological evidences.[1]

Palāśaka[2]

It was a settlement where lived some *Śrāmaṇopāsakas*. It has not yet been identified.

Pāḍaliputta (Pāṭaliputra)[3]

Pāḍaliputta was the capital city of *Magadha* after *Rājagṛha* as mentioned in other Jaina texts,[4] Buddhist[5] and Brāhmaṇical[6] works, foreign accounts[7] and epigraphic records[8] with different variations of its name, such as, *Pāṭaliputra, Kusumapura, Kusumadhvaja, Puṣpapura, Puṣpābhaya* (A.P.I.), *Polimbothra* (Gk.), *Pa-lin-tou* (Chinese), etc. The foundation of this city is attributed by the Jaina works[9] to Udāyin, the son of Darśaka, while the Buddhist tradition mentions Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru as its real founder at *Pāṭaligrāma* on the southern side of the Ganges during the life time of Lord Buddha by fortifying it as a military base of operation against *Vaiśālī* with the help of his two ministers, named Sunidha and Vassakāra.[10]

It appears from the *BhS*, that this city was not the capital of *Magadha* at the time of Lord Mahāvīra.

It is here the first council of the Jaina church was held under the presidency of Sthūlabhadra to collect the orally transmitted canons about 200 years after the demise of the Master.[11]

1 C.A.G.I p. 537. 2 *BhS*. 10, 4, 404 3 *Ib*, 14, 8, 529
4 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II. p. 179 ; *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 1279.
5 *Digha Nikāya*, II, 86 ff ; *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, p. 540 ; See Modern Review, March 1918.
6 *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* ; *Bṛhat Samhitā* (Kern), p. 37 ; *Daśakumāra-Carita* 1st *Ucchvāsa*, *Śloka* 2.
7 Mc. Crindle—Ancient India as described by Magasthenese : and Arrian, p 65. Legge, Fa-hien-pp. 77-78 ; Watters on Yuan Chwang-II. p. 87.
8 Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.
9 *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, II, p. 179.
10 Modern Review, March-1918 ; See also *Digha* N. II, 86 ff. ; *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, II, p. 540.
11 *Sthavirāvalī Carita*, Sarga 9.

Ancient *Pāṭaliputra* has been identified with Kumrahar in the neighbourhood of Patna in Bihar.

Rājagṛha (Rājgir)[1]

Rāyagiha (*Rājagṛha*) was the celebrated capital-city of *Magadha* ruled over by Śreṇika-Bimbisāra. It is also mentioned in other Jaina texts,[2] Buddhist[3] and Brāhmaṇical[4] works and Chinese Records.[5]

It was known as *Giribbaja* in the Buddhist records,[6] for it was surrounded by five hills, viz. *Pāṇḍava, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Isigili* and *Vepulla*; and according to the *Mahābharata*—*Vaibhāra*, (the ground rock), *Varāha, Vṛṣabha Ṛṣigiri* and *Caityaka*.[7]

It is here at the *Guṇaśīlaka Caitya*, situated in the north-eastern quarter of *Rājagṛha*, Lord Mahāvīra appeared more than sixty times and delivered most of his sermons on different topics in the assembly of his followers. It was a famous centre of Jainism and Buddhism and it was also sanctified by the sacred visits of Lord Pārśvanātha[8] and Lord Buddha[9] respectively. It was the birth place of the twentieth *Tīrthaṅkara*.[10] According to the *BhS*,[11] the location of the hot spring in the *Vebhāra* hill, *Rāyagiha* can safely be identified with the present Rājgīr.

Sayaduvāra (Śatadvāra)[12]

Sayaduvāra was a town in the *Puṇḍra Janapada* at the foot of the *Vindhyagiri* where Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra was said to have been born in one of his births in the royal family of Sumati and Bhadrā and was known as Mahāpadma. It is not yet identified.

1 *BhS*, 1, 1, 4 ; etc.
2 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 10, p. 230 ; *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 1, 37 ; etc.
3 *Vimānavatthu* (Comm) p. 87 ; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 116-117.
4 *Mahābhārata*, III, 84. 104 ; see Luder's list No. 1345.
5 Watters on Yuan Chwang II, p. 148.
6 *Mahāvagga*, (S. B. F. XIII-150) ; D. P. P. N. II, 721. Commentary on the *Sutta Nipāta*, II, p. 382.
7 *Mahābhārata* II, 21. 2.
8 *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 10. p. 230 ; *Nirayāvaliyā*, 4.
9 *Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV, p. 267 ; II, 36 ff. ; *Dīgha*, II, pp. 76-81, etc.
10 *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 325, 383. 11 *BhS*, 2, 5, 113.
12 *Ib*, 15, 1, 559 ; see *Ṭhāṇāṅga Sutta*, 9, 663 ; *Aṅtagaḍa*, 5, p. 26.

Saravaṇa[1]

Saravaṇa was a small town where Gośāla Maṅkhaliputta was born in a cowshed of Gobahula. It is not yet definitely identified.

Sāvatthī (Śrāvasti)[2]

Sāvatthī was the capital city of *Kośala* (North) which was celebrated by the association of Piṅgalaka—a *Śramaṇopāsaka*, Skandaka—a *Parivrājaka*, Jamālī, Lord Mahāvīra and Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra. Outside the city there lay in the north-eastern quarter a *Caitya* called *Koṣṭhaka* where a spiritual duel took place between the *Ājīvika* leader and the Master, resulting in the defeat of the former.

Śrāvastī also finds mention in other Jaina texts[3], Buddhist[4] and Brāhmaṇical[5] works, Chinese accounts[6] and epigraphic records[7] as a capital city with its political, social, economic, religious and cultural history.

It was the birth place of Sambhavanātha and Candraprabhanātha, the two *Tīrthaṅkaras*[8] and it was sanctified by the visits of Lord Pārśvanātha and his disciple Keśikumāra[9].

Śrāvastī stood on the bank of *Acirāvatī* (modern Rāptī)[10] and is identified with the present Sāhet-Māhet on the basis of archaeological evidences[11].

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 340
2 *Ib.* 2, 1, 90; 9, 33, 386; 15, 1, 539-556.
3 *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*, 323; 382, *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 9. 19. p 229; *Nirayā*. 3, 1, *Rāya-Paseṇiya* S.—146 ff.
4 *Vinaya*. *Mahāvagga*, pp. 190-191, 293, etc.
5 *Viṣṇu Pu*. Ch II, *Aṁśa*, 4; *Matsya Pu* XII, etc.
6 Legge Travals of Fa-Heien, 55-56; Watters on Yuan Chwang, 1, 377; II. 200.
7 Soghaura copper plate, I. A. XXV, 216 ff. *Vide*, H.G.A. I, p. 125.
8 *Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, p. 717. *Vide*, Jainism in North India, C. J Shah, p 26.
9 *Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta*, 146 ff; *Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā*, p. 35a; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 9. 10 p 229; *Nirayāvaliyā*, 3. 1.
10 *Vinaya*: *Mahāvagga* pp. 190-191, 293.
11 J R A. S 1903 1098 ff. A. S. I. R. 1, 330 ff; XI. 78 ff; A. R. A. S I. 1907-8, 81 ff; 1910-11, pp. 1 ff; C. A. G. I. p. 469; H. G. A. I. p. 125.

Siddhatthagāma (Siddhārthagrāma)[1]

Siddhatthagāma was a small town where Lord Mahāvīra appeared at *Kūrmagrāma*, being accompanied by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra during the days of his austerity. *Siddhatthagāma* may correspond to *Siddhārthagrāma* in the Bīrbhūm district of West Bengal[2].

Susamārapura[3]

Susamārapura also appears in other Jaina texts[4] and Buddhist works[5] as a city.

It is here in the Aśoka garden Lord Mahāvīra passed the eleventh year of his asceticism in the state of *Chadmastha* (state having finite knowledge) by practising the austerity of '*ekarātrikaṁ mahāpratimā-vrataṁ*' (taking only the eighth meal). According to the Buddhist records *Susamārapura* was the capital of the *Bhaggas* (*Bhargas*). It is identified with modern Cunār in the Mirzāpura district in Uttara Pradesh.[6]

Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti=Tāmralipta=Tamaluk[7]

Tāmalitti is also mentioned in other Jaina texts,[8] Buddhist[9] and Brāhmanical[10] works and foreign accounts[11] as an important city and emporium with different variations of its name, such as, *Tāmalipta*, *Dāmalipta*, *Tāmalipti*, *Tamālinī* (by Hemachandra), *Tamalites* (by Ptolemy), *To-mo-liti* (by Fa-Hien), *Tan-mo-li-ti* (by Huien Tsang), etc.

According to the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*[12] *Tāmalitti*, was the capital city of *Vaṅga* in the list of the Aryans of the first order.

1 *BhS*, 15, 1, 542.
2 History of Bengal Vol. 1, p. 22.
3 *BhS*, 3, 2, 144.
4 *Avaśyaka-Cūrṇi*, II, p. 199 ff.
5 *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1, 332-8; *Vide*, H. G. A. I. p. 129.
6 Ghosa: Early History of *Kauśāmbi*, p. 32; *Majjhima Ni.* p. 61n. by Rāhul Sāṁkṛtyāyan; *Vide*, Life in Ancient India, p. 339f. f.n 303.
7 *BhS*, 3, 1, 134.
8 *Pannavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37. p. 55 a.
9 *Kathāsarit-Sāgara*, Ch. 14; *Mahāvaṁśa*, XI, 38; XIX, 6.
10 *Mahābhārata*, *Bhismaparva*, Ch. 9; *Sabhāparva*, Ch. 29, 1094 1100, *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 38.
11 Ptolemy, VII, 1, 76; Beal: Buddhist Records of the Western world II, 200.
12 *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37. p. 55a.

"Rāyagiha-Magaha-Campā-Aṅgā taha Tāmalitti-Vaṅgā ya", while the *Daśakumāra-Carita*[1] mentions it as a city of *Suhma*, together with the temple of *Binduvāsinī* which was visited by Fa-hien[2] and Hiuen Tsang.

It was from here the mission of king Aśoka consisting of Saṅghamitrā and Mahendra embarked for Ceylon. Fa-Hien also left for the same country on his way to China, while I-Tsing disembarked here after coming from China by the sea-route and embarked for *Śrī-Vijaya* (in Sumātrā) on his return journey.[3] *Tāmalitti* is identified with modern Tamaluk which stands on the bank of the river Rūpanārāyaṇa in the Midnapore district (West Bengal).[4]

Tuṅgiyā (Tuṅgikā)[5]

Tuṅgiyā was a native town of a large number of *Śramaṇopāsakas* who flourished by banking business. It was here in the *Puṣpavatī Caitya* a religious discussion took place between those *Śrāmaṇopāsakas* of Lord Mahāvīra and followers of Lord Pārśvanātha's order.

It may be identified with the present Tuṅgi which is lying two miles from Bihar-Shariff.[6]

Udaṇḍapura[7]

Udaṇḍapura was a small town which is said to have been visited by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in one of his births. Outside this town lay a *Caitya* called *Candrāvataraṇa*. *Udaṇḍapura* is identical with the town of Bihar-Shariff in the Patna district, which is also known as *Daṇḍapura* or *Udaṇḍapura*, for it was the centre of the *Daṇḍins*, a class of ascetics.[8]

1 *Daśakumāra-Carita*: Daṇḍin (6th A.D.)
2 Fa-Hien's travels in India.
3 I-Tsing, *Vide*, H G.A I. p. 263. 4 *Vide*, H.G.A.I. p. 263.
5 *BhS*, 2. 5, 107.
6 *Prācīna-Tīrthamālā-Saṅgraha*, Bhāvanagar, V. S. 1978. pt 1, p 16 Introduction. *Vide*, Life in Ancient India, p. 345.
7 *BhS*, 15, 1, 55.
8 Arch. Survey of India, Vol VIII, p. 75. *Vide*, Life in Ancient India. p. 345.

Ulluyatīra (Ullukatīra)[1]

Ulluyatīra was a small town in the north-eastern quarter of which was situated a *Caitya* called *Ekajambuka*. It was hallowed by the two visits of Lord Mahāvīra. It has not yet been identified.

Vāṇārasī (Vārāṇasī)[2]

Vāṇārasī was the celebrated city of *Vārāṇasī* or *Kāśī*, which finds mention also in other Jaina texts,[3] Buddhist[4] and Brāhmaṇical[5] works, and Chinese records[6] as a great centre of culture with its political, social, economic and religious life. It is said to have been visited by Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra in one of his former births when he abandoned the body of Maṇḍika possessed by him and entered into (i.e. took birth) that of Roha there at the *Kāmamahāvana Caitya* lying outside the city.[7]

Vārāṇasī was the birth place of the seventh and twenty-third *Tīrthaṅkaras* Lord Supārśva and Lord Pārśvanātha.[8] It was intimately associated with the development of Brāhmaṇism, Jainism and Buddhism, *Vārāṇasī* is identified with the present city of Vārāṇasī itself.

Vītibhaya (Vītibhaya)[9]

Vītibhaya was the capital city of *Sindhu-Sauvīra*. It is here in the *Mṛgavana* garden Lord Mahāvīra initiated its king *Udāyana* to monkhood. This city is also mentioned in other Jaina texts[10] as the capital of the same united kingdom which was one of the twenty-five and a half-Aryan countries.

It is identified with Bhera which stands on the left bank of the river Jhelum in the Dhahapura district in West Punjab.[11]

1 *BhS*, 16, 3, 502; 16, 5, 574. 2 *Ib*, 15, 1, 540.
3 *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37 ; *Uvāsagadasāo*, Ed. Hoernle pp. 909, etc.
4 *Digha Nikāya*, II, 146; III, p. 141, etc.
5 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, 5th *Aṁśa*, Ch. 34; *Kāvya Mīmāṁsā* of Rāja-śekhara (Vārāṇasyāḥ parataḥ).
6 Beat's Records of the western world, II, pp. 45 ff.
7 *BhS*, 15, 1, 550. 8 *Avaśyaka Niryukti*, 382, 384, 1302.
9 *BhS*, 13, 6, 491. 10 *Paṇṇavaṇā Sutta*, 1, 37, p. 55a.
11 Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. II, p. 385.

Visāhā (Viśākhā)[1]

Visāhā was a city which was sanctified by the sacred visit of Lord Mahāvīra. It is identified with modern Ayodhyā by Cunningham.[2]

Vesālī (Vaiśālī)[3]

Vesālī was the celebrated capital city of the *Licchavī* Republic and the head quarter of the *Vajjī* Confederacy at one time. It is also recorded in other Jaina[4] and Buddhist[5] works, the *Rāmāyaṇa*[6] and Chinese accounts[7] with the history of its administrative system, society, economic. educational, religious and cultural aspects.

Vaiśālī was a great centre of Jainism[8] and Buddhism.[9] It is identified with modern Basārh[10] in the the Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar.

Vebhela[11]

It was a settlement (*Sanniveśa*) located at the foot of the *Vindhyagiri*. It has not yet been identified.

Rivers

The *BhS*, makes the specific mention of only two rivers, viz. *Gangā* and *Sindhu*[12]. They also appear in other Jaina texts,[13]

[1] *BhS*, 18, 2, 618. [2] C. A. G. I., p 460.
[3] *BhS*, 7, 9, 303; 15, 1, 559.
[4] *Kalpa Sūtra*, 5, 123 (Jaina Sūtras, S. B. E., pt. 1, Intro. XI).
[5] Cf *Lalita-Vistara* : Leafmann–Ch. III, p. 21.
[6] Vinaya texts, S.B.E.II, p. 171; *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ch. 47, VV. II. 12. See *Viṣṇu-P.* (Wilson's, Vol. III, p. 246)
[7] Legge : Fa-hien's travels, p. 72; Watters on Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 63.
[8] *Kalpa Sūtra*, 122-123; *Uvāsagadasāo*.
[9] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, P.T.S. II, 190-94, 200-02; *Vide*, H.G.A.I., p. 266-267.
[10] Arch. Survey Report, Vol. I, pp. 55-56 & Vol. XVI, p. 6; A. S. I. A. R., 1903-4, p. 74.
[11] *BhS*, 3, 2, 142; 10, 4, 404.
[12] *BhS*, 7, 6, 288 ; 15, 1, 550.
[13] *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti*, IV, 34. 35

Buddhist[1] and Brahmanical[2] works, and foreign accounts[3] as the most celebrated rivers of India.

Gaṅgā

The earliest reference to *Gaṅgā* occurs in the *Nadī-stuti* verse of the *Ṛgveda*[4] (Imaṁ me Gaṅgā Yamunā......Susomayā). This river figures in a number of later texts with different variations of its name, such as *Alakanandā*,[5] *Dyudhuni*[6], *Bhāgīrathī*[7], *Jāṇhavī*[8], etc.

Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra mentions seven *Gaṅgās*[9], viz. *Gaṅgā*, *Mahā Gaṅgā*, *Macou Gaṅgā*, *Lohita Gaṅgā*, *Āvantī Gaṅgā* and *Paramāvatī Gaṅgā*. It is not possible to identify all of them except the first one at the present state of knowledge without fresh information. They may represent the legendary rivers or the local names of this river.

Gaṅgā is the famous river Ganges which rises up in the *Gaṅgotri* in the Garhwal district of Uttara Pradesh and falls into the Bay of Bengal, flowing southwards from Hardwur to Bulandshahr, from there to the south-eastern direction upto Allahabad, where it is met by the Yamuna, thence eastward up to Rajmahal in Bihar; from there enters into West Bengal and joins the sea passing by Calcutta.[10]

Sindhu

Sindhu is also mentioned in other Indian texts[11], foreign

[1] *Pañcasūdani*, II, p 586; *Vide*, India as described in Early texts, of Buddhism and Jainism.

[2] *Ṛg-Veda*, X, 75, VI, 45, 21, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5. 4. 11, *Mārk Pu.* 56. 1. 12; *Mbh.* 6. 43, 44; *Rāmā.* II, 50-12ff.

[3] Mc Crindle: Ancient India pp. 190-91; *Vide*, H.G A.I. p. 78.

[4] *Ṛg-Veda*, X, 75.

[5] *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, IV, 6, 24. XI, 29. 42.

[6] *Bhāgavat Purāṇa*, III, 23. 39.

[7] *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII, 36; VIII, 95; X. 26. 69.

[8] *Ib.* [9] *BhS*, 15, 1, 550.

[10] Geographical Dictionary, N. L. Dey—p. 79; See H.G.A.I.—B.C. Law, p. 78.

[11] *Thāṇāṅga Sutta*, 10, 717; *Ṛg-Veda*, X. 75; *Pāṇini*. 4. 3. 32-33; 4. 3. 93) *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *M. Bhāṣya* 1. 3. 1. pp. 588-589; *Bṛhat Saṁhitā*–XIV. 19.

accounts[1] and epigraphic records[2] as a celebrated river having seven streams under different names, such as *Sindhu*[3], *Hindu*[4], *Sintu*[5], etc.

It is the trans-Himālayan river which flows from the slopes of the Himālayas through North-West-Frontier-Province, the Punjab and Sindh and joins the Western Indian sea.[6]

The classical Greek accounts refer to the seven tributaries of *Sindhu*, viz. the *Hydraotes* (Rāvī), the *Akesines* (Cenāb), the *Hypasis* (*Vipāśā*-Beās), the *Hydaspes* (*Vitastā*-Jhelum), the *Kophen* (*Kabul*), the *Parenos*, the *Saparnos* and the *Saonos*.

The list of the seven streams of the *Sindhu* does not fully tally with that of its seven tributaries mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*, viz. *Śutudrī* (Sutlej), *Paruṣṇī* (Rāvī) *Asiknī* (Cenāb), *Marudvṛddhā* (a small Kāśmīrian river), *Vitastā* (Jhelum) and *Susamā* (Soban).[7]

The Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of king Candra also refers to the seven mouths of *Sindhu* (Tīrtvā saptamukhāni Sindhoḥ).[8] They also find mention in the Periplus of the Erythraean sea.[9]

Mountains

The *BhS* makes mention of the following mounts, viz. *Himavata*,[10] *Vindhyagiri*,[11] *Vipula*[12] and *Vebhāra*,[13] but it does not give a clear account of the mountain system of India as recorded in other Jaina texts, Brāhmṇical and Buddhist works.

[1] Behistūn Inscription of Darius; Vendād (Hindu); Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western world I, p 69; Cf. J A.S.B. 1886 (II p. 323); Legge: Fa-Hien, p. 26.
[2] Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of king Candra.
[3] *Ṛg-Veda*, VIII, 24.27 etc
[4] Hi(n)du or Hindu (Behistūn Inscription of Darius), C. H. I. Vol. 1 p. 324;
[5] Legge: Fa-Hien, p. 26.
[6] H. G. A. I. p. 127, B.C. Law.
[7] *Ṛg-Veda*, X, 75.
[8] Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of king Candara; *Vide*, Select Inscriptions of Dr D. C. Sirkar, p. 275.
[9] Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.
[10] *BhS*. 9, (3-30), 364.
[11] *Ib*, 3, 2, 144; 14, 8, 528.
[12] *Ib*, 2, 1, 94.
[13] *Ib*, 3, 4, 160.

Himavata

Himavata finds mention also in other Jaina texts,[1] Brāhmṇical[2] and Buddhist[3] works and foreign accounts.[4]

It is the great Himālayas lying on the north of India and stretching from the eastern to the western sea like the string of a bow (Kārmukasya yathāguṇaḥ).[5]

Vindhyagiri

Vindhyagiri appears as one of the *Kula-Parvatas* in other Indian texts[6] and it is identical with Ptolemy's ouindion[7] which is the origin of the rivers *Namados* (Narmadā) and *Nanagouna* (Tāptī). The evidences from the Purāṇic records and Ptolemy show that the *Vindhya* was a mountain of central India, having three distinct divisions, viz. *Pāripātra*, *Vindhya* proper and *Rikṣa* in the limited sense. But in wider sense the long range of the *Vindhya* corresponds to the whole chains of hills from Gujerāt to the Gayā district, stretching on both sides of the Narmadā.

Vipula

Vipula-Parvata is identical with *Vepulla* mountain of the Pali texts[8] which was one of the five hills protecting the city of *Girivraja* (*Rājagṛha*). It corresponds to the *Vipulācala* of Rājgīr (Bihar).

Vebhāra (Vaibhāra)

Vebhāra mountain was one of the five hills surrounding the ancient city of *Girivraja* as recorded in the Buddhist works[9] and

1. *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti*, 1, 9.
2. *Ṛg-Veda*, X, 121, 4; *Atharva-Veda*, XII, 1, 11; *Mārk. Pu.* 54, 24; 57. 59; *Mbh. Vanaparva*, 253.
3. *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 66; Malalasekara, Dict. of the Pāli proper names 1. p. 1325.
4. Ptolemy's (Imāos) Ancient India. p. 19.
5. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 54, 24; 57, 59.
6. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 54, 24; 57, 59.
7. Ptolemy's Ancient India, p. 77.
8. Pāli texts (D.P.P.N. II, 721); See also the *Mahābhārata*, 1, 113, 27; I.H.Q. 1939.
9. Pāli texts (D.P.P.N. II, 721).

the *Mahābhārata*[1] which mentions *Vipula* instead of *Vebhāra*. This hill was intimately associated with Jainism and Buddhism as a sacred place, for many saints belonging to the two orders attained emancipation here. According to the *BhS* it was situated at the outskirt of *Rājagṛha* and had the hot spring from which hot water always flowed.

"Sayā samio usiṇe āuyāe abhiṇissavai."[2]

This *Vebhāra* hill is identified with the *Vaibhāragiri* of modern Rājgīr.

Besides these mountains there is also mention of some mountains, such as, *Vaitāḍhya*, *Citra-Vicitra-Yamaka* mountains, *Kāñcana* mountains, etc. where *Jṛmbhaka* gods live.[3]

It is difficult to identify them correctly at the present state of knowledge of Indian Geography.

It is stated in the *JambuddīvaPaṇṇatti*[4] that the *Vaitāḍhya* mountain range divides *Bhāratavarṣa* into two halves, viz. the northern half and southern half. May it be identical with the *Vindhya* mountain ? .

[1] *Mahābhārata*, 1, 113, 77 ; See I H Q, Keith, 1930, 163-64.
[2] *BhS*, 2, 5, 113.
[3] *Ib*, 14, 8, 533.
[4] *Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti*, 1, 12.

TENTH CHAPTER.

Contribution of the *BhS* to the evolution of Jaina-Philosophical thought.

FIRST SECTION.

Jaina Metaphysics

At the dawn of civilization man began to ponder over the problem of life and phenomena of Nature with a feeling of admiration, awe and wonder which animated him to religious acts and to probe into them with a speculative thought to interpret and explain the deeper meanings of life and Nature. His thirst for knowledge born out of his spiritual urge led him to understand things relying upon his internal senses.

These were the haunting questions to his inquisttive mind; what is life, what is Nature, how have they originated and evolved, etc. ? His admiration was the first expression of sentiments which revealed themselves as the aesthetic idea at a more advanced stage, while wonder and inquisitiveness guided him later to develop "his philosophy, his religion and science".[1] Since then in every country the quest for knowledge of these problems of life and Nature started among the thinkers and thus different systems of philosophy evolved out of their self-consciousness, thoughts and experiences to interpret and explain the underlying fundamental principles which govern life and the Universe.

In India this quest for knowledge of life and Nature started in the Ṛgvedic age and it has continued upto the present day, contributing to the evolution of philosophical thoughts with speculative daring of many sages. Thus these questions on life and the Universe haunted the speculative mind of the Vedic sage of *Nāsadīya* hymn "From whence did it spring forth, from whence was

[1] Religion and Rational outlook—Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, p. 44

this creation ?" "Kuta ajātā kuta iyaṁ visṛṣṭiḥ" ?[1] He himself answers "Nāsad āsīn no sad āsīt tadānīṁ".[2] Next, he asks the question to himself. "Was there deep abysmal waters" ? "Ambhaḥ kiṁ āsīd gahanaṁ gabhīraṁ" ? He asserts that "there was no death, nor was there anything immortal".[3] But immediately his mind reacts thus "That one breathed by Itself without breath, other than It there was nothing–"Ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād dhā'nyan na paraḥ kiñcanā sa".[4] "There was absolute darkness and a sea without light. That one was born by the power of austerity (tapaḥ). The sages (ṛṣis) searching in their heart discovered in non-existence the connecting bond of existence[5] Sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛdi pratīṣyā kavayo manīṣā."

Thus the Indian Philosophical thought began in the Ṛg-vedic age and passed through the different phases of its evolution, giving birth the six orthodox systems of philosophy, viz. *Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṁsā* and *Vedānta* and the unorthodox systems of philosophy, viz. Cārvākīsm, Jainism and Buddhism in different ages.

In the domain of knowledge the *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha-Dharma* also made a great contribution to the evolution of the metaphysical thought by systematizing the teachings of the leaders of religion as it is revealed in the *BhS*. The study of this canonical work shows that Metaphysics is something which is correlated with Physics, though the former goes beyond the latter.

Cosmogony

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon Cosmogony, i.e. origin, evolution and continuation of life and the Universe by explaining the fundamental principles of Nature that there takes place the transformation of the state of existence (*astitva*) into that of existence which means the existence of a thing in the form in which it is and that of non-existence into that of non-existence (*nāstitva*), i.e. when a thing undergoes transformation into the

[1] *Ṛg-Veda* X, 129, 6. *Vide* 'Studies in Jaina Philosophy', Dr. N. Tatia. p. 1
[2] *Ib*, X, 129. 1. [3,4] *Ib*, X, 129, 2.
[5] *Ib*, X, 129, 4. page no. 2.

other state than its own (anyāpoha). "Atthittaṁ atthitte pariṇamai natthittaṁ natthitte pariṇamai".[1] For example, the entity or being of earth as lump exists in the being of a jar in the transformed state "(yathā mṛddravyasya piṇḍaprakāreṇa sattā ghaṭaprakāra sattāyām iti)". It is a case of *astitva*, while that of *nāstitva* is explained by the example of the state of darkness due to the state of absence or destruction of light, "dīpādivināśasyāpi tamisrādirūpatayā pariṇamāt."[2]

These principles of *astitva* and *nāstitva* are co-related with each other from the points of view of eternality of the Universe (inhabited portion) and the Non-Universe (uninhabited portion), living and non-living substances without the priority of existence of any one of them. Thus it is explained that both the Universe and the Non-Universe, living and non-living substances are eternal without succession.

The *BhS* expounds that finiteness and infiniteness, eternality and non-eternality are co-related from different aspects of substance, space, time, condition, etc., in relation to the Universe and soul. For example, the substance-world (*dravyaloka*) and space-world (*kṣetraloka*) are finite and non-eternal from the points of view of substance and space, and infinite and eternal from those of time and condition, i. e. temporal dimension and model expression. Similarly soul (*Jīva*) is finite and non-eternal from the aspects of substance and space, and infinite and eternal from those of time and condition (*bhāva*) respectively.

Conception of Substance (Dravya) or Reality and its Nature

According to the metaphysical principles laid down in the *BhS* the Universe is a system of Reals all inter-related with one another with regard to *dravya* (substance), *kṣetra* (space), *kāla* (time) and *bhāva* (condition), having a fundamental unity comprising the plurality of inter-dependent and inter-connected substances. *Dravya* is endowed with *guṇas* (qualities), inifinite[4] in number. From the *Vyavahāra Naya* (practical or empirical standpoint) the flowing molasses is endowed with sweet taste and from that of

[1] *BhS*, 1, 3, 32. [2] *Ib*, (comm.). [3,4] *Ib*, 2, 1, 91.

Nikcaya Naya (noumenal standpoint), it has got five colours, two smells, five tastes and eight touches.[1]

So *Dravya* is that which possesses *guṇas* and *paryāyas* (attributes as well as modes) and reveals permanence and change inherent in it to be real. It is Reality endowed with three potent factors, viz. permanence, origination and decay. There had been an evolution of this conception of Reality with the development of philosophical thought. In the *Tattvārtha Sūtra*[2], Umāsvāti conceives '*Sat*' (existence) as the mark of *Dravya* i.e. Reality (Sat-dravya-lakṣmaṇam) and explains that this '*Sat*' is endowed with three factors, viz. origination, decay and permanence (Utpāda-vyaya-dhrauvya-yuktaṁ sat)[3] which characterize Reality. Accordingly in a substance there are its origin and decay of its changing modes (*paryāyas*) and permanence - the unchanging essence. It is further explained that *Dravya* is endowed with *guṇa* and *paryāya* (essential and accidental characters) "Guṇa-paryayavad-dravyam."[4]

So there is no fundamental difference between the two definitions of *Dravya* as embodied in the *BhS* and *Ta. Sū.* respectively. Only the definition of Reality has been made more clear in the *Ta. Sū.* with the evolution of philosophical thought.

The principle of *Dravya* is of two kinds, viz. *Jīvadravya* and *Ajīvadravya* (living and non-living substance).[5] These living and non-living substances are infinite and they have infinite modes. Living substance is formless (*arūpī*),[6] while non-living substances are classified into two groups, viz. *rūpī-ajīvadravyas* (corporeal non-living substances which are tangible to senses) and *arūpī-ajīva-dravyas* (formless non-living substances which are intangible to senses), "Rūvī ya arūvī ya."[7] It is explained that matter (*pudgala*)[8] is corporeal non-living substance, while the formless non-living substance consists of *Dharmāstikāya* (principle of motion), *Adharmāstikāya* (principle of rest), *Ākāśāstikāya* (space)[9]

1 *BhS*, 18, 6, 631.
2 *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 5, 29 Umāsvāti.
3 *Ib*, 5, 30.
4 *Ib*, 5, 38.
5 *Ib*, 25, 2, 720.
6 *Ib*, 7, 10, 305.
7 *Ib*, 2, 10, 121.
8-9 *Ib*, 7, 10, 305.

and *Addhāsamaya* (time).[1] But at the same place of the *BhS Arūpī. Ajīvadravya* is also divided into five kinds, viz. *Dharmāstikāya, Dharmāstikāya-pradeśa* (element of the principle of motion), *Adharmāstikāya, Adharmāstikāya-pradeśa* (element of the principle of rest) and *Addhāsamaya*.[2] Here *Ākāśāstikāya* is omitted.

This canonical work makes a study of the relation between living and non-living substances. The former receives the latter from all sides and effects the formation of the gross physical, transformation - and translocation-bodies and all the five sense organs, three activities (mental, vocal and bodily) and inhaling and exhaling.[3]

Conception of the Universe

The Universe is conceived of as comprising *Pancāstikāyas* (five extensive substances), viz. *Dharmāstikāya, Adharmāstikāya, Ākāśāstikāya, Jīvāstikāya,* and *Pudgalāstikāya.*[4]

But on the basis of the divisions of *Dravya* it is explained in one place of the *BhS* that there are six fundamental substances in the Universe, called *Sarva-dravyas*, i.e. Postive Realities characterized by attributes and modes (*guṇa* and *paryāya*), viz. *Dharmāstikāya, Adharmāstikāya, Ākāśāstikāya, Jīvāstikāya, Pudgalāstikāya,* and *Addhāsamaya.*[5] The last substance—*Addhāsamaya*, appears also in other places as a distinct eternal real substance.[6] So far as conception of the Universe as comprising five extensive substances is concerned, time is not included in it as the sixth substance, because it does not form one organic extension.

Nature of these six fundamental substances

The *BhS* throws an important light upon the nature of all these six fundamental substances of the Universe by explaining them from different aspects. It is expounded that *Dharmāstikāya*[7] and *Adharmāstikāya* are single substances from the point of view of *Dravya*, equal to the extent of the Universe (inhabited portion)

1, 2 *BhS*, 2, 10, 121.
3 *Ib*, 25, 2, 721.
4 *Ib*, 2, 10, 118; 7, 10, 305; 13, 4, 481.
5 *Ib*, 13, 4, 482–483.
6 *Ib*, 11, 11, 424.
7 *Ib*, 2, 10, 118–119.

from that of space, eternal from that of time, and colourless, smell-less, tasteless and touchless from that of condition. But the former is signified by the motion of other bodies, while the latter by their rest. *Dharmāstikāya* is the medium which causes all the moving states, e.g. coming, going, etc., to be set in motion, because the characteristic of movement presupposes *Dharmāstikāya*.[1] It helps the motion of the moving objects. In reality it is one extensive non-living substance pervading the cosmic Universe and it is of innumerable points,[2] as it is co-extensive with space—having innumerable points.

Adharmāstikāya is signified by the attribute of rest of other bodies.[3] It is this principle of rest which causes all the non-moving states, such as, standing, sitting, fixed state of mind, etc., because the static state of bodies points to its existence (ṭhāṇa-lakkhaṇe-ṇam ahammatthikāye).[4] This eternal substance consists of innumerable points,[5] because it is co-extensive with space having infinite points.[6]

Ākāśāstikāya (Space)

Ākāśāstikāya is a single substance from the aspect of *dravya*, equal to the extent of the Universe (inhabited portion) and Non-Universe (uninhabited portion), i.e. all pervasive from that of space, eternal from that of time, and colourless, smell-less, tasteless, and touchless from that of condition, and it is endowed with the attribute of extension (*avagāhanā*) i.e. it gives room for the existence of all the extended and non-extended substances—*Dharma*, *Adharma*, *Jīva*, *Pudgala* and *Addhāsamaya*. Space consists of infinite points (*pradeśa anantā*[7]) and it is the receptacle of living and non-living substances and is filled or occupied by one to infinite atoms, because the attribute of extension is space (avagāhaṇā-lakkhaṇe ṇam āgāsatthikāye)[8].

Jīvāstikāya

Soul is colourless, smell-less, tasteless, touchless, formless, living, eternal and permanent substance of the Universe, having

1 *BhS*, 13, 4, 481. 2 *Ib*, 2, 10, 119. 3 *Ib*, 2, 10, 118.
4 *Ib*, 13, 4, 481. 6,7 *Ib*, 2, 10, 119. 8 *Ib*, 13, 4, 481.

the attribute of consciousness. There are many synonymous words of soul, such as, *jīva* or *jīvāstikāya*, *pāṇa*, *bhūya*, *satta*, *viṇṇu*, *veyā*, *jeyā*, *āyā* etc.[1]

Definition of Soul

The definition of soul becomes clear by the meanings of its synonymous words, e. g. the term '*Jīva*' denotes that the soul is consciousness and consciousness also is invariably the soul (Jīve tāva niyamā jīve jīvati jīve).[2] He who ever breathes is invariably *jiva* (being), but *jīva* (soul) breathes in some respect and does not breathe in other respect. (Jīvati tāva jīve, jīve puṇa siya jīvati siya no jīvati).[3] It is to be observed that the word '*Poggala*' sometimes stands as synonym for soul. It is so called because of the integration and disintegration of its bodies (Puranād-galanācca-śarīrādīnāṁ pudgalaḥ).[4]

It is explained that soul is infinite from the aspect of substance, co-extensive with the Universe from that of space (*kṣetra*), eternal from that of time and colourless, smell less, tasteless and touchless from that of condition.[5]

It is single eternal substance having infinite points (*pradeśas*),[6] for it is co-extensive with space possessing infinite points.

Nature of Soul

Proof of Existence of soul

In the human body one feels the experience of another agency which defies the laws of Nature, time and space ; there is something, not analysable nor subject to physical analysis but is distinct from the object. Thus it is explained that the soul is endowed with exertion, action, strength, energy, effort and vigour and it manifests its *jīvabhāva* (the state of consciousness) by its *ātmabhāva*[7] (the state of the self) i. e. the act of rising, lying, going, acting etc. Because the soul, having the attribute of consciousness attains consciousness of infinite modes of all kinds of knowledge, wrong knowledge and undifferentiated cognition (or self-awareness) (*jñāna*, *ajñāna* and *darśana*).

[1] *BhS*, 20, 2, 665. [2,3] *Ib*, 6, 10, 256. [4] *Ib*, (Comm.), 20, 2, 665.
[5] *Ib*, 2, 10, 118. [6] *Ib*, 2, 10, 119.
[7] *Ib*, 2, 10, 120 ; 13, 4, 481.

As regards the equality of the soul the *BhS* reveals that the soul of an elephant and that of a *Kunthu* (insect) are equal.[1]

Soul pervades the body in which it exists, e. g. the whole bodies of tortoises, allegators, cows, men, buffaloes, etc., and even their inner parts, cut into two to innumerable pieces.[2] It may in some respect exist in every point of space of the Universe and even in an atom or may not exist in them in other respect, because they are endowed with soul in reference to its presence (*sva-ādiṣṭa*) and with not-soul in reference to the presence of not-soul (*para-ādiṣṭa*).[3]

Soul is imperishable, immortal and impenetrable ; no man can cause pain or destruction to it or cut its inner points by touching with hand or cutting them asunder with a sharp weapon or burning them with fire.[4] It is eternal from the point of view of time and non-eternal from the state of existences (*gati*), because it was, is, and will be ; and it undergoes transmigration from one birth to another.[5]

Soul is finite from the aspects of substance and space, for it is a single substance possessed of innumerable points and immersed in innumerable points of space,[6] but it is infinite from that of condition, because it is endowed with infinite modes of knowledge, of self-awareness, of conduct, etc.[7]

As a changing entity soul always vibrates in different forms, moves further and goes to all directions ; then it enters into the world, agitates, rises up and transforms itself into different conditions.[8]

Soul is the agent of all actions of beings, for without it eighteen kinds of sinful acts (act of killing upto the perverted attitude), and the act of desistence from them, different states of the soul (*bhāva*), perception (*avagraha*), speculation (*īhā*), i.e. desire to know, determination (*avāya*), retention (*dhāraṇā*), exertion,

[1] *BhS*, 7, 8, 294. [2] *Ib*, 8, 3, 325. [3] *Ib*, 12, 10, 469.
[4] *Ib*, 8, 3, 325. [5] *Ib*, 9, 33, 387. [6,7] *Ib*, 2, 1, 91.
[8] *Ib*, 3, 3, 153.

action, etc., upto determinate and indeterminate consciousness of beings do not take place.[1]

Plurality of soul

The *BhS* believes in the plurality of souls, having a unity running on the ground that two sentient beings are individual absorbers (*pratyekāhārā*) and transformers of food and they bind separate bodies, and assimilate matters or form bodies independently. Further they differ in regard to their respective senses, conditions of soul, attitudes of mind, knowledges and activities.[2]

Classification of soul

Soul is studied from eight points of view, viz. substance (*dravya*), passion (*kaṣāya*), activity (*yoga*), consciousness (*upayoga*), knowledge (*jñāna*), self-awareness (*darśana*), conduct (*cāritra*), and energy (*vīrya*). Accordingly there are stated to be eight kinds of soul, viz. *dravyātmā* (soul existing as substance), *kaṣāyātmā* (soul having passion), *yogātmā* (soul endowed with activity), *upayogātmā* (soul endowed with consciousness), *Jñānātmā* (soul endowed with knowledge), *darśanātmā* (soul endowed with self-awareness), *cāritrātmā* (soul in conduct) and *vīryātmā* (soul endowed with energy).[3]

There exists psychologically a mutual relation among these eight kinds of soul, for they are inter-connected as the different aspects of one substance, namely, soul. For example, he who has *dravyātmā* has in some respect *kaṣāyātmā* and he has not it in other respect. But he who is endowed with *kaṣāyātmā* has invariably *dravyātmā*.[4]

Characteristics of Soul

The *BhS* explains that the soul is *jñāna* (i.e. endowed with right knowledge) in some respect and also *ajñāna* (i.e. endowed with wrong knowledge) in other respect, but knowledge itself is invariably the soul, because consciousness (*upayoga*) is the attribute of the soul.[5]

[1] *BhS*, 20, 3, 666. [2] *Ib*, 20, 1, 663. [3] *Ib*, 12, 10, 464.
[4] *Ib*, 12, 10, 468. [5] *Ib*, 12, 10, 468.

"Āyā siya ṇāṇe siya aṇṇāṇe ṇāṇe puṇa niyamaṁ āyā."

Self-consciousness and outside objects are correlated. As the soul is endowed with the capacity of taking note of natural objects, it is the knower. It is also invariably self-awareness (*darśana*) and self-awareness is invariably the self itself (āyā niyamaṁ daṁsaṇe daṁsaṇe niyamaṁ āyā)."

Relation of soul with speech, mind and body

This canonical work throws important light upon the relation of the soul with speech, mind and body by explaining their different characteristics. Speech[1] and mind[2] are non-souls (i. e. matter) because they are endowed with form (corporeal) and are non-conscious (*acitta*) and non-living (*ajīva*). They are only intimately associated with the soul. But body is both soul and non-soul (matter) conscious and non-conscious, living and non-living matter of beings and non-beings. This dual nature of body is due to its association or absence of association with the soul. The body undergoes various transformations such as (1) the gross physical (2) gross physical-mixed with translocation, (3) transformation (*veuvvie*), (4) transformation-cum-translocation, (5) translocation (*āhārae*) (6) translocation-cum-karmic and (7) karmic bodies.

It is further explained that the *jīva* (soul) engaged in eighteen kinds of sinful acts is not different from the *jīvātman*, as some heretics who distinguished between *jīva* and *jīvātman* were used to hold.[3]

Pudgalāstikāya (Matter)

Ajīvadravya (non-living substance) is of various kinds the most visible form of which is matter (*pudgala*) which exists in different forms, such as, earth, water, fire, plant, physical bodies, etc. It is a tangible reality which exists along with the sensuous and supersensuous experiences in visible and invisible conditions. Its finest form is atom. There are many synonymous words of

[1] *BhS*, 13, 7, 493. [2] *Ib*, 13, 7, 494. [3] *Ib*, 17, 2, 597.

pudgalāstikāya, such as, *poggala* or *paramāṇupoggala* (atom), etc.[1]

The word '*poggala*' (Skt. *pudgala*) is formed of two terms '*pud*' and '*gala*', the first one denotes to combine, while the second signifies to dissociate. According to the commentary of Śrī Abhayadeva Sūri the word *pudgala*, stands for matter which is subject to intergration and disintergration of bodies, etc. involving the process of transformation.[2]

So *pudgala* is a corporeal non-living eternal and fixed (or permanent) substance of the Universe, having five colours, five tastes, two smells and eight touches.[3] It is infinite (substances) from the point of view of substance, equal to the extent of the Universe from the standpoint of space, eternal from that of time and endowed with colour, taste and touch from that of condition and with the attribute of reception from that of quality.[4]

Matter causes the receiving (i.e. formation) of five kinds of bodies, viz. gross physical body upto *Kārmaṇa* body, five sense-organs, viz. ear upto skin, three kinds of activities (mental, vocal and bodily) and breathing in and out, because the characteristic of receiving is inherent in it.

"Veuvviya-āhārae......gahaṇaṁ pavattati
......gahaṇalakkhaṇe ṇam poggalatthikāye."[5]

Nature of Matter

Matter is heavy-cum-light (*guruya-lahue*) with regard to heavy-cum light substances and neither-heavy nor light with regard to substances which are neither heavy nor light (*aguruya-lahuya*).[6]

It is endowed with parts (or points i.e. *sapradeśa*) and is partless also (*apradeśa*) from the point of view of substance. It is infinite from those of space, time and condition respectively,[7] as being co-extensive with space.[8]

1, 2 *BhS*, 20, 2, 665. 3 *Ib*, 2, 10, 118. 4 *Ib*, 2, 10, 118.
5 *Ib*, 13,4,481. 6 *Ib*, 1,9,73. 7 *Ib*, 5,8,221. 8 *Ib*, 2,10,119.

"Aṇaṁtā khettādeseṇavi evaṁ ceva kālādeseṇavi bhāvādeseṇavi evāṁ."

Classification of matter

Matter is classified into three categories from the point of view of transformation, viz. *prayoga-pariṇata-pudgala* (matter, transformed into the physical form by the action of beings) *miśra-pariṇata-pudgala* (matter-transformed by the action-cum-natural innate disposition) and *visrasā-pariṇata-pudgala* (matter transformed by nature or the natural srate). They are again divided and sub-divided into different groups from various aspects.[1] For example, there are five kinds of *prayoga pariṇata-pudgala*, viz. *ekendriya* upto *pañcendriya-prayoga-pariṇata-pudgala* (i. e. matters transformed by the action of one-sensed upto five-sensed beings). *Visrasā-pariṇata-pudgalas* are divided into five groups, viz. *varṇa-pariṇata* upto *saṁsthāna-pariṇata-pudgala* (i. e. matters transformed by the process of the natural states of colour upto figure.[2]

Forms of Matter

Matter consists of two forms, viz. *paramāṇu* (atom) and *skandha* (aggregate of atoms) from the physical aspect of Nature. Here the problem arises how do they exist in the spatial Universe.

Formation of Atoms

It is explained in the *BhS* that matter was, is, and will be dry and adhesive in the infinite eternal past, present and future times respectively. It underwent, undergoes, and will undergo transformation and got, gets, and will get changed into the states having many colours and forms as a result of the applied and natural processes. Then those states again get worn out (i. e. disintegrated) and become matter, having one colour and one form, i. e, atom.

> "Esaṇam bhaṁte poggale tītamaṇaṁtaṁ sāsayaṁ ...samayaṁ lukkhī samayaṁ alukkhī............ egavaṇṇe egarūve."[3]

[1] *BhS*, 8, 1, 310. [2] *Ib*, 8, 1, 312. [3] *Ib*, 14, 4, 510.

This theory of the formation of atoms as embodied in this canonical work is also explained in the *T. Sū.*[1] The atoms are produced by the division of matter, while the origination of *skandha* is caused by the division and union of matters (bheda-saṁghātebhyaḥ utpadyante),[2] i. e. it takes place owing to the disintegration, integration and disintegration-cum-integration of atoms with one another as a result of internal and external causes.

Definiton of Atom

An atom is defined as endowed with one colour, one smell, one taste and two touches. "Paramāṇupoggalle ṇam egavaṇṇe egagaṅdhe egarase duphāse paṇṇatte."[3]

It may be black or upto white; it may have the property of pleasant or unpleasant smell; it may be bitter or upto sweet; and it may be cold and adhesive, or cold and dry or warm and adhesive or warm and dry.[4] It is to be observed that the qualities of hardness and lightness are not inherent in an atom. Kundakunda[5] also propounds in regard to the properties of an atom that "of the eight kinds of touch, hardness and softness, heaviness and lightness are not the qualities of the individual atoms." The *Tattvārtha Sūtra* also explains that a *paramāṇu* (atom) is the smallest material unit of substance, devoid of any further divisible points (*pradeśas*) (*nāṇoḥ*).[6]

A *skandha* (aggregate of atoms) possesses two to infinite parts and properties of colour, smell, taste and touch in varying numbers according to the number of its constituent parts, e.g. a *skandha*, having two parts of atoms may be endowed with one or two colours, etc.[7]

Characteristics of Atom and aggregate of Atoms

One atom is equal to another atom from the point of view of substance.[8] It is impenetrable and indivisible, incombustible

1 *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 5, 27.
2 *BhS*, 18, 6, 632.
3 *Ib*, 5, 26.
4 *Ib*, 20. 5, 669.
5 *Pañcāstikāyasāra*, 88. *Vide*, 'Outlines of Jaina philosophy' by Mohanlal Mehta, p. 72.
6 *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 5, 11.
7 *BhS*, 20, 5, 670.
8 *Ib*, 14, 7, 523.

and non-receivable (*agājjha*)[1]; *anardha* (without half part), *amadhya* (having no interior part) and *apradeśa* (having no points or only one point);[2] while a *skandha* is *sārdha* or *anardha*, *amadhya* or *samadhya* and *sapradeśa*, e. g. *skandhas* having two, four, six and eight parts are *sārdha*; but those, having three, five, seven and nine parts are *anardha*. *Skandhas*, having numerable, innumerable, and infinite parts may be *sārdha* and *anardha* also.[3]

An atom may be a single substance or a part of a substance.[4] It is so fine in form that it is touched by air, but it does not touch air.[5] An atom and an aggregate of atoms are infinites in numbers,[6] while the former is eternal from the aspect of substance and non-eternal from that of modes of colour, taste, smell and touch.[7] It is the not-last (*acarima*) from the point of view of substance and it may be the last and not-last from that of space, time and state.[8]

Classification of Atoms

Atoms are studied and classified from the points of view of substance, space, time and state as they are inter-related to one another. Thus there are stated to be four kinds of atoms, viz. *dravyaparamāṇu* (atom of substance), *kṣetraparamāṇu* (atom of point of space), *kālaparamāṇu* (atom of time, i. e. *samaya*) and *bhāvaparamāṇu* (atom of state, e. g. colour, etc.).[9] They are further divided into different kinds on the basis of their respective characteristics and the state in which they exist. Thus there are four kinds of *dravyaparamāṇu*, viz. indivisible, impenetrable, incombustible and non-receivable; four kinds of *kṣetraparamāṇu*, viz. *anardha* (without half or equal part), *amadhya* (without inner part), *apradeśa* (partless) and *avibhājya* (indivisible); four kinds of *kālaparamāṇu*, viz. colourless, smell-less, tasteless, and touchless and four kinds of *bhāvaparamāṇu* (the state in which it exists) viz. *varṇavān* (endowed with colour), *gandhavān* (endowed with smell), *rasavān* (endowed with taste) and *sparśavān* (endowed with touch).[10]

[1] *BhS*, 5, 7. 214; 20, 5, 671. [2] *Ib*, 5, 5, 215. [3] *Ib*, 25, 4, 743.
[4] *Ib*, 8, 10, 357. [5] *Ib*, 18, 10, 645. [6] *Ib*, 25, 4, 740.
[7] *Ib*, 14, 4, 512. [8] *Ib*, 14, 4, 513. [9,10] *Ib*, 20, 5, 671.

Physical contact of Atoms and Aggregates of Atoms

Atoms and aggregates of atoms exist mutually touching one another. An atom touching the other one touches its whole by the whole of it, while touching a *skandha*, having two parts, it touches the part and the whole of that *skandha* by its whole.[1] The duration of touching of one atom by the other one is one *samaya* in the minimum and innumerable *samayas* in the maximum.[2]

Vibration of Atoms

Atoms are stated to be in a state of flux, always vibrating, moving and combining with other atoms to get transformed into *skandhas* (aggregate of atoms). Thus it is explained that an atom may or may not vibrate and get transformed into the state of vibration, etc.[3]

Movements of Atoms

Atoms are moving and non-moving from the point of view of time (siya sẽe siya nirẽe).[4] The duration of moving of an atom is one *samaya* in the miuimum and innumurableth part of an *āvalikā* in the maximum and that of its non-moving is one *samaya* in the minimum and innumerable *samayas* in the maximum.[5] An atom is *savveya* and *nireya* (wholly moving and non-moving), while *skandha*, having two to infinite parts may be *deśaija* (partly moving), *sarvaija* (wholly moving) and *nireja* (non-moving).[6]

The *BhS* throws light upon the intermediate times of the vibration of matter, atom and aggregate of atoms, e. g. matter immersed in one point of or innumerable points of space exists vibrating for one *samaya* in the minimum and innumerableth part of an *āvalikā* in the maximum in the case of vibration and innumerable *samayas* in the case of non-vibration from the point of view of time, etc.[7]

It is stated that an atom goes from one last border of the Universe to its other last border by one *samaya*.[8] The movement

1 *BhS*, 5, 7, 216. 2 *Ib*, 5, 7, 217. 3 *Ib*, 5, 7, 213.
4 *Ib*, 23, 4, 744. 5 *Ib*, 5, 7, 217. 6 *Ib*, 25, 4, 744.
7 *Ib*, 5, 7, 217. 8 *Ib*, 16, 8, 585.

of matter is explained scientifically thus that the cavity of smell of a *ketakī* flower does not flow nor does the flower flow in the favourable wind from one place to another. But the matter gone (endowed) with smell blows.[1]

Union of matter

The union of matters takes place as a result of the existence of the properties of different degrees. viz. adhesiveness and dryness and adhesiveness-cum-dryness inherent in atoms and aggregates of atoms, having two upto infinite parts. It lasts for one *samaya* in the minimum and innumerable *samayas* in the maximum.[2]

The combination of atoms originates owing to the presence of the property of oily-body (*siṇehakāe*) i. e. adhesiveness inherent in them Thus two atoms may combine together into a *skandha* because of their property of adhesiveness (*siṇehakāya*).[3]

Aggregates of atoms (or *skandhas*) also get united and separated into two and three parts, etc.[4]

The ideas of the union of dissimilar matters, having properties of different degrees are also found in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* and the *Gommaṭasāra*. The first states that the matters may combine by the virtue of their qualities of adhesiveness or smoothness and dryness or roughness inherent in them, "Snigdharukṣatvādbandhaḥ."[5]

The second book also holds the same view that adhesiveness (or smoothness) and dryness (or roughness) are the causes of bondage of atoms into an aggregate of atoms, "Ṇiddhattaṁ lukkhattaṁ baṁdhassa ya kāraṇaṁ tu eyādī."[6] It further explains that the smooth and rough atoms combine with each other.

"Ṇiddhalukkhā ya bajjhaṁti rūvārūvī ya poggalā."[7]

An atom with the minimum degree of smoothness or roughness is never fit for union in its own place or in the other.

[1] *BhS*, 16, 6, 582.
[2],[4] *Ib*, 1, 10, 80.
[3] *Ib*, 8, 9, 345.
[5] *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 5-33.
[6] *Gommaṭasāra-Jīva-Kāṇḍa*, 609, (Ed. J. L. Jaini).
[7] *Ib*, 612.

It unites, if there is a proper change in its degree of smoothness or roughness owing to external and internal causes.[1]

In the case of aggregate of numerable, innumerable and infinite atoms with great degrees of smoothness or roughness when uniting they alter the atoms of lesser degree to their own kind.[2]

The *BhS* embodies both the theories of the *Gommaṭasāra* that not only the atoms, having dissimilar properties unite, but also the atoms, having similar properties but of different degrees combine together into a *skandha*. After union atoms may get disintegrated into different parts.[3] Atoms and aggregates of atoms, having two upto infinite parts get integrated and disintergrated, e. g. two atoms combine together and get transformed into a *skandha*, having two parts. That *skandha*, while getting splitted up gets disintegrated into atoms by oneness.[4]

Transformation of Matter

There are five kinds of transformation of matter, viz. *varṇa-pariṇāma* (transformation of colour), *gandhapariṇāma* (transformation of smell), *rasapariṇāma* (transformation of taste) and *sparśa-pariṇāma* (transformation of touch) and *saṁsthānapariṇāma* (transformation of figure). They are again subdivided into different groups according to their respective numbers, e. g. there are five kinds of *varṇapariṇāma*, viz. black. upto white, etc.[5]

Pudgala Parivartta (union of atoms with matter)

It is explained in the *BhS*, that there take place infinite *pudgala-parivarttas*[6] owing to the process of integration and disintegration of atoms.[7] The *pudgala-parivarttas* are divided into seven kinds viz. *audārika*, *vaikriyika*, *taijasa*, *kārmaṇa*, *mana*, *vāk*, and *āna-prāṇa*—unions of atoms with the gross physical matter, with the transformation body, with the firy-body, with the *karmic* body, with matter of mind, matter of speech and matter of breathing in and out. They are explained with regard to all beings from different aspects, such as, time, etc.[8] Matters, atoms and aggre-

[1] *BhS*, 618. [2] *Ib*, 619. [3] *Ib*, 1, 10, 80. [4] *Ib*, 12, 4, 445.
[5] *Ib*, 8, 10, 356. [6,7] *Ib*, 12, 4, 446. [8] *Ib*, 12, 4, 446-448.

gates of atoms of all categories, immersed in one to innumerable points of space of the Universe are infinite in number.[1]

Matter and Soul

It is explained in the *BhS* that souls and matters exist in the Universe, being mutually bound, touched, immersed and tied to each other by attachment (or oiliness) and getting mixed (or immersed) like a jar and water or a sunken boat and water of a lake.[2]

Addhāsamaya (Time)

Addhāsamaya is an eternal fundamental formless non-living independent substance,[3] but it is devoid of organic extension. In the *Sthānāṅga Sūtra* time is called living or non-living substance according as it is the determination of a living or non-living substance. "Samayāti vā āvaliyāti vā jīvā ya ajīvā ti ya pavuccati."[4]

It appears from the *BhS* that there were two traditions, running side by side to regard and not to regard time as an independent real-substance of the Universe, because the Universe is characterized in one place '*Pañcāstikāyaloka*.'[5]

The occurrence of the Sūtra 'Kālaśca'[6] or Kālaścetyeke, etc. after the Sūtra 'Guṇaparyayavad-dravyam'[7] in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* indicates that time was not first accepted as a separate real substance of the Universe, but latter on it was admitted to the category of the fundamental substances with the evolution of the philosophical thought.

Kundakunda[8], while accepting *Pañcāstikāya-loka* regards time as one of the six real substances. According to Guṇaratna[9]

[1] *BhS*, 25, 4, 740.
[2] *Ib*, 1, 6, 55.
[3] *Ib*, 2, 10, 21 ; 11, 11, 425 ; 13, 4, 482-83. Also see *Paṇṇavaṇā*, 1 and *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 28-10.
[4] *Sthānāṅga Sūtra*, 95.
[5] *BhS*, 13, 4, 481 ; *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 28-7.
[6] *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 5, 38.
[7] *Ib*, 5, 37.
[8] *Samayasāra*, Kundakunda.
[9] *Ṣaḍdarśana Samuccaya*, p. 163-3, of Guṇaratna, Haribhadra's *Comm. Vide*, Introduction to Indian Philosophy, Datta & Chatterjee,

one school of teachers did not admit it as a separate entity but regarded it as mode (*paryāya*) of the other substances. Thus it appears that the tradition to accept time as a separate entity is not old, and for this reason there is some difference between the *Śvetāmbara* and the *Digambara* schools on the point of the nature of time.[1]

The term '*addhā*' denotes distance (or length) of time as well as that of space, while '*samaya*' signifies point of time (moment). *Kāla* (time) is the substantial cause of *samaya*.[2]

The *Dravya-Saṁgraha*[3] explains that it does not form an organic extension (*kāya*), though it has got existence like the heaps of jewels (*ratnarāśiva*) in each point of space of the Universe, for every space-point contains time-unit in it.

In the *BhS* time is called *kāla-paramāṇu* which is colourless, smell-less, tasteless and touchless.[4] This theory reveals the atomic growth of time that one substance (atom) moves in time and space, for the passive element of space is *samaya* which is the continuum of *kāla*. The unit of a *samaya* is the time taken by an atom to traverse one unit of space by slow movement.

It is explained also in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[5] that the movement or continuity (or rolling) is the mark of time, "Varttanā-lakṣaṇaḥ kālaḥ." While the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* of Umāsvati defines that time as an agency helps the continuity, modification, movement, newness and oldness of substances and the action of transformation of new qualities in things. "Varttanā-pariṇāma kriyāḥ paratvāparatve ca kālasya."[6]

The *BhS* mentions two kinds of time, viz. *addhākāla* and *pramāṇakāla*, the first one is associated with Nature and is evolved by the travelling of the moon and the sun, while the second is the standardized time (i.e. *samaya*, *āvalikā* *muhūrtas*, day, night, fortnight, month, year, *yuga*, *palya*, *sāgara*, *utsarpiṇī*, *parāvartta*).

1 *Karmagrantha*, p. 158.
2 *BhS*, (Comm.), 2, 10, 121.
3 *Dravya-Saṁgraha*, 22.
4 *BhS*, 20, 5, 671.
5 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 28, 10.
6 *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 5, 22.

"Pramīyate paricchidyate yena varṣaśatādi tat pramāṇam sa cāsau kālaśceti pramāṇakālaḥ"[1]

According to the *Dravya Saṁgraha*[2] there are two kinds of *kāla*, viz *pāramārthika kala* (real time) and *vyāvahārika-kāla* (empirical or conventional time or *samaya*), as they are studied from the points of view of continuity and changes of all kinds or ordinary point of view respectively The *pāramārthika-kāla* is formless and eternal, while the *vyāvaharika kāla* is bound by a beginning and an end and it is conventionally divided into moments, hours, etc, as it is produced by imposing conventional limitations and distinctions on real time So time is a substance (*dravya*) having *samaya* as its modes (*paryaya*)

Inter-relation of six fundamental substances

The six fundamental substances of the Universe, *Dharma* (principle of motion), *Adharma* (principle of rest), *Ākāśa* (space), *Jīva* (soul), *Pudgala* (matter) and *Addhāsamaya* (time) are inter-related to one another, because they exist mutually touching (pervading) by their respective points and getting immersed into one another, e g. one point of *Dharmāstikāya* is touched in the minimum by its three points and four of *Adharmāstikaya*, and in the maximum by its six points and seven of *Adharmāstikāya*, and also by seven points of space, infinite points of soul and infinite parts of matter It is also pervaded by time in some respect and it is not done so in other respect, if touched, it is invariably touched by infinite units of time and so on[3]

The study of Jaina Philosophy as revealed in the *BhS* shows that it believes in the reality of souls and matter in agreement with the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* But it differs from the *Vedānta* which believes in only one Reality (*Sat*), (Sarvaṁkhalu, idaṁ Brahman)[4] The *Vedānta* asserts the unity of soul and

[1] *BhS* 11, 11, 424

[2] *Dravya-Saṁgraha*, 21, *Vide*, Introduction to Indian Philosophy p 113

[3] *BhS*, 13, 4, 482-3

[4] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 6, 2, 1, *Vide*, Introduction to Indian Philosophy, p 406, f. n. 1.

denies its plurality '(neha nānāsti kiñcana)', while Jainism holds that souls exist in all living beings. Its doctrine of plurality of souls is in accord with those of the *Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika* and *Sāṅkhya* Schools which propound the theory that there exist different souls in living bodies.

As regards the activity of the soul. Jaina Philosophy maintains the view of *Kriyāvāda* (i. e. soul exists, acts, and is affected by *karmas*) in common with the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* Systems. According to the *Nyāya*, the soul, being impelled by desire, aversion and infatuation (*rāga* and *dveṣa*) acts as an agent for good and bad ends and enjoys the fruits of its *karma* which leads it to undergo the process of birth and rebirth in the mundane world.

In respect of *pudgala* (matter), such as, earth, water, fire, and air, Jaina Metaphysics bears some similarity with the *Vaiśeṣika* which propounds nine categories of real substances, viz. earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul and mind. The particular difference between them is that Jainism does not regard earth, water, light and air as ultimate substances as admitted by the *Vaiśeṣika*, but the theory of space, time and soul as ultimate substances is accepted by both the Schools.

Beings

Soul is the principle of life of all beings. It is asserted that there exist as many *jīvapradeśas* (smaller points of individual souls) as there are space–points in the Universe.[1]

This view of the *BhS* is explicitly expressed in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* thus—"If the space is divided into innumerable points, the size of a soul can be so small as to occupy one or more of these parts."[2]

"By the contraction and expansion of *pradeśas*, the soul occupies space like the light from a lamp."

"Pradeśasaṁhāra-visarpābhyāṁ pradīpavat."[3]

[1] *BhS* 8, 10, 358 [3] *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, V, 15.
[2] *Ib*, V, 16 ; See *Rāja. Sū* and comm. to *BhS*.

The minute living beings in the Universe are the *Nigodas*[1] which are the collections of infinite number of souls, making minutest groups, having common breathing in and out and experience of pain. They, longing for development continue their evolution of life through the successive *jīvaparyāyas* (modes of soul) and they provide an infinite supply of souls. Thus the Universe does not and will not be empty of living beings[2]

There are two kinds of souls, viz. liberated souls and worldly souls, having its purity and power convered with a veil of *karma*-matters which are accumulated into them. The worldly souls are classified into two categories, viz. *trasa* (moving) and *sthāvara* (non-moving). These two classes are further divided into different species in accordance with the number of sense-organs possessed by them, viz. one-sensed-(*ekendriya*), two sensed (*dvīndriya*), three-sensed-(*trīndriya*), four-sensed-(*caturindriya*) and five-sensed beings (*pañcendriya jīvas*). One-sensed beings[3] come under the category of the non-moving beings and they are divided into five classes, viz. earth-bodied (*pṛthvīkāya*), water-bodied (*apakāya*), air-bodied (*vāyukāya*), fire-bodied (*tejakāya*) and plant-bodied beings (*vanaspatikāya*).

Thus it is revealed that four-elements of Nature, viz. earth, water, air and fire are animated by souls. Some plants are *ekajīvas* (endowed with one soul or one germ of life); some are *saṁkhyātajīvita* (animated with numerable souls or germs of life); some are *asaṁkhyātajīvita* (animated with innumerable germs of life or souls); and some are *anantajīvita* (endowed with infinite souls or germs of life).[4]

The moving beings (*trasas*) are classified into four divisions, viz. two-sensed, three-sensed, four-sensed and five-sensed beings according to the number of senses possessed by them, e. g. worms, having two-senses, viz touch and taste; and ants endowed with three senses of touch, taste and smell; bees, having four senses of touch, taste, smell and sight (vision); the vertebrates

[1] *BhS*, 25, 5, 749,
[2] *Ib*, 33, 1, 814.
[3] *Ib*, 12, 2, 443.
[4] *Ib*, 8, 3, 324.

endowed with five senses of touch, taste smell, sight and hearing. Of these five-sensed beings, human beings, infernal beings and gods possess rational mind.

One-sensed beings

There are two classes of one-sensed beings, viz. fine or subtle (*sūkṣma*) and gross (*vādara*) one-sensed beings, which are again sub-divided into developed and undeveloped, fine and gross one-sensed beings. The developed fine one-sensed beings are invisible to senses as they inhabit the earth, water, air, fire and plant. They have been studied from the aspects of sex, cognition, *darśana* (self-awareness) activity, condition of soul, attitude, conduct, the binding of *karma*, state of existence, etc., e. g. they belong to the third sex. There are also the undeveloped one.sensed beings which differ from the developed ones in regard to activity and rise of *Nāma-karma.* The developed and undeveloped gross one-sensed beings are visible to the eyes and they are dealt with from the same aspects of the fine one-sensed beings; they differ from each other in regard to *leśya*, etc.

Vikalendriya-Jīvas (Beings having two, three & four sense-organs)

The *vikalendriya-jīvas* are classified into two categories, viz. *paryāptaka* (developed) and *aparyāptaka* (undeveloped). They are studied from different aspects, such as, cognition, activity, condition of soul (*leśyā*) attitude of mind (*dṛṣṭi*), conduct, binding of *karma*, etc.

Five sensed beings

They are classified into three species, viz. *jalacara* (acquatic), e. g. fish etc., *sthalacara* (terrestrial), e. g. elephant, etc , and *khahacara* (aerial), such as bird, etc. They are further divided into two groups, viz. *saṁjñī* (endowed with rational mind) and *asaṁjñī* (endowed with irrational mind) and also into two other categories, viz., *paryāptaka* (developed) and *aparyāptaka* (undeveloped). They are classified into four divisions on the basis of their birth, viz. *aṇḍajā* (born from egg), *potajā* (born from a foetus)

and *sammūrchima* (born without the union of the male and female). The five-sensed-beings are also studied from the same aspects of the *vikalendriya* beings, such as, cognition, etc.

Human beings

Human beings are classified into two groups, viz. developed (*paryāptaka*) and undeveloped (*aparyāptaka*), like the five-sensed lower animals. They are further divided into *sammūrcchima* and *garbhaja* (i.e. those born without the union of the male and the female and those born in the womb after their union). They are studied from aspects, such as, cognition, activity, etc.

SECOND SECTION

Jaina Psychology as revealed in the Bhagavatī Sūtra

Psychology is one of the necessary aspects of philosophy, as it is the scientific study of soul which is the central theme of knowledge, It is the whole scheme of experience which helps one understand Ontology as well as Materialism (the problem of being and matter).

There is a self-distinct bodily structure which is the basis of Psychology as found in the *BhS.*

In the evolution of life and the Universe as revealed in this canonical work there are two traditions, viz. atom-tradition (*paramāṇu*) and self-tradition (*āyā-ātmā*) i. e. materialistic and spiritualistic. Atom and *ātmā* (soul) are eternal substances[1] and exist mutually bound together in the Universe.[2]

It is explained that *upayoga*[3] (consciousness or application) which is inherent in soul is the most fundamental characteristic of life. It is divided into two kinds, viz. *darśana* (self-awareness and *jñāna* (knowledge),[4] as the application of the psychic process comes in the form of *darśana* and *jñāna*. *Darśana* is self-consciousness, self-awareness while *jñāna* is the taking note of external

[1] *BhS*. 2, 10, 118 ; 14, 4, 510 ; 18, 10, 647.
[2] *Ib*. 1, 6, 55. [3] *Ib*. 2, 10, 118. [4] *Ib*. 18, 8, 642.

objects in details. It is revealed in the light of life and Nature that soul exhibits itself the state of being by its own-self ('Jīve āyabhāveṇaṁ jīvabhāvaṁ uvadaṁseti')[1].

The same view on the principle of *upayoga* (consciousness) is expressed in the *Dhavalā Ṭikā* that the consciousness of soul is called '*cit*' which is revealed in the forms of *bahirmukhacit* (external consciousness) and *antarmukhacit* (internal consciousness), i. e. knowledge and self-awareness.[2]

It is the principle of psycho-physical activities that all reactions of the soul are conditioned by the body, as it is the dual form, i. e. the psycho-physical structure which takes into consideration the noumenal and phenomenal aspects of beings, viz. *prāṇas* (breath), *indriyas* (sense-organs), *bala* (strength), *vīrya* (energy), *mana* i. e. (mind = thought force), *vak* (speech) and *kāya* (body) (vocal and bodily activities), *āyuṣ* (span of life) and *ānaprāṇa* (breathing or life-expanding).

There are two aspects of the psycho-physical activity, viz. natural (*visrasā* or pure) and applied (*prāyogya*) ; the latter is due to the delusion which leads to deviation from its normal position when all activities are not in pure form, i.e. it is delusive transformation, and there are two conditions of such process, viz. *rāga* (attachment-feeling of attraction) and *dveṣa* (dislike, hatred).[3] These are the two fundamental psychological tendencies as revealed in the *BhS*.

Soul tends to maintain itself, and whatever is conducive to its preservation (or identity) is liked by it ; what is not helpful, is disliked by it. These are *rāga* and *dveṣa* which are divided into four *kaṣāyas* (decoction or liquour), i. e. passions, viz. *krodha* (anger), *māna* (pride), *māyā* (deceitfulness) and *lobha* (greed).[4]

1 *BhS*, 2, 10, 120.
2 *Dhavalā Ṭīkā*, 1st *Khaṇḍa*, p. 145.
3 *BhS*, 9, 33, 385.
4 *Ib*, 18, 4, 625. Also refer to *Kasāya Pāhuḍa (Pejja-Dosa-Vihatti)* of Guṇadharācārya, edited by Pt. Phoolchandra Siddhanta Shastri, Vārāṇasī, p. 257 (No. 207), p. 258 (No. 208 pp. 364-69 ff. for detailed treatment of *rāga* (*pejja*) and *dveṣa* (*dosa*).

Nature is qualitative, while the psychological development is quantitative. If one goes inward there is the natural psychology, if he goes outward, he reaches the natural manifestion, i.e. instinct, This instinct needs stimulus from the outside world (i.e. psycho-physical), as it is revealed in the psycho-physical phenomena according to the conditions of soul.

As already explained soul has been studied and classified from eight points of view, viz. substance (*dravya*), passion (*kaṣāya*), activity (*yoga*), consciousness (*upayoga*), knowledge (*jñāna*), self-awareness (*darśana*), conduct (*cāritra*) and energy (*vīrya*), as they are the different forms of manifestation of soul.

Physical basis of mental life

A being enters the womb with sense-organs (*saiṁdie*) in one sense and also without these (*aniṁdie*) in another. With regard to the configuration and constituting matters of the physical sense-organs (*dravyendriyāṇi*) it is without them, while with regard to the faculty of cognition, i.e. psychical mind (*bhāvendriya*) it is endowed with sense organs.[1]

A *jīva* (soul) while entering the womb is corporeal (*saśarīrī*) with regard to the luminous (*taijas*) and *karmic* bodies, it is non-corporeal (*aśarīrī*) with regard to the gross physical, transformation, and translocation bodies. It is explained that when a pregnant mother sleeps, wakes up and becomes happy or unhappy, the child born in her womb also does, and feels the same emotions.[2]

Thus psychology originates with the birth of a child in the mother's womb in course of the process of transformation of its physico-psychical matters.

Sensation and Modes of stimulus of Sense-organs

Sensation in the human brain is caused by the stimulus of the five sense-objects[3] received from outside when the sense organs come into contact with them.

This process involves the factors of discrimination assimilation, association and localization of the sense-objects and leads

[1] *BhS*, 1, 7, 61. [2] *Ib*, 1, 7, 62.
[3] *Ib*, 3, 9, 170. (*Jīvā Jyotiṣka Uddeśaka*).

to perceptual knowledge. Thus it is explained in the *BhS*[1] and the *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*[2] that the ear hears the touched and entered sounds; the eye sees the touched and entered objects (i.e. the image of objects); the nose smells the touched and entered smells; the tongue tastes the touched and entered objects and the skin experiences the touches of the touched and entered objects.[3]

The principles of the theory of sensation as laid down herein agree with those of the modern psychology to a great extent. For example, it explains that the sensation of sound is created in the brain when sound-waves, being converged by the outer ear, strike upon the outer membrane of the ear-drum and make it vibrate and the vibrations are transmitted to the auditory nerve through the chain of bones, the inner membrane and the contents of the labyrinth. Next, the disturbance of vibration is carried by the auditory nerve to the brain causing finally the sensation of sounds.

Sense-Perception

It is explained in the *BhS* that the following psychological factors are involved in this process of perceptual knowledge (*ābhinibodhika-jñāna*) or sense-perception, viz. *avagraha* (perceptual judgement of generality of object), *īhā* (desire to know or speculation), *avāya* (determination) and *dhāraṇā* (retention or memory).[4]

Memory and Imagination

Memory and imagination involve the process of *īhā* (speculation or mental desire to know), *apoha* (exclusion), *maggaṇa* and *gavesaṇā* (searching and fathoming by thought).[5] In the process of memory the images of the past sensible experiences accompanied by a belief are revived and recognized by an individual, i. e. having familiarity of characteristics of images, as it is evidenced in the case of Devānandā[6] who recognized in Lord Mahāvīr as her former son.

[1] *BhS*, 2, 4, 99.
[2] *Prajñāpanā* 15, 1, 191, 194, 195.
[3] *Ib. Indriyapada* 15, 1, 194, 195.
[4] *BhS*, 12, 5, 450; 8, 2, 318.
[5] *Ib.* 11, 11, 432.
[6] *Ib.* 9, 33, 382.

Thought (Cintā or mental activity)

The process of mental activity (manoyoga) is thought which is inter-connected with memory and imagination of the past events, objects, etc., and the imagination of the present and future activities of life, as the mind acts and reacts to new objects of thought at every moment.[1] As already explained mind is matter (*manadravya*) and is associated with the spiritual being. Its activities are the passing phases of matter. Mind, when operating is mind (maṇe maṇijjamāṇe maṇe), for it breaks forth while operating (maṇijjamāṇe maṇe bhijjati)[2].

Thus it is the organ of apprehension of all sense objects and knowledge[3], while thought implying comprehension is abstract representative mental activity involving analysis in the form of abstraction and synthesis, in that of comparison and expressing itself through speech or language.

Dream

The *BhS* throws a welcome light upon the principle of dream by explaining five kinds of dream-vision, viz. *yathātathya, pratāna, cintāsvapna, tadviparīta* and *avyakta d..rśana*,[4] i.e. (1) dream-vision in accordance with truth or reality, (2) ramified dream-vision, (3) dream-vision according to the thought in the waking state, (4) dream vision opposite to realities and (5) indistinct inexpressible-dream-vision.

It is further explained that only a sleeping-cum-waking man experiences a dream-vision. These broad principles of dream touch upon all the combined theories on dream propounded by Dr. Freud, Jung and Adler, and other scholars.

According to Dr. Freud[5] a dream is the fulfilment of a repressed desire which does not peaceably leave the organism but sinks to a level of unconscious state in which it is still active and apt to appear in the disguised and symbolic ways. Abnormal

[1] *BhS*, 16, 6, 578. [2] *Ib*, 13, 7, 494.
[3] *Pramāṇamimāṁsā*, 1, 2, 24.
[4] *BhS*, 16, 6. 578-81.
[5] Interpretation of Dreams-Dr. Freud, pp. 344, 388.

worry', a queer idea haunting a nervous person, 'hysterical paralysis, etc., sometimes are the effects of this disguise. In the case of a normal man the repressed desires come up in the garb of an innocent appearing symbolism. Adler[1] holds the view that a dream is not the revival and reappearance of the suppressed wish of the distant past, but a rehearsal for some impending action of an individual man to perform, and it reveals his characteristic mode of dealing with his new problem. Jung[2] thinks that a dream is associated with the present difficulties of an individual and shows his unconscious attitude of mind towards the problem of his life.

According to the theory of dream as embodied in the *BhS*, *yathātathya svapna* (dream-vision in accordance with reality) and *cintā-svapna* (dream according to the thought in the waking state) agree with those of the theories propounded by Adler and Jung, as they are the results of the process of thoughts to deal with the present and future problems of life. While the *pratāna* (ramified dream vision), *tadviparīta* (dream-vision-opposite to reality), (i. e. object of thought) and *avyakta-darśana* (indistinct or inexpressible dream vision) touch upon the theory of Dr. Freud, as they are associated with some desires repressed by thought and they appear in some garbs of symbolism.

From this analysis it may be defined that "dream whether awake or asleep is a free, passive, incoherent and constructive imagination often due to recent experience. But it is an imagination confounded with perception."[3]

Belief or Attitude of Mind (Dṛṣṭi)[4]

In the process of thought the attitude of mind or belief is the central theme which is characterised by truth (*samyaktva*) or falsehood (*mithyātva*) in regard to the objects of thought. Thus it is endowed with the union of the intellectual, emotional and conational elements and is inter-related with knowledge.

[1] *Vide*, Psychology, Robert S. Woodworth, pp. 567-68.
[2] *Vide*, Psychology-Robert S. Woodworth, p. 563.
[3] Psychology-Suresh Chandra Datta, p. 165. [4] *BhS*, 1, 9, 73.

Vedanā (Feeling in general)[1]

Vedanā (feeling) is a relatively subjective and passive state of consciousness manifesting itself in the form of pleasure or pain or pleasure-cum-pain (*sātā, asātā, sātāsātā-vedanā*), happiness or suffering (*sukha* or *duḥkha* or *sukha*-cum-*duḥkha*) or some mental agitation. They are eternal.[2]

Sense-feeling

As a result of sensation accompanied by simple feeling of pleasure or pain there takes place the sense-feeling which is cognitive and affective. It can be divided into two kinds, viz. organic feeling and special sense-feeling. Of the ten feelings[3] mentioned in the *BhS*, viz. hunger, thirst, burning sensation, fever, itching, servility, fear and sorrow come under the category of the organic feeling, as they are connected with the discordant working of internal organs, while the feelings of cold and warmth belong to the special sense-feeling, for they are related to touch. Besides these, there are stated to be other sense-feelings of hearing, smell, taste and touch.[4]

Kāmabhoga (Desire and Gratification of Desire)[5]

Kāmas (desires) and *bhogas* (gratifications of desires) are explained on the principle of the psychophysical activities thus that they are corporeal (*rūpī*) and endowed with both consciousness and unconsciousness, because they are associated with the spiritual beings. There are stated to be two kinds of *kāma* (mental enjoyment or desire), viz. sound (*śabda*), and object of beauty (*rūpa*), while *bhoga* (gratification of desire or physical enjoyment) is of three kinds, viz. smell, taste and touch as they involve the mental and physical enjoyments respectively.

Emotion

As already explained in the beginning there are two transformations of the psychic process, viz. *rāga* (feeling of attraction)

1 *BhS*, 5, 5, 202; 6, 10, 255; 14, 4, 511.
2 *Ib*, 14, 4, 511.
3 *Ib*, 7, 8, 296.
4 *Ib*, 12, 5, 557.
5 *Ib*, 7, 7, 290.

and *dveṣa* (dislike or hatred). *Rāga* and *dveṣa* are divided into four kinds of *kaṣāyas* (passions), viz. *krodha* (anger), *māna* (pride), *māyā* (deceitfulness) and *lobha* (greed). This analysis shows the emergence of emotions in the form of passions and quasipassions, appearing in different degrees due to the rise of *karma*. Passion is correlated to colour which is associated with feeling, because there is the material colour of the *karmic* matter of the body,[1] e. g. the *karma-pudgalas* of these four kinds of passions are endowed with five colours, five tastes, two smells and four touches. Here the psychic analysis of the correlation between the *karma*-matters and physical colour throws light upon the relation of the soul with the physical matter.

Krodha is the self-expression aggravating the mind ; the first repulsive reaction of it is resistance and resentment to any attempt from outside to flout it. *Māna* is the consciousness of self-respect to measure the self to maintain dignity, and to show itself distinct from others, i. e. self-maintenance. *Māyā* is the expression of inner-self and self-display and it attracts something to have. The self wants to express its nature and magnitude, but it is obstructed, so it takes the course of deceitfulness. *Māyā* is thus self-exhibition. *Lobha* tries to appropriate everything.

Leśyā (condition of Soul)[2]

As already mentioned the psychological phenomena manifest themselves into six colourations of the soul, viz. *kṛṣṇa* (black), *nīla* (blue), *kāpota* (grey), *teja* (red), *padma* (lotus) and *śukla* (white). They are the names to represent the conditions of the soul, as if six persons want to enjoy the fruit of a tree. The worthy one of them thinks that the fruit would come and fall on the ground in due course. This is a *śuklaleśya* man, while a gross materialist is a man endowed with the black condition of soul. These *leśyās* have been studied from different aspects, such as, colour, smell, taste, touch, transformation, etc. e. g. *kṛṣṇa-leśyā* is stated to be of cloud colour, of bitter taste like that of *Nimba*,

[1] *BhS*, 12, 5, 449. [2] *Ib*, 1, 2, 22 ; 12, 5, 1, 450.

Instinct (Saṁjñā)[1]

Instinct is the natural manifestation of a being which is caused by the stimulus received from the outside world of sensation according to the conditions of soul. It involves the process of an inter-linked chain of actions, directed to some definite and distant objective which is conducive to self-preservation, etc.

According to the *BhS*[2] there are stated to be ten kinds of instinct (*saṁjñā*), viz. *āhārasaṁjñā* (instinct of eating), *bhayasaṁjñā* (fear-instinct), *maithuna-saṁjñā* (sex-instinct), *parigrahasaṁjñā* (possessing instinct or appropriating instinct), *krodha-saṁjñā* (instinct of anger), *māna-saṁjñā* (pride-instinct), *māyā-saṁjñā* (instinct of deceitfulness), *lobha-saṁjñā* (instinct of greed), *loka-saṁjñā* (conscious knowlege of particular objects) and *oghasaṁjñā* (that of self awareness of general objects).[3]

It appears from the study of these ten instincts that there were originally only four instincts[4] and six more were added to the list of the original four with the subsequent development of psychology. These ten instincts are closely related to emotions, as it is evidenced in the case of fear, anger, pride, deceitfulness and greed.

The classification of instincts into ten categories agrees with that of the modern psychology as advocated by the scholar like McDougall.[5]

According to his theory there are fourteen kinds of instinct, including laughter which belongs to human beings, viz. (1) parental or protective instinct (such as that of a mother ape), (2) Instinct of combat (the mother will fight in defence of her young kiddies), (3) Instinct of curiosity, (4) Food-seeking Instinct, (5) Instinct of repulsion (avoidance or disgust), (6) Instinct of escape (escape from danger), (7) Gregarian Instinct (8) Instinct of self-assertion, (9) Instinct of submission, (10) Mating Instinct, (11) Acquisitive Instinct (12) Constructive Instinct, (13) Instinct of appeal, and (14) Instinct of laughter.

1, 2 *BhS*, 7, 8, 296. 3 *Ib*, (comm.), 7, 8, 296. 4 *Ib*, 12, 5, 450.
5 An outline of Psychology—p. 110, McDougall.

The first four instincts of the *BhS*, viz., *āhāra* (food), *bhaya* (fear), *maithuna* (sexual union) and *parigraha* (possession) and also *lobha* (greed) are the same as the food-seeking instinct, escaping instinct, mating instinct and acquisitive instinct of McDoughall respectively, while *krodha* (anger), *māna* (pride) and *māyā* (deceitfulness) correspond to the instincts of combat and repulsion and that of self-assertion, and the protective instinct respectively. The remaining instincts as defined by McDougall come under the category of *Loka-saṁjñā* and *oghasaṁjñā* of the *BhS*. The scheme of instinct as laid down herein appears to be more sound than that of McDaugall's theory, because some instincts, such as, instinct of repulsion, parental instinct, instinct of submission and instinct of appeal are not found among all beings (or animals).

Conation

The process of thought and feeling leads to will or action owing to the presence of *karma*-matter in the corporate body. They manifest themselves into the form of mental, vocal and bodily activities[1] of various kinds, for all reactions of the soul are conditioned by the psycho-physical structure. The characteristic mark of activity is its causing the movement of the particles of the soul.[2] The mental, vocal and bodily activities are subdivided into fifteen kinds according the nature of objects of realities, viz. *satya-mana-yoga* (mental activity relating to true thing) upto *kārmaṇa-śarīra-kāyayoga* (activity of the *kārmaṇa* body).[3]

The study of these principles of psycho-physical activities brings to light the noumenal and phenomenal aspects of beings which form the basis of Jaina Psychology as revealed in the *BhS*.

THIRD SECTION

Epistemology

Epistemology is the integral part of Philosophy, as it is the study of realities - the main object of knowledge. It is also

1-2 *BhS*, 17, 1, 593. 3 *Ib*, 25. 1, 719.

intimately connected with Psychology, Logic and Ethics, for it deals with the consciousness of soul, the nature, origin, conditions, factors, limits and validity of knowledge and the conduct and values of life respectively.

Nature of knowledge

As already discussed, *upayoga* (consciousness) is the attribute of soul and it is classified into two categories, viz. *sākāropayoga* (determinate consciousness) and *anākāropayoga* (indeterminate consciousness). *Sākāropayoga* is *jñāna* (knowledge) and *anākāropayoga* is *darśana* (self-awareness).[1]

Soul is knowledge and knowledge is soul,[2] for *upayoga* (consciousness) is the essential quality of soul. It is the knower (*jñānī*)[3] and the object of knowing (*jñeya*).

Kundakuda also holds the same view on the relation between soul and knowledge. There exists a difference between soul and knowledge from the empirical point of view, but soul is the knower and nothing else in its transcendental aspect.[4] In the *Pravacanasāra* it is defined that absolute bliss and absolute knowledge are one and the same thing,[5] while the *Samayasāra* explains that there lies no difference, between the knower and his knowledge,[6] for the omniscient knows and perceives the whole reality from the empirical standpoint and the self from the transcendental point of view.[7]

Theory of knowledge (Jnāna)[8]

According to the theory of knowledge as embodied in the *BhS* there are five categories of knowledge, viz. *ābhinibodhika-jñāna* (sensuous knowledge), *śruta-jñāna* (knowledge acquired by interpreting signs, i.e. words, writings, gestures), *avadhi-jñāna* (transcendental knowledge of material things), *manaḥparyaya-jñāna* (transcendental knowledge of the thoughts of others or intuition of mental modes), and *kevala-jñāna* (omniscience).

[1] *BhS*, 18, 8, 642. [2] *Ib*, 12, 10, 468. [3] *Ib*, 8, 2, 318.
[4] *Samayasāra*, 6, 7.
[5] *Pravacanasāra*, 1, 50-60, [6] *Samayasāra*, 10, 11, 433.
[7] *Niyamasāra*, 158. [8] *BhS*, 8, 2, 318.

Ābhinibodhika-jñāna is the sensuous knowledge acquired through the sense-organs and quasi-sense, i.e. mind, and *śruta-jñāna* is the knowledge derived from the interpretations of signs or hearing. *Avadhi-jñāna* is transcendental knowledge of that which has form ; *manaḥparyaya-jñāna* is the knowledge of mental modes or thoughts of others ; and *kevala-jñāna* is omniscience the only pure knowledge free from the covering of *karma-pudgala*.[1]

These five kinds of knowledge are divided and sub-divided into different groups according to their respective nature, origin, conditions, factors, limits and validity. Thus *ābhinibodhika-jñāna* involves four stages, viz. *avagraha* (perception or general knowledge), *īhā* (desire to know or speculation), *avāya* (determination i. e. removal of doubt, and ascertainment of the object) and *dhāraṇa* (retention of the accepted knowledge).

These four stages of sensuous knowledge are studied from different aspects. Thus *avagraha* (perception or general knowledge) is divided into two kinds, viz., *arthāvagraha* (object-perception) and *vyañjanāvagraha* (contact-awareness).

Īhā (desire to know or speculation), *avāya* (determination) and *dhāraṇā* (relention) are classified into six divisions as they are caused by the activities of five sense-organs and mind.

Śruta-jñāna is of two-kinds, viz. *aṅgapraviṣṭa* (internal) and *aṅgabāhira* (external); *avadhi-jñāna* is classified into two categories, viz. *bhavapratyayika* (by virtue of birth) and *kṣāyopaśamika* (that of human beings and five-sensed lower animals on accont of the destruction-cum-subsidence of relevant *karmic* neather. It is born as a result of the destruction of anger, destruction-cum-suppression of the knowledge-obscuring risen *karma* and suppression of the not-risen *karma*[2].

Ajñāna (wrong knowledge)

There are three kinds of wrong knowledge, viz. *mati-ajñāna* (wrong knowledge acquired by an *ajñānī* and *mithyādṛṣṭi*); *śruta-ajñāna* (wrong interpretation of signs, by an *ajñānī* and *mithyādṛṣṭi*), and *vibhaṅga-jñāna* (perverted *avadhijñāna*).[3]

[1] *Bhś*, (comm). [2] *Nandī Sūtra* 134 to 140. [3] *Bhś*, 8, 2, 318.

Knowledge is further classified into two categories, viz. *pratyakṣa* (immediate knowledge) and *parokṣa* (mediate knowledge). The former is further subdivided into two kinds, viz *Indriya-pratyakṣa* (immediate knowledge acquired through sense-organs) and *noindriya-pratyakṣa* (that attained through mind). *Indriya-pratyakṣa-jñāna* is of five kinds, viz. *śrotrendriya-pratyakṣa, cakṣurīndriya-pratyakṣa, ghrāṇendriya-pratyakṣa, jihvendriya-pratyakṣa*, and *sparśendriya-pratyakṣa*, (immediate knowledge acquired through the sense-organs—ear, eye, nose, tongue and skin). *No-indriya pratyakṣa* (*jñāna*) is of three kinds, viz. *avadhi-jñāna-pratyakṣa* (clair voyance) *manaḥ-paryāya-jñāna pratyakṣa* (telepathy) and *kevala-jñāna-pratyakṣa* (omniscience)[1].

Relation between Jñāna and Darśana (knowledge and self-awareness)

Relation between *jñāna* and *darśana* is explained thus. *Darśana* (self-awareness) is the stepping stone to *jñāna* (knowledge) and they are inter-related to each other as the two aspects of consciousness, the attributes, of soul. They do not take place simultaneously, because *sākāropayoga* (determinate consciousness) is *jñāna* (knowledge), while *anākaropayoga* (indeterminate consciousness) is *darśana* (self-awareness). It is clearly explained that even a *paramāvadhika* and a *kevalin* do not know and perceive an atom or a *skandha* at a time[2].

FOURTH SECTION

Ethics

Ethics is the continuation of the metaphysical and psychological aspects of studies. Metaphysics deals with life and Nature and Psychology explains how the mind reacts 'to the objects of Nature, while Ethics is the moral consideration of all forces of life and Nature. It gives an insight how man started the estimation of the value of life from the first stage of civilization.

[1] *Bhg*, 8, 2, 318, [2] *Ib*, 11, 8, 642.

The term 'Ethics' is derived from the Greek *ethikos* which is related to *ethos*, characteristic spirit of community, people or system.

The first thing in human life is food the more of which is good. But Nature has set some limit to man's demand to enjoy more things, because it becomes harmful to him in its excessive degree. The entire idea of the moral standard is founded on the basis of this individual and social demand. But materials are limited in space and the physical personality of man in comparison with the natural forces is also limited. Only a limited quantity of food is good but beyond that it is harmful.

Desire which is the main factor of the economic life is guided by the instinct of possession, but the unbridled forces of desire and enjoyment ensnare the human mind and lead it to the path of mad lust for the acquisition of the worldly objects and wealth at the expense of others and finally to the consequent sufferings and unhappiness.

So the unlimited amassing of wealth and its unrestricted enjoyments have not been commended as final in the ethical principles laid down in the *BhS* but rather they have been condemned by the saints.[1] So a great emphasis has been put on the principle of non-possession (*aparigraha*), one of the five great vows of the *Nirgrantha Dharma.*

Pleasure or happiness is the goal of the material life of man and the ethical ideas are directly and indirectly connected with happiness and physical pleasure which are fulfilled by means of wealth. But beyond the particular point of pleasure or happiness there is harm, because non-pleasure arises. So the quantitative restriction comes to a limit-*nivṛtti* (return or ceasing from wordly acts), *yama* (restraint), *saṁyama* (self control) and *niyama* (fixed moral rule). Nature has got a belt and it does not allow men to go beyond that, though goodness is wanted in more quantity. Goodness and badness of a thing are to be

[1] *BhS*, 9, 33. 384.

determined from the aspects of substance, space, time, and condition – the mental approach of the person concerned. As they are of relative value, so ethics is not absolute. It is the personal approach determined by the utility which is decided by one's own mind in different modes at different times from the practical point of view.

In the social organization men require standardization of the sources of material objects in conformity with the natural condition. In this standardization *saṁyama* is an important factor, as it contains doubt, e.g. do not do that, observe it, etc.[1] Jainism as embodied in the *BhS* starts with the prohibitive principle of non-violence or non-injury (*pāṇātipātaviramaṇa* or *ahiṁsā*). It is comprehensive in meaning from the social, ethical and religious standpoints. Distinction is made between *dravyahiṁsā* and *bhāvahiṁsā* (violence committed in act and violence committed in thought).

Virtue of non-violence arises out of self-preservation, because men are socially related to one another. One must not do injury to the social life for self-preservation and self-development. Thus this prohibitive principle leads to *vitarāgatā* (non-attachment or detachment) and to the higher interest as one must consider the value of others and to self-sacrifice, because attachment leads men to clashes, while detachment to peace and asceticism.

There are two aspects of ethics as advocated in the *BhS*, the first consists of non-violence, non-lying, non-stealing, non-sexual union, and non-possession[2], which constitute the core of morality and the second comprises the restricted twelve principles of *Śrāvaka Dharma*[3].

So long as one does not intend to do the act of killing, it is positive virtue from the individual, social and spiritual aspects of virtue and non-violence; control of senses is the positive virtue which inculcates an ideal in one's spirit to follow the path of spiritual progress. Natural and unnatural troubles and old age

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 92-93. [2] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92, 95. [3] *Ib*, 18, 10, 648.

come in life which should be maintained by practising external and internal austerities and by scratching out the body (*saṁlekhanā*) to save the soul in order to attain the highest goal of life–liberation[1].

Religion attaches fear to its tenets by showing the attainment of heaven and hell[2] for meritorious and sinful acts of men respectively in connection with the individual, social and religious aspects of life. So one should retrace his steps (*pratikramaṇa*) from the unvirtuous acts and make others forgive[3] him, if he has done any wrong to any body. Actual value of life of an individual depends on self-imposed punishment and expiation (*prāyaścitta*) which are there to induce virtue in him. Self-analysis (*ālocanā*) and the retracing of steps (*pratikramaṇa*) come next to be made for what has been done in the case of an educated person, while in that of the illiterate people confession of guilt to their religious teacher is the best way to retrace from the sinful deeds, for the goal of happiness has changed its connotation into supreme bliss and liberation.

Relativity of goodness and badness

The *BhS* explains the relativity of goodness and badness. The state of sleep of some beings is good and that of sleeplessness is also good. The state of sleep of those beings, who are unrighteous and earn livelihood by the act of unrighteousness is good, for they, being slept, do not live for the sufferings of many beings and do not become the binders of inauspicious *karmas*. The state of sleeplessness of the virtuous beings who earn their livelihood by the righteous act is good, because they live without causing suffering to many beings and become the binders of auspicious *karmas* by their religious acts and thought.[4]

As regards the stanardization of life which induces men to conform to natural condition, this canonical work lays a great emphasis on self-control[5] by warning that the beings under the sway of five senses and passions travel again and again in the

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 91-96. [2] *Ib*, 8, 9, 351. [3] *Ib*, 2. 1, 94-95.
[4] *Ib*, 12, 2, 443. [5] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92.

mundane world.[1] It advocates that one should practise self-control in respect of all beings,[2] i.e. the observance of non-violence.

Categories of sin (pāpasthānas)

There are eighteen categories of sin, viz. act of killing, untruthfulness, stealing, sexual intercourse, act of possession, anger, pride, deceitfulness, greed or avarice, attachment to worldly objects and interests, hatred and jealousy, quarrelsomeness, slandering, telling of stories to discredit anyone, criticism and finding fault with others, disliking, hypocrisy and perverted attitude of mind to truth (*prāṇātipāta* upto *mithyādarśana śalya*).[3]

The sinful acts of all beings are the causes of their sufferings, while the annihilation of sinful acts is the cause of happiness.[4]

Classification of violent action

There are five kinds of violent action[5] which are the causes of bondage, viz. *kāyikī kriyā* (physical action), *adhikaraṇikriyā* (act of preparation for killing beings by collecting murderous materials, such as, poison, net, instruments, and the act of producing weapons, etc., or subordination), *pradveṣikī kriyā* (act of hatred and jealousy) *pāritāpanikī kriyā* (act of causing pain) and *prāṇatipāta-kriyā* (act of killing) by one's own hand and that by other's hand.

The *BhS* makes analysis of the effects of these five kinds of action from the ethical standpoint, on a person involved in hunting a deer. For example, when a person who earns his livelihood by killing a deer, intends upon its killing and endeavours to kill it, and having gone to a game forest, marks the deer and makes trap for its killing, he is called the performer of three or four or five actions. Because as soon as that person lays out the net but does not bind or kill the deer, he is effected by three actions (*kāyikī, adhikaraṇī* and *pradveṣikī*), and by four actions (i. e. *kāyikī* upto *pāritāpanikī*), if he captures or binds the

[1] *BhS*, 12, 2, 443. [2] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92. [3] *Ib*, 1, 6, 52.
[4] *Ib*, 10, 2, 396. [5] *Ib* 3, 3, 150.

deer with the net but he does not kill it, and by five (i. e. *kāyikī* upto *prāṇātipāta kriyā*)[1], if he kills it. Another example explains the effect of these five actions. A person, having gone to a game forest for hunting deer, remains standing by drawing his bow up to his ear with the intention to kill it, while another person armed with a sword cuts the head of the standing man with it, having come from behind. Now, the arrow drawn by the former springs up and wounds the deer. The person who kills it is affected by the act of enemity towards the deer and the person who kills the standing bowman is touched by that of enemity towards the man.

The action, being done is (equal to) the action done. "*Kajjamāṇe kaḍe.*"[2] If the dying animal dies within six months from the time of its injury, then that killer is affected by five actions (*kāyikī* upto *prāṇātipāta kriyā*), if it dies after six months, he is affected by four actions.

These ethical principles of five actions tally with the sections of the Indian Penal Code No. 299, 300 & 302, dealing with culpable homicide and its charge and punishment.

It is note-worthy that the *BhS* advocates the ethical principles of dispassionate defensive war to be followed as a duty to the state, when its sovereignty is threatened by an enemy power, as it is evidenced by the fact of the dispassionate fighting of Varuṇa[3], a citizen of *Vaiśālī* in the *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* against the forces of king Kūṇika at the call of his state. The act of violence is divided into the following groups, viz. *ārambhikī* (act of killing), *udyogī* (preparatory), *virodhī* (opposing) and *saṅkalpa* (intentional or deliberate), according to the transaction, profession, self-protection and deliberate killing.

Besides these acts of violence committed on beings, there is the thought of violence which is equally sinful. For instance, a man, while killing another person kills him and also others. He kills many beings by his thought, as he is affected by the act of enemity.[4].

[1] *BhS*, 1, 8, 65. [2] *Ib*, 1, 8, 68.
[3] *Ib*, 7, 9, 303. [4] *Ib*, 9, 33, 391.

Renunciation[1]

Act of renunciation in respect of all beings is the most important factor in the moral conduct which should be practised by one, having complete knowledge about beings and non-beings.

The study of all these evidences furnished by the *BhS* reveals that the unrighteous acts produce bad effects in the long run by grinding slow and cutting and disintegrating the very roots of life which is engulfed and overtaken by the disastrous evil consequences of bad actions. So this canonical text puts a great emphasis on the observance of the five great vows which constitute the very core of morality and the ideal of renunciation which leads to the path of asceticism, attainment of spiritual liberation, ultimate peace and happiness—the aim of human life.

FIFTH SECTION

Jain Logic as found in the Bhagavatī Sūtra

Logic is the formal and scientific exposition of a system of thought evolved out of formulation of thought going on for some time; when it is formulated, it governs the future thought, Religion, Philosophy, Psychology, Epistemology and Ethics. Apart from this position in relation to different branches of knowledge it appears as an independent study later on.

Besides Jain Logic, there are traditions of other Indian systems of Logic, viz. *Nyāya*, *Vaiśeṣika*, *Sāṅkhya*, *Mīmāṁsā* and *Vedānta*. The *BhS* throws some light upon Jain Logic.

The word '*pamāṇa*'[2] (Skt. '*pramāṇa*') used in this canonical work stands for the system by which the validity of any kind of knowledge is determined, as it is explained by the *Anuyogadvāra*—"*Nāṇaguṇappamāṇo*'.[3] This *pramāṇa* is divided into four kinds, viz. *pratyakṣa* (direct perception), *anumāna* (inference) *upamāna* or *aupamya* (analogy) and *āgama* (scripture or authority).[4]

[1] *BhS*, 7, 2, 271 ff.
[2] *Ib*, 5, 4, 193.
[3] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, S. 144.
[4] *BhS*, 5, 4, 193.

Pratyakṣa pramāṇa is the knowledge determined by the senses and mind. It is *indriya-pratyakṣa* (valid knowledge acquired through five sense-organs) and *non-indriya-pratyakṣa-pramāṇa* (knowledge determined by mind).

Empirical knowledge is incomplete and it does not convey the correct knowledge of the object. Accordingly the object is judged from two standpoints, viz. *vyavahāra-naya* and *niścaya-naya* (empirical and transcendental standpoints) as already discussed in the first section of this chapter and there is the form of judgement called *anumāna* (inference) to determine the validity of knowledge.

Anumāna-pramāṇa (inference—syllogism—deduction) is that by which an object is known by means of the knowledge of the problems and the memory of universal concomitance, and the like (Liṅga grahaṇasambandhasmaraṇādeḥ paścānmīyatı anenetyanumānam).[1] There are three kinds of *anumāna-pramāṇa*, viz. *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat* and *dṛṣṭasādharmya*. The first one is determined by any former sign, e. g. when the mother recognizes her son, who was lost in his childhood, and returns after a lapse of long period, by the sign of some scar on his body. The second is determined by *kārya* (action), *kāraṇa* (cause), *guṇa* (quality), *avayava* (feature) and *āśraya* (receptacle), e. g. *śaṅkha* (conch) is known by its sound i. e. action, thread is the cause of cloth (*kāraṇa*), gold is known by *nikaṣa* (test-stone) (i. e. *guṇa*), buffalo by horn (*avayava*) and fire by smoke (*āśraya*). The third (*dṛṣṭasādharmya*) is determined by the general and particular views (*sāmānya-dṛṣṭa* and *viśeṣadṛṣṭa*).

Aupamya or Upamāna (Analogy or Similarity)

It is the empirical nature of objects which helps to have the idea of things by way of similarity, figure of speech or analogy. There are two kinds of *aupamya* (analogy), viz. *sādharmya* and *vaidharmya* (similarity and dissimilarity), e. g. as is *mandāra*, (thorn-apple), so is mustard, as is mustard, so is *mandāra*, etc., are examples of *kiñcit-sādharmya*, as *sāmalero* (calf) is, *bāhulero*

[1] *Bhs*, (Comm.), 5, 4, 193.

is not; as *bāhulero* is, *sāmalero* is not; are examples of (*kiñcit vaidharmya*).

Āgama (Scripture)

Āgama is the sacred literature embodying the experiences of the *Āpta-puruṣas* characterized by disinterestedness (*vītarāgatā*). There are two kinds of *Āgama*, viz. *laukika* and *lokottarika*— the first one consists of the *Bhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* upto the four *Vedas*, etc., while the second comprises the twelve Aṅgas composed by the *Arhats*.[1]

Relativity of Judgement

The logical system as formulated in the *BhS* throws a welcome light upon the relativity of judgement, while giving exposition of the metaphysical thoughts from the stand-point of non-absolutism[2], e g. souls are eternal from the aspect of substance and non-eternal from that of mode or state. "Jīvā sāsayā asāsaya davvaṭṭhayāe sāsayā bhāvaṭṭhayāe asāsayā."[3]

The *Acārāṅga Sūtra* gives a more clear conception of the relativity of judgement by explaining that he who knows one object with its qualities knows all things, he who knows all things with their qualities knows one thing.

"Je egaṁ jāṇai se savvaṁ jāṇai"[4]
"Je savvaṁ jāṇai se egaṁ jāṇai."

Things are not same at different moments, because there is the evolution of beings, origination, continuation and decay of the substances of the Universe with the march of time. The qualities continue in things so long as they exist, but the modes (*paryāyas*) change; these characterize the things. Thus the value of a substance is determined from different aspects, e.g. soul is knowledge, knowledge is soul[5]

The study of the nature of substance reveals that infinite qualities and modes of it exist in it as the cause and effect. To

[1] *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, pp. 194 to 200.
[2] Non-Absolutism, Dr. Satkari Mookerjee.
[3] *BhS*, 7, 2, 274,
[4] *Acarañga Sūtra*, 1, 3, 4; 122.
[5] *BhS*, 12, 10, 468.

make the nature of things clear one uses *'bhaṅgī'*, such as, *pramāṇabhaṅgī*, *syādvādbhaṅgī*, etc. That is, the style or mode of expression by taking care of other aspects of the thing in mind, which must be conveyed to others, is used to give exposition of thoughts and ideas about it. One particular aspect of Reality which has infinite qualities is expressed by *'syād'*.

The *BhS* does not specifically deal with this *syādvāda* theory of judgement,[1] but it is evidently clear from the study of its contents that the system of *saptabhaṅgī-naya*[2] (seven fold judgement) governs the thoughts of religion, philosophy, psychology, epistemology and ethics as embodied in this canonical work

SIXTH SECTION.

Doctrine of Karma.

All forces of life and Nature are associated together in the principle of cause and effect—the central theme of studies of all branches of knowledge. This fundamental law of causation pervades the entire sphere of physical and psychical worlds, governing the process of origination, continuation and decay of substances—living and non living, gross and fine, developed and undeveloped.

The *BhS* throws light upon this principle of causation by explaining it from the five positive and negative aspects that *jīva* (soul or being) knows, perceives realizes and attains cause (*hetu*) and dies a *chadmastha maraṇa* (death of a man endowed with finite knowledge), having cause and by cause also.[3] From the negative point of view *jīva* does not know, perceive and attain cause, but dies an ignorant death, having cause and by cause.

Significance of Karma

Thus a universal law of causation explains and interprets the psycho-physical actions and reactions of beings manifested in the forms of thoughts, feeling and behaviour.

[1] *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya*, pp. 895 ff. and *Syādvāda-mañjarī*, pp. 170 ff. [2] *BhS*, 12, 10, 469. [3] *Ib*, 5, 7, 220.

As already discussed in the first section of this chapter soul is endowed with consciousness, infinite knowledge, infinite self-awareness, infinite conduct[1], power, energy, etc., in its perfect eternal state. But the worldly souls are imperfect, for their innate faculty is clouded by a very fine foreign element imperceptible to the senses, which is called *karma* and is an aggregate of material particles. This *karma*-matter, entering into the mundane soul through the physical vocal and bodily actions causes certain conditions in it as a result of the modifications of consciousness comprising four passions viz. anger, pride, deceitfulness and greed.

Thus *karmabandha* of soul takes place owing to the penetration and assimilation of *karma*-particles into it. Liberation of soul from this bondage can be attained by the two-fold processes, viz. the stoppage of the influx of *karma*-matters and their dissociation.

Karmabandha is studied from four points of view, viz. its nature (*prakṛti-bandha*) duration (*sthiti-bandha*) intensity (*anubhāga-bandha*) and quantity (*pradeśa-bandha*).[2] According to its nature, *karma* is classified into eight fundamental species (*mulaprakṛtis*), viz. *jñānāvaraṇīya-karma* (knowledge obscuring *karma*), *darśanāvaraṇīya-karma* (intuition obscuring *karma*), *vedanīya-karma* (feeling producing *karma*), *mohanīya-karma* (deluding *karma* which obscures the right attitude of soul to faith and conduct), *ayuṣ karma* (longevity-determining *karma*); *nāma karma* (body-making or personality-determining *karma* with its general and special qualities and faculties), *gotra-karma* (status determining *karma*, e. g. family clan, caste, nationality, social, standing, etc.) and *antarāya-karma* (soul's energy-hindering *karma*). They are divided and sub-divided into 158 kinds of *karmas*.

Nature of Karma

Karmas are bound by consciousness of soul (ceyakaḍā kammā kajjanti),[3] because they get transformed into bad place,

[1] *BhS*, 2, 1, 91
[2] *Ib*, 1, 4, 38. See also *Paṇṇavaṇā*, *Uddeśaka* I, and *Karma-grantha*.
[3] *BhS*, 16, 2, 570.

etc., like the matters of beings, accumulated as food and collected as the physical structure, and in one's mind there arise fear, and definite intention for the killing of a being and its ending in death. Thus *karma* is the cause of the bondage of the soul.

States of Soul (Bhāva)[1]

Karmas produce six kinds of states in the soul, viz- (1) *audayika* (the state of soul caused by the unhindered realization of the eight *karma-prakṛtis*—it consists of all accidental attributes of soul, (2) *aupaśamika* (the state is produced by the suppression of the *karmas*, though they still continue to exist and may be overcome by proper efforts of self-control), (3) *pāriṇāmika* (the essential state comprising the qualities attributed to the soul in itself—the qualities in which nothing is changed through the *karma*), (4) *kṣāyika* (the state produced as a result of annihilation of the *karmas*, in the perfection this state liberation is attained), (5) *kṣāyopaśamika* (the mixed state in which some *karmas* still exist, but some are neutralized and some annihilated; so the existing *karma* does not realize itself and possesses no intensity) and (6) *sānnipātikabhāva* (the state which consists in the concidence of several states).

Faculty of cognition or capacity of soul (Labdhi)[2]

Labdhi is the faculty of cognition or capacity of soul by the power of which it is capable of recognizing every thing in the present, past and future—all substances and their conditions. There are ten kinds of *labdhi*, viz., *jñānalabdhi* (faculty of knowledge), *darśanalabdhi* (faculty of self-awareness), *cāritralabdhi* (faculty of conduct), *cāritrā-cāritralabdhi* (that of conduct-cum-non-conduct), *dānalabdhi* (that of giving), *lābhalabdhi* (that of receiving), *bhogalabdhi* (that of enjoyment), *upabhogalabdhi* (that of experience), *vīryalabdhi* (that of energy of soul) and *indriyalabdhi* (that of the senses). These ten kinds of *labdhis* are further sub-divided according to their respective classification, e. g. there are five kinds of *jñānalabdhi*, viz. *ābhinibodhika* upto *kevalajñānalabdhi* (faculty of sensuous knowledge upto that of omniscience).

[1] *BhS*, 17, 1, 594. [2] *Ib*, 8, 2, 320.

Samudghāta (Expansion of Soul)

Samudghāta is the expansion of soul outside the body for some particular purpose, without leaving the body, and retraction to the original shape after the purpose is served. This process is a means of the premature fruition and the consequent exhaustion of the *karmas* of longer duration. *Samudghāta* is of seven kinds, viz. six *chādmasthika-samudghātas* namly *vedanā, kaṣāya, māraṇāntika, vaikriya, taijasa* and *āhārakasamudghātas* and one *kevalī-samudghāta*. *Vedanā-samudghāta* is the process of expansion of soul by which it shakes off a huge quantity of the material particles of *vedanīya karma* (pain-producing). *Kaṣāyasamudghāta* is that by which it shakes off the prrticles of the *kaṣāyapudgala* (i. c. *cāritramohanīya karma*). *Māraṇāntika-samudghāta* is the retraction or expansion of the soul by which it exhausts the last *āyuṣkarma-pudgalas*. In *vaikriya samudghāta*, the soul stretches itself in straight line in order to shake off the unwanted material particles and collect finer particles in order to assume various shapes according to its own desire. By means of *taijasa samudghāta*, an ascetic launches *tejoleśyā* in order to consume an object. By the *āhāraka samudghāta*, an ascetic versed in the fourteen *Pūrvas* can assume a subtle body in order to approach to a *tīrthaṅkara* in a distant region for the solution of his doubts. By *kevalī-samudghāta* is meant the expansion of his soul by the *kevalin* (omniscient) in order to equalize the duration of his other *karmas* with the *āyuṣkarman*.[1]

The States and Processes of Karma: Karaṇa[2] (process of energy of soul)

The *karma*-matter gets associated with soul on account of its passions and activities and at certain states of the soul the passions get completely destroyed, but the mental, vocal and bodily activities still exist (or continue) in causing consequent influx and bondage of *karma* which require some energy of soul for their origination.

[1] *BhS*, 2, 2, 97; 13, 10, 409, and Studies in Jaina Philosophy, p. 280.
[2] *Ib*, 6, 1, 230.

Thus it is explained that there are four kinds of *karaṇa* (process or organ of energy of soul), viz. *mana*, *vāk*, *kāya* and *karma-karaṇas*. The *karma-karaṇa* is the process of energy by which the *karma* matter undergoes various processes as a result of different conditions of the activities. The processes of energy have been divided into eight kinds, viz. *bandhana* (bondage), 'the condition of the energy responsible for bondage'; *saṅkramaṇa* (transformation of one *karma* into another) 'the condition of the energy, responsible for transformation'; *udvarttanā* (increased realization of *karmas*), 'the condition of the energy responsible for increased realization'; *apavarttanā* (decreased realization of *karma*), 'the condition of the energy responsible for decreased realization'; *udīraṇā* (premature realization of *karmas*), 'the condition of the energy responsible for premature realization'; *upaśamana* (subsidence), 'the condition of the energy responsible for subsidence'; *nidhatti* (the condition that is capable of making the *karmas* incapable of all the processes (*karaṇas*) other than increased realization and decreased realization; and *nikācanā* the condition that is responsible for making the *karmas* incapable of all the processes.[1]

"Jīvavīryaṁ bandhanasaṅkramaṇādinimittabhūtaṁ karma-karaṇam.[2]

The process of energy produces a corresponding *kārmic* process and vice—versa. Thus *karaṇa* is explained from the aspects of substance, space, time, life, condition, body, sense-organ, speech, mind, passion, expansion of soul, instinct, condition of soul, attitude of mind, sex-passion, act of killing, matter and its modes—colour, smell, taste, touch and figure.[3] Here *karaṇa* is the means of action—"Kriyate anena iti karaṇaṁ."[4]

Āśrava (Influx of Karma into Soul)[5]

Āśrava is the influx of *karma*-matters into the soul which takes place as a result of mental, vocal and bodily activities accompanied by passions.

[1] *Vide*, Studies in Jaina Philosophy, Dr. Nathmal Tatia, p. 254.
[2] *BhS.* (Comm.), 6, 1, 230.
[3] *Ib*, 19, 9, 661. [4] *Ib*, (Comm.). [5] *Ib*, 6, 3, 233.

"Tivihenam paogenam jīvāṇam kammovacae payogassa."[1]

As the four sides of a new piece of cloth when used, in due course bind dirts (matters) which get collected and accumulated into it and consequently it becomes dirty and full of bad smell, just like that the conditions of the soul get transformed into an ugly form and its purity is tarnished by the influx and accumulation of *karma*-matters from all sides and directions.

"Se jahāṇāmæ-vatthassa-ahayassa-āṇupuvvīe
paribhujjamāṇassa savvao poggalā vajjhamti
jāva pariṇamamṁti."[2]

Classification of Āśrava

There are stated to be two kinds of general action of beings or influx of *karma* technically known as *iryāpathikā* (non-affecting) and *sāmparāyikā* (affecting) *kriyas*.[3] They may be classified into two kinds of *āśravas*, viz. *bhāvāśrava* and *karmāśrava*, the former signifies the channel of thought activities through which the *karma*-matters enter into the soul and the latter denotes their actual entrance into it.[4] *Īryā-pathikākriyā* is not accompanied by passion (*kaṣāya*), but *sāmparāyikā kriyā* is associated with it according to the mental disposition of human beings.[5]

Bondage (Bandha)

Bondage is the penetration and assimilation of particles of *karma*-matters into the soul the purity of which is sullied by their veil. There are stated to be five causes of bonage, namely, *mithyātva* (delusion or wrong attitute of mind), *avirati* (absence of self-control), *pramāda* (spiritual inertia or inadvertence), *yoga* (activity)[6] and *kaṣāya* (passion).[7]

Classification of Bondage

Bondage is divided into two categories, viz. *dravyabandha* (material bondage conditioned by the action of the soul) and *bhāvabandha* (internal bondage[8] conditioned by the thought activities) on the basis of *karma* and mental condition. *Dravya*-

[1] *BhS*, 6, 3, 234. [2] *Ib*, 6, 3, 233. [3] *Ib*, 7, 1, 262 ; 7, 7, 289.
[4] *Dravya-Saṅgraha*, Sl, 29. [5] *BhS*, 7,1,262; 7,7,289; 10,2,396,
[6] *Ib*, 3, 3, 152. [7] *Ib*, 7, 7, 289. [8] *Ib*, 18, 3, 621.

bandha is divided into two groups, viz *prayogabandha* (bondage caused by the action of *jīva* (soul or being) and *visrasābandha* (that which takes place by the natural process) They are further sub-divided into different kinds and discussed from various aspects, such as, its causes, duration, intensity, quantity, etc. with regard to all beings [1]

Bhāvabandha is of two kinds, viz *mulaguṇaprakṛti bandha* (bondage of the eight fundamental species of *karma*) and *uttara guṇaprakṛti bandha* (that of the sub-species of *karma*) on the basis of the result of the reprehensible thought activities which are the causes of the actual influx of *karma* affecting the soul These two kinds of *bhāvabandha* are sub-divided into different groups according to their respective numbers, e g there are stated to be eight kinds of *mulaguna prakṛtibandha*, viz *jñānāvaranīya* upto *antarāyika karmabandha* [2]

Liberation

Liberation is the freedom of the soul from the bondage of *karma* and thereby the stoppage of its rebirth It can be achieved by two processes, viz *samvara* (the stoppage of the influx of new *karma*—matters into the soul) and *nirjarā* (the dissociation of the accumulated *karma* matters in the soul)

Samvara (Stoppage of the influx of karma-matters)

Saṁvara can be attained by the observance of (1) the five great vows, viz non injury upto non possession, (2) that of *samitis* (self-control) in walking, speech, taking of food, etc, (3) that of three *guptis* (restraint of mind, speech and body and control of senses), (4) that of *dharmas* consisting of continence, renouncement (straight-forwardness, attainment of virtue), forgiveness, conquering of senses, purity, desirelessness, well devotion to *śramaṇahood*, controlling of passion, penance, etc, (5) *anuprekṣā* (deliberation or meditation about the transitoriness of the mundane world,[3] truths, process of birth, one's own responsibility for good and evil deeds,

[1] *Bhś*, 8, 3, 345 [2] *Ib*, 18, 3, 621 [3] *Ib*, 2, 1, 92, 9, 33, 384

distinction between the soul and the non soul (*jivājiva*), uncleanliness of body, influx of *karma* matters and its stoppage and the dissociation of those *karma* matters accumulated and stuck into the soul, matter substances of the Universe, etc, (6) the conquering of the twenty *parisahas* (forbearances) and (7) right conduct[1]

Nirjarā (Dissociation of Karma-matters)[2]

It is the change in the soul and the dissociations of *karma* matters brought about by the external and internal austerities As the matters of a piece of dirty cloth get dissolved from all sides if it is gradually cleansed and washed with pure water, just like that the soul having been freed from the dust of *karma* matters becomes pure and attains the beautitude perfection and happiness as a result of austerities and meditation

Gunasthāna (Stage of spiritual development)

The *BhS* throws a side light upon the stage of spiritual development (*gunasthana*) by making incidental reference to the sixth seventh and eighth *gunasthānas*, viz *pramatta-samyata*, *apramatta-samyata*[3] and *apurva karana*,[4] which are conditional upon the elemination of the *mohaniya karmas*

In the stage of *pramatta-samyata*—a complete self control is attained in spite of the disturbance caused through the spiritual inertia or negligence (*pramāda*), produced, through the realization of the flaming up passions, of sleep, etc The duration of the stay in this stage is, in the minimum one *samaya* with regard to one *jiva* (soul or being) and in the maximum less than a *purvakoti* and all times with regard to different *jivas* (beings or souls) In the stage of *apramatta samyata* a complete self control without negligence (*pramāda*) exists lasting only for one *antarmuhūrta* with regard to one being or soul in the minimum and less than a *pūrvakoti* in the maximum and all times (*sarvaddhā*) with regard to different souls or beings (*nānājivas*) In the stage of *apūrva karana*

1 *BhS* 2, 1 92 9, 33, 384
2 *Ib*, 3, 3, 154.
3 *Ib*, 6, 3, 233
4 *Ib*, 9, 31, 367.

the soul which is on the *upaśamaśreṇī* remains in the minimum one *samaya* and in the maximum one *antarmuhūrta* and the one who is on the *kṣapakaśreṇī* altogether one *muhūrta*.[1]

The State of Liberation

Soul attains perfection, when the renouncement of thought (*bhāvavyutsarga*) and that of articles, body, passion, world and action etc., (*dravyavyutsarga*)[2] take place as a result of the joint action of right knowledge, right attitude of mind and right conduct.[3] Being freed from the *karma*-matters, the soul gets a propulsion like the movement of an arrow released from the bow towards the target[4] and it goes up in a straight line to the top of the Universe.

In that state it stays permanently in *Īṣat Prāgbhāra* which is lying close to the border of the Universe and that of the Non-Universe high above the *Sarvārtha-siddhi* heaven and enjoys eternal perfect bliss with freedom from the worldly bondage and suffering of the physical existence.

[1] The Doctrine of karma in Jain Philosophy-Dr. S.V. Glasenapp-pp. 82, 83, 84.
[2] *Bhg*, 25, 7, 803. [3] *Ib*, 8, 10, 355. [4] *Ib*, 7, 1, 255.

ELEVENTH CHAPTER

Value of the BhS from the literary, historical and philosophical points of view.

FIRST SECTION

Literary value of the work

Literature is to be judged by its value to humanity. An estimation of it is determined by the principles to what extent does it contribute to the progress of mankind by enabling it to live with more happiness, more intensity, more profoundness more wisdom and more freedom in the mundane world. Next comes up the question of technique used in the work for proper criticism which distinguishes its subject-matter, guiding one to a finer appreciation of writing and making him realize more clearly and completely what the author has meant there.

Literature is the reflection of human life, thoughts, ideas and activities and Nature, and the representation of education, learning and culture of a developed civilized society. It carries the message of knowledge and cultural heritage of a people or of a country from the distant past up to the present and preserves the treasure of different branches of learning of to-day for the future human generations through the successive stages of the social evolution.

So a fully developed literature touches upon all aspects of individual and social life, such as, family, social,political and economic conditions, education, all branches of knowledge— arts and sciences, technology, religion, history and philosophy with all phenomenal and noumenal aspects of Nature. All beings and non-beings and peoples of all walks of life with their different roles in the larger society appear on the stage of a true literature endowed with the richness of developed human thoughts and ideas about the self and not-self. It vitalizes and

revitalises the individual, social, national and international life, shapes and reshapes, adjusts and readjusts, transforms and retransforms the human society to a considerable extent by conveying the message of its knowledge and truth preserved in it with great care.

From this angle of vision on literature the *BhS* testifies sufficiently to the linguistic and literary development of its age and its value to mankind by conveying various aspects of Jaina Philosophy and History in the form of conversation between Lord Mahāvīra and his disciples.

The *BhS* touches upon different phases of life and Nature, beings and non-beings and their evolution, more particularly human life and society and their progress in all conditions from the time of birth up to that of death, covering the four stages of life and the world past, the world present and the world beyond. It reveals the underlying fundamental principles governing the forces of life and Nature, the evolution of beings and the states of non-beings, the development of man and the society in the cosmic process of the Universe.

Besides these literary contributions, the *BhS* throws light upon the political, social and economic conditions, education, science and arts, religious evolution—various leaders of thought and their systems, particularly Ājīvikism and the history of its period, cosmology, cosmography, geography and Jaina Philosophy and History within its purview as they are revealed in course of the holy teachings of the Master, imparted to his disciples in a brilliant manner in the form of questions and answers. Thus it fulfils the very mission of a true literature.

In regard to the language and style[1] of the *BhS* it may be said with reservation that they represent an age different from the present, in which all monastic orders and religious teachers used to impart the holy teachings to the people in general and their followers in particular to make them intelligible in the

[1] *Vide*, Ch. II, Sec. 3 & 4.

spoken language in the form of conversation. Though its stereotyped descriptions and linguistic style sometimes appear to be dry and unagreeable to the mind, it does not lack embellishment in any way. The total effect of the texture and spirit of the language of the *BhS*, enriched with some literary flourishes, explaining the thoughts and ideas of Lord Mahāvīra inspires one to dive deep into its subject-matters with more energy, vigour, patience and effort to collect the hidden treasure of knowledge and truth preserved in it. It is remarkable to observe how the richness of its vocabularies produces an equal effect on the minds of its readers by truly expressing, explaining and interpreting all aspects of its varied contents it has touched upon without faltering, slowness and haziness by presenting a clear and concise conception about them with logical nicety. As regards the technique of style, the *BhS* originates with prose embodying the thoughts, ideas and activities of various religious leaders and conveys them through the language of the people in their own natural style in prose, for here the purpose is to teach religion to the people.

In the *BhS* the author has used three styles, viz. descriptive explanatory and emotive in the presentation of its varied contents and explaining its subject-matters in a clear, concise and explicit manner so that the message of the Law, embodied herein may be comprehended and realized by the people. He has lessened the continual repetitions of its contents by refering to them as occurring in its different places and in other works with the connecting word '*Jāva*'. A little variation has been made in its form by alternating questions and answers without long continuation. Thus he has relieved the monotony of the sermons by deliberately interposing dialogues and by presenting its varied subjects.

The literary value of the *BhS* lies in the fact that its rich language expresses clearly by its proper terminologies the thoughts and ideas of its creative genius, dealing with various aspects of Jaina Philosophy and History in the field of knowledge.

Thus this canonical work stands supreme as an outstanding encyclopædic literary work in the list of the Jaina Āgamas produced by the creative genius of its age.

SECOND SECTION

Historical value of the work

The *BhS* is of great historical value, for it throws important light upon various aspects of history, such as, political, social and economic conditions, education, religious evolution, heterodox sects and their systems of thought, different personalities, kings, clans and tribes of its period, etc., in general and the development of men and the society in particular, as they appear in its incidental references.

It reveals that there was no political unity of India under one sovereign ruler during the time of Lord Mahāvīra. The country was divided into a large number of independent and semi-independent monarchical and non-monarchical states as evidenced by the fact of the mention of sixteen great states viz. *Aṅga, Vaṅga* and others[1] and also that of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* and other sixteen small states.

Thus it refers to the kingdom of *Magadha* with its capital at *Rājagṛha* ruled over by king Seṇiya, *Aṅga* with its capital at *Campā* governed by king Kūṇika, the kingdoms of *Kāśī* and *Kośala* with their respective capitals at *Vārāṇasī* and *Śrāvastī* respectively lying to the west of *Magadha*, that of *Hastināpura* ruled over by king Śiva and his son Śivabhadra in succession, *Vatsa* under the rule of king Udayana, having its capital at *Kauśāmbī* lying to the south of *Kośala* on the *Yamunā*, the united kingdom of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* with its capital at *Vītībhaya* ruled over by king Udāyana and his nephew, Keśīkumāra after his abdication, that of *Avantī* under the kingship of Mahāsena in central India and the republic of the *Licchavis* with its capital at *Vaiśālī* under the presidentship of king Ceṭaka and that of the *Mallakis* of *Pāvā* and *Kuśīnārā* in the north of the *Gaṅgā*.[2]

Of the above mentioned states the kingdoms of *Kāśī*, *Kośala* and *Magadha* and the republic of *Vaiśālī* followed a policy of aggrandisement and expansion for establishing their respective

1 *Vide*, Ch. III & VIII. 2 *Vide*, Ch. VIII.

political and economic supremacies over North-Eastern India. This policy of aggressive imperialism formulated by their statecraft led to the two great devastating wars called *Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma* and *Rathamusala Saṅgrāma* between two fighting camps, the one led by king Kūṇika of *Magadha* and the other by king Ceṭaka of *Vaiśālī*, united together with the forces of *Kāśī* and *Kaśala*. These two great wars set the seal of final victory on the forehead of the Magadhan king, crushed the age old republicanism of *Vaiśālī* and paved the way for the future expansion of *Magadha* in all directions to bring about the political unification of India under the vigorous leadership of the imperialist rulers of the *Nandas* and the *Mauryas*.[1]

The study of these two political events and other historical data provided by the *BhS* reveals that the guiding principle of every independent sovereign state of its period was the achievement of its highest political power and material prosperity at the expense of its neighbours, as it is clearly evidenced by the fact of the corner-stone of the external policy of *Magadha* to crush its strongest neighbouring state of *Vaiśālī* with a view to achieving its political and economic supremacy by turning the lower courses of the Ganges into a Magadhan lake, having ousted that republic from the field of commerce and trade.

In regard to the inter-state relation the *BhS*, throws light upon the policy of statecraft that a state should avoid the path of war as far as possible and follow that of peace to achieve its objectives by applying one of the first three means, viz. *Sāma* (conciliation), *Dāna* (gift) and *Bheda* (dissension) through the diplomatic mission led by its ambassador. On the failure of these means it may go to war to settle its issue with its enemy-state in the battle field. It is revealed that a state should maintain its inter-state relations by making alliance with other states or by observing complete neutrality in times of war and peace, as it is evidenced by the fact that king Ceṭaka made political alliance with nine *Mallakis*, nine *Licchavis*, *Kāśī* and *Kośala* and their

[1] *Vide*, Ch. III, Sec. 1 & 2.

eighteen republican chiefs to put up a stubborn resistance to the impending wars declared by king Kūṇika in defence of the republic of *Vaiśālī*, while *Vatsa*, *Sindhu-Sauvīra* and other states maintained complete neutrality in these struggles, though king Udayana of *Vatsa* and king Udāyana of *Sindhu-Sauvīra* were matrimonially related to king Ceṭaka.

The *BhS* further reveals that the foundation of every state was based on its military strength and peaceful feudal relation with a number of princes, feudal lords and republican chiefs under the suzerainty of their sovereign ruler.

Besides the political conditions, the *BhS* furnishes a good deal of valuable informations regarding the polity and administration of both monarchical and non-monarchical forms of government, running side by side during its period. The former was based on the divine kingship and the latter on the social contract theory, as they are reflected in the monarchical state of *Magadha* and the republic of the *Licchavis* of *Vaiśālī* and that of the *Mallakis* of *Pāvā* and *Kuśīnārā*. It throws light upon the origin, nature and sovereignty of the state, kingship, conception of the state, its organs and functions. According to the political ideas as embodied herein the state was an organic whole consisting of a king (or a president-king), government, economic self-sufficiency, defence and its recognition by other states. It is revealed that the state was totalitarian in character, for its sphere of activities covered the political, social, economic, spiritual and cultural development of the people.

The *BhS* also provides many informations regarding the social conditions—social organization, caste system, four stages of life, social structure, family and social relation, social belief in dreams, etc., birth ceremony of a new born male child, his education, marriage, position of women in its society, food and drink, dresses and ornaments, art of decoration, houses, articles of furniture, social manners and customs, sports and amusements, and funeral ceremonies.

The society as depicted in this canonical work was based on the traditional *Varṇāśrama Dharma* and it was divided into

four orders, viz. *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya*, *Gṛhapati* or *Vaṇik* (i.e. *Vaiśya*) and the fourth order (i.e. *Śūdra*) on the basis of distinction of social relationship.

The gradual absorption of various Indian tribes and foreign nationals in the social organization, such as, the *Kirātas*, *Barbaras*, (Indian tribes), *Pārasīs*, *Ārabīs*, *Siṁghalīs*, *Pahlavas*, *Muruṇḍas*, etc., (foreign nationals) was one of the most important characteristics of the social evolution of that age, marked by the racial synthesis and the catholic spirit of the people. So the social organization[1] was like the federation of castes and sub-castes mixed together and brought into the same spiritual and cultural system.

The *BhS* reveals that the spirit of *Varṇāśrama Dharma*[2] illustrated itself in the system of the individual life as regulated into four stages of the Vedic texts, viz *Brahmacarya*, *Gārhasthya*, *Vānaprastha* and *Sannyāsa* according to the evolving capacity of human life, for spiritualism dominated the individual, social, economic, political, religious and secular aspects of the life of the people of its period.

The *BhS* presents an account of a social structure[3] consisting *Janapada* (state), *Varṇa* (social order), *Jāti* (caste), *Gotra* (origin), *Jñāti* (kinsmen), *Kula* (family), *Vaṁśa* (lineage) and *Gāhāvai* (head of the family) and a picture of wider sphere of family relationship which was extended to the friends, kinsmen, relatives and even to the attendants of the family who were included in its gradation in the larger social circle. A happy relation existed among the different members of the family, friends, kinsmen blood relations and others. The conjugal life of the husband and wife was endowed with mutual love, faith, devotion and honour to each other and the glow of their hearts in work and worship. Between the parents and the son there existed a sweet and happy relation based on their reciprocal love, natural duties and moral obligations called upon by the secular life.

1. *Vide*, Ch. IV.
2. *Vide*, Ch. IV, Sec. 3.
3. *Vide*, Ch. V, Sec. 2.

In regard to the position of women[1] it is revealed that they occupied three positions in the society in which they appeared in different capacities pertaining to the family and civic life. The first one was the exalted position of honour and dignity as maiden, wife, mother, queen-regent, religious student, teacher and nun ; the second was inferior to the first one as members of the palace-staff belonging to all grades, including the female slaves and courtesans ; and the third was the most humiliating status as prostitute in the larger civic life.

The *BhS* gives a graphic account of popular belief of the people in dreams, the course of nursing the embryo of a future child, followed by a mother during her pregnancy, celebration of the birth ceremony of a new born son, his education and marriage performed with all social rites and customs.[2]

As regards food and drink[3] it is found that two kinds of general meal were commonly enjoyed by the people, viz. eatable solid and drinkable liquid food under the category of which come the four classes of food, viz. *asaṇa* (solid food), *pāṇa* (drink), *sāim* and *khāima* (sweets & dainties).

This canonical work provides a list of various kinds of food and drink produced and consumed by the people of its society, such as, cooked food—*śuddhodana* (pure rice), *aṣṭādaśavyañjana* (eighteen kinds of sauce), *paramānna* (best rice cooked with ghee and honey), etc., uncooked food—fruits, milk, butter, clarified butter, honey, etc.

It presents an account of dresses and ornaments, bath, art of decoration and toilet generally used by the members of the royal and rich aristocratic families.[4] The observance of cleanliness of the body was a regular practice with the people, as it is evidenced by the fact of their taking bath before starting any kind of work. The *BhS* provides a long list of houses and articles of furniture and presents a pictorial description of town.[5] Lastly, it gives an

1 *Vide*, Ch. IV, Sec. 4, 2 *Vide*, Ch. IV, Sec. 5.
3 *Vide*, Ch. IV, Sec. 6, 4,5 *Vide*, Ch. IV, Sec. 7.

account of various kinds of sports and amusements, manners and customs of the people.[1]

The *BhS* throws much light upon different aspects of the economic conditions[2] of the people. In the social economy agriculture was the most natural and necessary occupation adopted by the major section of the population, while there flourished side by side various kinds of arts and crafts, trade and commerce, and banking business, organized by the private and collective enterprise of the economic guild but partially controlled by the state.

In regard to the general economic conditions of the society it reveals that there was a small number of rich persons in comparison with the economic standard of the people of those days and that of the present time. A current of poverty flowed beneath the surface of much opulence of the social wealth and prosperity, as it is evidenced by the fact of the existence of the houseless family of Maṅkha-maṅkhali and Bhadrā, the parents of Gośāla.

The *BhS* throws an important light upon the ethics of Economics by revealing the fact that the human desire is the main factor of the economic life which is guided by the instinct of possession, and the forces of desire and the material enjoyments tie human-life to the worldly attachments and lead one to the mad lust for wealth at the cost of others and to the consequent sufferings, because Nature has set some limit to his demands. Moreover, wealth is non-permanent and belongs to fire, king, thief and sons. So this canonical work advocates the principle of non-possession (*aparigraha*), one of the five great vows of *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha-Dharma* preached by Lord Mahāvīra.

As regards education the *BhS* reveals that it was based on the unity of thought and action, knowledge, right attitude and right conduct and the attainment of liberation by intellect (sight) and action (*kriyā* or sharpness). The system of education was academic and vocational as organized to impart teachings in

[1] *Vide*, Ch. IV, Sec. 8. [2] *Vide* Ch. V.

general as well as special branches of knowledge and also in the law. So it incorporated into the course of studies—*Itihāsa* (History), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar) and *Chanda* (Metre) in order to achieve the first objective and imparted education in Medical Science, Botany, Zoology, Astronomy, Astrology, Mathematics, Military Science, Art of warfare, and Fine Arts, etc., to attain the second, and the *Vedas* and other religious and philosophical treatises like the Aṅgas, etc., to provide knowledge in their doctrines and spiritualism. So a balance was maintained to make an individual a worthy member of the society. The principles of truth, the social and moral elevation of men and women, the development of the spoken language, science and arts and the democratization of learning without any social bar to the caste or sex were the remarkable features of the system of education as reflected in the text.

There was the spiritual background of this education which made itself realize that the human life and body and material enjoyment of objects of Nature were transitory and belonged to the mundane world and the soul to that of the spiritual. This conception of education governed both the individual and social life and conduct, developed personality and held the noble ideal of liberation before the people.

It is of great historical value that the *BhS* reveals the religious conditions[1] of its period by furnishing a good deal of informations regarding the existence of various leaders of thought and their activities and systems of religion, obscure cults and the life and teachings of heterodox sects in a manner of unsympathetic criticism of one sect against the other in their relation to *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma*. But this way of presentation of the religious firmament has brought to light the half-known and unknown life of those sects with historicity. Of the hetrodox sects the *Ājīvikas* under the spiritual leadership of Gośāla, *Vainayikas*, *Vānaprasthas*, *Parivrājakas*, *Carakas* and other *Tīrthikas*, etc., come in the lime light along with the followers of Lord Pārśvanātha and the *Nirgranthas* under Lord Mahāvīra.

[1] *Vide*, Ch. VII.

The *BhS* reveals *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha-Dharma* with all its aspects in a consolidated manner which is rarely found in any of the *Āgamas* in the form of conversations between Lord Mahāvīra and his disciples.

In this work he is found to have developed and systematized the fundamental principles of *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha-Dharma* laid down by his predecessors and placed them on a solid metaphysical basis by making some improvement on them, as it was a historical necessity demanded by the religious conditions of his time.

In regard to the conception of *Śramaṇa Nirgrantha Dharma* the *BhS* explains that soul (*ātmā*) is the ultimate object of worship and meditation and spiritual realization. To know this reality there should be the right attitude of mind (*samyaktva*) to truth and the absence of perverted attitude (*mithyātva*) of one-self.

As already discussed in the first section of the seventh chapter, this canonical work gives a full conception of this religion in a nut-shell in one Sūtra thus that the desire for liberation (*saṁvega*), disregard of worldly objects (*nirveda*) upto complete renouncement of four kinds of passions and eighteen kinds of sinful acts, forbearance of pains (twenty-two *parīṣahas*) and that of the last part of death—all these ultimately end in perfection.[1]

It reveals two aspects of *Śramaṇa-Nirgrantha Dharma*, viz. *Āgāra-Dharma* or *Śrāvaka-Dharma* consisting of twelve vows and *Anāgāra-Dharma* (monasticism), based on the conditions of the individuals. It deals with different phases of the monastic life, such as, initiation to asceticism, practice of austerities and meditation, observance of religious vows and rules, external and internal austerities, classification of monks into five categories, viz. *Pulāka, Bakuśa, Kuśīla, Nirgrantha* and *Snātaka*. The *BhS* reveals that the aim of religion is self-realization of the Universal and absolutely Real, embodying the highest qualities reorientated into the ultimate objective values—truth, goodness and eternal bliss.

[1] *BhS*, 17, 3, 601.

This canonical work makes a valuable contribution to the study of Cosmology, Cosmography and Geography[1] which compare well with those of the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist works.

THIRD SECTION

Philosophical value of the work[2]

The *BhS* stands supreme and shines aloft in glory as the most valuable philosophical treatise among all the *Āgamas*. In this respect it is an analytical work, dealing with the principles of Metaphysics and gives a subtle critical exposition of them in general and that of the doctrine of 'Matter' in particular containing an idea of the atomic theory, as ever propounded by any system of Indian Philosophy in a comprehensive manner.

This canonical work embodies the principles of life and the Universe and explains and interprets them with logical niceties. It reveals the relation of Metaphysics with Physics and shows that the metaphysical inquiry goes beyond the aspects of Physics.

The *BhS* throws an important light upon cosmogony—order, permanence and continuation of life and the Universe[3] by explaining the principle of transformation of *astitva* (the state of existence) into *astitva* (that of existence) and that of *nāstitva* (non-existence) into that of *nāstitva* (non-existence). It expounds the law of eternality of the Universe and Non-Universe, of beings and non-beings without succession and deals with the evolution of spirit operating through the process of birth and rebirth. Because the Universe is a system of reals, all inter-related with one another from the aspects of substance, space, time and condition respectively, having a fundamental unity in diversity.

Reality is conceived as *Dravya* (substance) which is endowed with infinite qualities (*guṇas*) as well as modes (*paryāyas*),

1 *Vide*, Ch. IX.   2 *Vide* Ch. X.

3 *Vide*, Ch. X. Sec. 1.

having origination, permanence and decay as there is a substratum in which substances exist in the Universe with their noumenal and phenomenal aspects.

Dravya (substance) is classified into two categories, viz. *Jīvadravya* (living substance) and *Ajīvadravya* (non-living substance).

The Universe is conceived of as comprising six fundamental substances, viz. five *Astikāyas—Dharma* (principle of motion), *Adharma* (principle of rest), *Ākāśa* (space), *Jīva* (soul) and *Pudgala* (matter), and (non-extensive) *Addhāsamaya* (time) i. e. six positive realities characterized by qualities (*guṇas*). The study of the *BhS* shows that time has been incorporated into the conception of reality as an eternal substance later on in course of the evolution of Jaina philosophical Thought. The text gives an exposition of the principles of the nature, characteristics and inter-relation of these six fundamental substances and makes their classification from different aspects.

The *BhS* makes a great contribution to the theory of 'Matter' by giving the conception of it as a tangible reality existing in different forms, such as, earth, water, fire, air, plant, physical bodies, etc., within the sensuous and supersensuous experiences in visible and invisible states to the senses. This canonical work treats of the nature of matter, its parts, classification, forms into atom (*paramāṇu*) and aggregate of atoms (*skandha*), conception of atom, its characteristics, physical contact of atoms, their vibration, movement, division and union, transformation of matter, union of atoms with matter, etc.

The *BhS* throws a new light upon Jaina Psychology[1] as an essential part of Philosophy by giving an exposition of the problems of Ontology (Philosophy of being) and Materialism (i.e. the problem of matter) and by revealing a self-distinct physical structure forming the basis of psychology with the background of two

[1] *Vide*, Ch. X, Sec. 2.

traditions in the evolution of life and the Universe, viz. atom-tradition and self-tradition, as they remain emanating each other.

This canonical work explains that *Upayoga* (agential spirit or consciousness) is the fundamental instinct of life—the inherent attribute of the soul which exhibits itself by itself. This *Upayoga* (consciousness) is divided into two categories, viz. *Darśana* (self-awareness) and *Jñāna* (knowledge). It is the principle of psycho-physical activities that all reactions of the soul are conditioned by the body, for it is the dual form, i. e. psycho-physical structure which takes into consideration the noumenal and phenomenal aspects of beings, namely, *prāṇa* (life) *indriya* (sense), *bala* (strength), *vīrya* (energy), *āyus* (length of life), and *āṇaprāṇa* (life-expanding or breathing in and out—the action to maintain the psycho-physical structure).

The *BhS* explains *Rāga* (feeling) and *Dveṣa* (dislike) as the two forms of the delusive transformation of mind by showing two fundamental tendencies in Jaina Psychology. *Rāga* and *Dveṣa* are classified into four *Kaṣāyas* (decoction or passions), viz. *krodha* (anger), *māna* (pride), *māyā* (deceitfulness) and *lobha* (greed). Instinct of life manifests itself in the psycho-physical phenomena according to the conditions of soul. Thus they reveal themselves into six conditions (*leśyas*) in different degrees, viz. *Kṛṣṇa* (black), *nīla* (blue), *Kāpota* (grey), *teja* (fiery or red), *padma* (lotus) and *śukla* (white).

Besides these aspects, the *BhS* throws important light upon the physical basis of mental life, the process of thought, imagination, memory, attitude of mind, the principles of dream, perception, sense-feeling, conation-activities of soul, relation of mind with the soul, *kāma-bhoga* (desire and enjoyment) with a psychic basis in a comprehensive manner.[1]

This canonical work makes a valuable contribution to Jaina Epistemology[2] which is an integral part of philosophy by explaining the nature, origin, conditions, factors, limits and validity

[1] *Vide*, Ch. X, Sec. 2.   [2] *Vide*, Ch. X, Sec. 3.

of knowledge. Knowledge is soul and soul is knowledge, for it is the determinate consciousness (*sākāropayoga*), which is inseparable from the conception of soul as a part of its attribute, life, nature and emancipation.

The *BhS* shows two stages of the development of the theory of knowledge—the first is the classification of it into five categories, viz. *ābhinibodhika* (sensuous knowledge) upto *kevala-jñāna* (omniscience). They are again classified into two categories, viz. *pratyakṣa* (direct) and *parokṣa* (indirect) knowledges.

It throws an important light upon the relation between *Darśana* and *Jñāna* by explaining that the first is self-awareness and the second is knowledge. *Darśana* is the stepping stone to *Jñāna* and they are inter-related to each other for they form together the consciousness (*upayoga*) of soul. But *Darśana* and *Jñāna* do not take place simultaneously, because *sākāropayoga* (determinate consciousness) is *Jñāna* (knowledge) and *anākāropayoga* (indeterminate consciousness) is *Darśana* (self-awareness).

The *BhS* stands as a great valuable treatise of ethics[1] which is the continuation of the metaphysical and psychological aspects of studies, as it is the subject of moral consideration of all forces of Life and Nature. Ethical principles are directly and indirectly connected with happiness and pleasure which are the good of the material life, satisfied by means of wealth. But when a particular point of pleasure is crossed, there arises a harm as a result of the rise of unpleasure. Nature has got a belt of limitation beyond which it does not allow man to cross it over, for all are not co extensive; materials are limited in space; and the physical personality of man is limited in comparison with the natural forces. So the quantitative restriction comes to a limit—*Nivṛtti, Yama, Saṁyama* and *Niyama*. According to this general maxim the unrestricted possession and enjoyment of wealth have not been commended as final in the *BhS*. There it stresses upon the principle of non-possession.

[1] *Vide*, Ch. X, Sec. 4.

The *BhS* explains that the relativity of goodness and badness depends on the circumstances, i. e. the aspects of substance, space, time and state (mental approach of a person). For example, sleepness and sleeplessness are good from different aspects and conditions in the case of different persons, because a saintly man will perform more meritorious acts by his sleeplessness, while an unsaintly person will avoid the sinful acts by his sleepness. So ethics is not absolute according to this moral precept embodied herein.

The principle of ethics as laid down in the *BhS* commences with non-injury to the individual and social life, for the virtue of non-violence arises out of self-preservation of socially inter-related men. This maxim of prohibitive mode of life leads one to detachment and higher interest, self-sacrifice and peace.

The *BhS* reveals two aspects of ethics, viz. negative and positive; the negative side consists of non injury, non-telling lie, non-stealing, non-sexual union and non-possession which form the core of morality in Jainism. So long one does not intend to do the act of violence it is positive virtue from the individual, social and spiritual aspects of his life. It is the general maxim that the sinful acts affect the formless soul by their ripe bad fruits, while the meritorious acts are followed by the auspicious results as a natural order of things.

It is to be observed that the *BhS* preaches the ethics of war to be fought dispassionately for a righteous cause in self-defence, when the liberty and sovereignty of a state are threatened by the attack of a foreign power, as it is evidenced by the fact of the dispassionate fighting of Varuṇa, a citizen of *Vaiśālī* in the *Rathmusala-Saṅgrāma* against the forces of king Kūṇika of *Magadha* at the call of his republican state.

The *BhS* advocates that the control of senses is the positive virtue which inculcates in one's spirit an ideal to follow the path of spiritualism, for his detachment to the worldly objects leads him to avoid warfare and seek liberation and supreme bliss. So one should retrace his step (*pratikramaṇa*) from the sinful acts,

observe self-imposed punishment, expiation, make self-analysis, (*ālocanā*), practise external and internal austerities and *saṁlekhanā* to maintain life (or to save his soul).

The *BhS* reveals that the unrighteous acts produce bad effects with the march of time by grinding the wheel of life. So it advocates the observance of the five great vows which form the kernel of ethics and the ideal of renunciation which leads to the path of asceticism, attainment of spiritual liberation, ultimate peace and happiness—the aims of human life.

The text[1] throws an important light upon the field of Logic by making a formal and scientific exposition of the entire system of thought, religion, philosophy, psychology, epistemology and ethics through the linguistic expressions. It divides *Pramāṇa* the system by which the validity of any knowledge is determined) into *pratyakṣa* (direct perception), *anumāna* (inference) *upamāna* (analogy) and *Āgama* (scripture). Jainism as revealed in the *BhS* has modified the view of *pratyakṣa-pramāṇa* by explaining that it is conditioned by the senses and mind.

As the empirical knowledge is incomplete and does not convey the correct knowledge of the object, so the *BhS* classifies *Naya* (Judgement) into two categories, viz. *Vyavahāra Naya* and *Niścaya Naya* (phenomenal or empirical judgement or logic and noumenal or ascertaining judgement or logic).

The text makes a formal and scientific exposition of the relativity of judgement from the stand-point of non-absolutism, e.g. souls are eternal from the aspect of substance and non-eternal from that of state. It explains the principle of cause and effect as manifested in the infinite qualities and modes of substances, the value of which is determined from different aspects. Though the text does not clearly deal with the *Saptabhangī-Naya* (seven-fold judgement), it is apparently clear from the study, exposition and analysis of its subject-matters that the whole system of thought, religion, philosophy, psychology, epistemology, and

[1] *Vide*, Ch. X, Sec. 5.

ethics of Janism as embodied herein is based on the *Saptabhaṅgī-Naya* of *Syādvād* theory.

The *BhS*[1] makes a great contribution to the doctrine of *Karma* from different aspects, as it is inter-related with ethics. It throws light upon the principle of causation by explaining the operation of cause and effect in relation to soul from the positive and negative points of view.

The doctrine of *Karma* as advocated herein is not action but an aggregate of very fine imperceptible particles of matter which, entering into the soul through the actions of mind, speech and body covers its inner faculties and produces certain conditions in it.

This canonical work gives an exposition of the fundamental laws of Life and Nature by explaining the theory of *Karma* from various aspects, such as, its division, nature, states of soul (*bhāva*), faculty of soul (*labdhi*), expansion of soul (*samudghāta*), states and processes of *karma-karaṇa* (process of energy of soul), influx of *karma*, (*āśrava*), bondage by *karma*, stoppage of influx of *karma* (*saṁvara*), dissociation of *karma* (*nirjarā*), a side light on the stages of spiritual development (*guṇasthānas*) and liberation (*Mokṣa*).

The greatest value of the *BhS* as literary, historical and philosophical treatise lies in the fact that the daring flight of human imagination in the absence of critical verifying data in its period is the most thought-provoking and wisdom-evoking. The truth of Life and Nature has amply and brilliantly been expressed in the speculative daring, not sacrificing the logical aspect of knowledge in the thoughts, evolved by the rational ideas of Lord Mahāvīra to Philosophy. It reveals that the evolution is a part of the whole evolution in the Universe.

[1] *Vide*, Ch, X, Sec. 6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jaina Works

Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi—Hemachandra. Bhavanagar, Veer Era, 2441.

Abhidhāna Ratnamālā—Halāyudha.

Antagaḍadasao-Comm. by Abhayadeva Ed M. C. Modi, Ahmedabad, 1932.

„ Translated by L. D. Barnett, London, 1907.

Anuyogadvāra. Comm. „ Haribhadra, Rutlam, 1928

„ „ „ Maladhāri Hemacandra, Bhavanagar, 1939.

„ Cūrṇi. Jinadāsagani, Rutlam, 1928.

Anuttaropapātika Sūtra-Comm. by Abhayadeva. Ed. M. C. Modi, Ahmedabad, 1932.

Arddha-Māgadhī Dictionary –

Ācārāṅga Sūtra Comm. by Śilāṅka, Surat, 1835.

„ „ Niryukti—Bhadrabāhu.

„ „ Translated by H. Jacobi, xxii, 1884.

„ Cūrṇi— Jinadāsagaṇi, Rutlam, 1941.

Āura Paccakkhāna—

Āvaśyaka Sūtra-Comm. by Haribhadra, Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1916.

„ Cūrṇi—Jindāsagaṇi, Rutlam, 1928.

„ Niryukti—Bhadrabāhu.

Bhagavatī Sūtra-Comm. by Abhayadeva, Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1921.

Bhatta-Pariṇṇā—

Bṛhat Kalpa Sūtra—Comm. Malayagiri and Kṣemakīrti, Atmananda Jain Sabha, Bhavanagar, 1933-1938.

„ „ Bhāṣya—Saṅghadāsagaṇi.

Bṛhat Kathā-Kośa—Hariṣeṇa, Ed. A.N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1943.

Candapaṇṇatti—

Caṇḍā-vijjhaya—
Cau-saraṇa—Avacūrṇi, Vīrabhadra, Devachand Lalbhai.
Devindatthava—
Dhavalā Tīkā—1st Vol. of Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama—Dr. H. L. Jain.
Dravya-Saṅgraha—Nemicandra.
Doctrine of Karma in the Jain Philosophy—Glasenapp.
Gaṇivijjā—
Gommaṭa-Sāra—Jīvakāṇḍa and Karmakāṇḍa—Nemicandra. Ed. by J. L. Jaini.
Heart of Jainism—Mrs. Stevenson. S
Hindu Tales (Trans.)—Meyer J. J London, 1909
Indian Sect of the Jainas—Bühler, London, 1903.
Introduction to Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama—Dr. H. L. Jain.
Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti, Comm.—Śānticandra. Bombay. 1920.
Jambuddīva Paṇṇatti Saṁgraha—Ed. by Dr. H. L. Jain.
Jain Harivaṁśa Purāṇa—
Jaina Sūtras (S. B. E.) I & II—H. Jacobi.
Jainism in North India—C. J Shah.
Kathākośa—Translated by Tawney, London, 1895.
Karakaṇḍa-Cariu—Ed. by Dr. H. L. Jain.
Kalpa Sūtra, Comm by Samayasundara, Bombay, 1939.
" " Translated by H. Jacobi (S. B. E.) xxii 1884.
Kappāvadaṁsiāo—
Kasāya Pāhuḍaṁ-Bhāga-1. (Pejjadosavibhattī)—Gūnadharācārya, Ed. by Pandit Phulchandra Siddhanta Shastri.
Kālakācāryakathānaka—
Kavya-Mīmāṁsā—Hemacandra.
Mahāniśītha—Ed. Schubring, Berlin, 1918.
Mahāpaccakkhāna.
Mahāpurāṇa (Apbh.)—Puṣpadant.
Mahāpurāṇa (Skt.)—Jñānapīṭha Edition.
Nandī Sūtra Comm.—Haribhadra, Rutlam, 1928.
" " " —Malayagiri, Bombay, 1924.
Nāyādhammakahāo, Comm.—Abhayadeva, Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1919.
" " —Ed. by N. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1940.

Nirayāvaliyā Sutta, Comm.—Candra Sūri, Ahmedabad, 1922.
" " Ed. by Gopani and Chokshi, Ahmedabad 1934.
Nisīha Sutta
" Cūrṇi —Jinadāsagaṇi. Ed. by Vijaya Prema Surishvara V. S 1995.
Niyamasāra —Kundakunda.
Ovāiya Sutta (Aupapātika Sūtra) Comm. by Abhayadeva, Second Edition, Surat V. S. 1914.
Padma Purāṇa—Raviṣeṇa.
Paumacariyaṁ—Vimala Sūri.
Paumacariu —Sayambhū.
Pañcakalpa —
Pañcāstikāyasāra—Kundakunda.
Paṇṇavaṇā (Prajñāpanā) Sutta—Comm. Malayagiri, Bombay 1918-1919.
Paṇhavāgaraṇa—Comm. Abhayadeva, Bombay, 1919.
Paiyasadda-Mahāṇṇava—Pandit Hargovindadas Trikamchand Seth
Pariśiṣṭaparvan —Hemacandra.
Piṇḍa Niryukti – Comm. Malayagiri, Surat, 1918.
Pupphāo —
Pupphacūlāo —
Pravacanasāra—Kundakunda.
Pramāṇa Mīmāṁsā—Hemacandra.
Prācīna Tīrthamālā Saṅgraha. Pt. 1, Bhavanagar. Sam. 1978.
Rāyapaseṇiya Sutta (Rājapraśnīya Sūtra) Comm by Abhayadeva, Ahmedabad, 1938.
Saṁthāraga.
Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama—Vols. III, IV & VIII Ed. by Dr. H. L. Jain.
Ṣaḍ-darśana Samuccaya—Haribhadra (Guṇaratna's Commentary).
Samavāyāṅga Sūtra Comm. Abhayadeva, Ahmedabad, 1938.
Samayasāra—Kundakunda.
Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra.
Sūriyapaṇṇatti—Comm. Malayagiri, Bombay, 1919.
Sūyagaḍaṅga (Sūtrakṛtāṅga)—Comm. Śilāṅka, Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1917.
" Trans. by H. Jacobi, S. B. E. XLV, 1895.

Sthavirāvalīcarita—
Sthānāṅga Sūtra—Comm. by Abhayadeva, Ahmedabad, 1937.
Syādvād-Mañjarī—Malliṣeṇa (Anyayoga-vyavaccheda-dvātriṁśikā)
Taṇḍula—Veyāliya—Comm. by Vijayavimala—Devachandra Lalbhai
Tatvārtha Sūtra—Umāsvāti
Uttarādhyayana Sūtra—Comm. by Śāntisūri, Bombay, 1916; Nemicandra, Bombay, 1937.
" " Trans. H. Jacobi S. B E. XLV, 1895.
Uvāsagadasāo—Comm. Abhayadeva.
" Trans. by Hoernle, Calcutta, 1888.
Vasudevahiṇḍi—Sanghadāsagaṇi-Vācaka, Atmananda Sabha, Bhavanagar, 1930-31.
Vyavahāra Sūtra—Comm. by Malayagiri, Bhavanagar, 1926.
" Bhāṣya.
Vīratthava (tthui)—
Viśeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya—Jinabhadra.
Vivāga Suya—Comm. by Abhayadeva, Baroda, V. S. 1922.
Vividha-Tīrthakalpa—Jinabhadra Suri, Bombay, 1934.
Yoga Śāstra—Comm. by Hemacandra.

Brāhmaṇical Works

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—
Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya—Trans. by Shamashastri, Mysore, 1908.
Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.
Atharva-Veda—
Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra—
Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad—
Bṛhajjātaka—Varāhamihira.
Bṛhat Pārāśara Smṛti—
Bṛhat Saṁhitā (xiv)—Varāhamihira, Ed. Sudhakar Dvivedi, Banaras.
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa—
Bhāgavata Purāṇa—
Caraka-Saṁhitā—Trans. by Jayadeva Vidyalankar, Lahore, S. V. 1991-93.

Chāndogya Upaniṣad—
Daśakumāra Carita—Daṇḍī, Kale, Bombay, 1926.
Daśopaniṣad—Ed. by the Pandits of the Adyar Library.
Gītā—
Gopatha Brāhmaṇa—
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa—
Harṣa Carita—Bāṇabhaṭṭa.
Jaimini Gṛhya Sūtra—
Kathā-sarit-sāgara—Somadeva, Trans. by Tawney.
Kāmandakīya Nītisāra—Ed. by R. Mitra (B.In.), Calcutta, 1849-84.
Kāmandakīya Nītivākyāmṛtam—Somadeva Sūri.
Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā—Rājaśekhara.
Laghujātaka—ix—Varāhamihira.
Mahābhārata—Ed. by T. R. Krishnacharya & T. R. Vyasacharya, Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1906-9.
Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.
Manu Smṛti—
Matsya Purāṇa—
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—
Mṛcchakaṭika—Śūdraka. Ed. R. D. Karmarkar, Poona, 1937.
Nārada Smṛti—
Nidānasthāna—
Patañjali's Bhāṣya (19-11).
Pavanadūta of Dhoyī—
Pāṇini—Vyākaraṇa.
Priyadarśikā of Śrī Harṣa
Raghuvaṁśa,—Kālidāsa.
Rājataraṅgiṇī—Kalhaṇa.
Rāmāyaṇa—Vālmiki. Ed. T. R. Krishnacharya & T. R. Vyasacharya, Bombay, 1911.

Ṛg-Veda—Sāyaṇa Bhāṣya.
Śakti Saṅgama Tantra.
Saṅgīta Ratnākara—Sāraṅgadeva.
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
Subhāṣita—(Vide, Education in Ancient India, Dr. A.S. Altekar).

Svapana Vāsavadattā—Bhāsa.
Tattvakaumudī.
Tattva Vaiśāradī.
Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads—Robert Ernest Hume.
Vāśiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra.
Vājasaneya Saṁhitā.
Vāyu Purāṇa—
Vedic Index—Macdonald and Keith, 1912.
Vīramitrodaya, Pt. II of Mitramishra : Jivananda's Edition.
Viṣṇu Purāṇa—
Yajurveda—
Yājñavalkya Smṛti—Vijñāneśvara, 4th Ed. Bombay.

Buddhist Works

Āṅguttara Nikāya, P.T.S. London—1885-1900.
Aṭṭhakathā P. T. S. Ed. by Walleser & Harmann Kopp, London, 1924-1940.
Avadāna Śataka Ed. by Dr. J.S. Speyer St. Petersburg, 1906.
Ayoghara Jātaka—
Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa—Gaṇapati Shastri.
Book of the kindred Sayings—Rhys Davids.
Buddha Carita—Aśvaghoṣa.
Buddhist Nikāya—
Commentary on Dīgha-Nikāya.
Cullavagga—
Cūlavaṁsa—Ed. by W. Geiger, London, 1925.
Darīmukha Jātaka—
Dhammapada (Comm.)—Harvard, P.T.S. 1906-1915.
Dhonasākha Jātaka—
Dialogues of the Buddha—(S.B.E. Pt. II)—Rhys Davids.
Dictionary of Pāli-Proper Names —Malalasekara.
Dīgha-Nikāya—Ed. Rhys Davids & J. E Carpenter, P.T.S., *London, 1889-1911.*
Dīpavaṁsa—
Divyāvadāna—Ed. E. B. Cowell & R. A. Neil Cambridge, 1886.

Jātakas—Fousböll, London, 1877-97.
Kuṇāla Jātaka.
Kusa Jātaka.
Kurudhamma Jātaka.
Lalitavistara—Ed. S. Lefmann. Halle A. S., 1902-1908.
Lomahaṁsa Jātaka.
Mahājanaka Jātaka.
Mahāsīlava Jātaka.
Mahāvaṁsa—Ed. by W. Geiger, London, 1908.
Mahāvastu.
Majjhima-Nikāya—Ed. V. Trenckner, and R. Chalmers, London, 1888-1899.
Milinda-Pañha—Ed. V. Trenckner, London, 1880.
Mugga-Pakkha Jātaka—
Mūsika Jātaka—
Niggaṅṭṭha Jātaka.
Nidānakathā—
Papañca Sūdanī—
Pañcadivyādhivāsa—
Pañcagaruka Jātaka—
Pāṭika Sutta—
Petavatthu—
Raṭhalaṭṭhi Jātaka—(No. 352) III.
Saṁyutta-Nikāya—M. Leon Feer, London, 1880.
Saṁkicca Jātaka—
Suttanipāta—Ed. Rahul Sankrityayana, Rangoon, 1937.
Sacred Books of the East (11) Rhys Davids.
Sāsana-Vaṁsa—
Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī—
Telapatta Jātaka—
Tittira Jātaka—
Thusa Jātaka—
Udāna—Ed. by Rahul Sankrityayana, Rangoon, 1937.
Vimāna-Vatthu—of Mūlasarvāstivāda.
Vinaya Texts of Mūlasarvāstivāda Ed. by Oldenberg, London, 1870-1884.

General Works

Advance History of India—Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury & Dr. K. K. Datta.

Age of Imperial Unity— Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

Amara Koṣa—Amara Singha.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute—1926-27.

Ancient Geography of India—Cunningham.

Ancient India-Ptolemy—M'Crindle.

Ancient India as described in the classical literature. M'Crindle

Archaeological Survey of India Reports.

Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India.

The Art of War in Ancient India—Date G. T., London, 1929.

Buddhist India—Rhys Davids.

Buddhhist Studies—Dr. B. C. Law.

Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society—Vol. xxi, 1929.

Bhagavan Buddha—Dharmananda Kaushambi.

Bombay Gazetteer Vol. 1.

Cambridge History of India Vol. I. Rapson.

Carmichael Lectures—1918 Bhandarkar.

Caste and Race in India—G. S. Ghurye.

Civanāna Cittiyār—Ed. Mudaliyar Vol. I.

Corporate Life in Ancient India—Dr. R. C. Mazumdar.

Chronicles of Tripura—Leong.

Darshana and Cintana—Pandit Sukhlalji.

Die Kosmographie Der Inder.—W. Kirfel.

Early History of India—V. Smith.

Economic History of Ancient India— S. K. Das.

Education in Ancient India—Dr. A. S. Altekar.

Elements of Hindu Iconography—Gopinath Rao.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.

Epic Mytheology—Hopkins.

Fa-Hien-Legge

The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India— N. L. Dey, Calcutta, 1899.

The Greek City and Its Institutions Cambridge History—Glotz.

Greeks in Bactria and India—Turn.
Greek Thinkers, Vol. I.—Gomperz.
Hindu Civilization—R. K. Mukerjee.
Hindu Polity—Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.
Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol. III, Surring.
Hindu Administrative Institutions—Dikshitar, V.R. Ramachandra, Madras, 1929,
History of Bengal, Vol. 1—Dr. R. C. Mazumdar.
History of Buddhist Thought—E. J. Thomas.
History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas—Dr. Basham.
History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I—Dr. S. N. Dasgupta.
History of Indian Literature, Vol. II—Winternitz.
History of Northern India—Dr. H. C. Ray.
Historical Geography of Ancient India—Dr. B. C. Law.
Homage to Vaisāli—Ed. J. C. Mathur.
Hymns of Rig-Veda—Manning.
Imperial Gazetteer of India—Vol. I.
(Ancient) India—Alberuni.
(Ancient) India—Magasthenes.
India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism—Dr. B. C. Law.
India as known to Pāṇini—Dr. V. S. Agrawal.
Indian History—F. Weber.
Indian Invasion of Alexander—Diodorous.
Indian Culture, Vol. 1.
Indian Antiquary, Vols. XVII-XXI.
Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XX, 1931.
Interpretation of Dreams—Dr. Freud.
Introduction to Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Language—Dr. Pischel.
Introduction to Indian Philosophy—Dr. Chatterjee and Dr. Dutta.
Introduction to Prakrit Grammar—Dr. Woolner.
Journal of the American Oriental Society.
" of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
" of Royal Asiatic Society.
" of the Indian Society and of the Oriental Art.

Journal of the Department of Letters II, Calcutta University.
Karpūramañjarī—Ed. Dr. M. M. Ghosh.
Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India—Dr. B. C. Law.
Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons—
Dr. J. C. Jain.
Mahāvīra—His Life and Teachings—Dr. B. C, Law.
Manu—A Study in the Hindu Social Theory—Kewal Motwani.
Mannual of Ethics—Mackenzie.
Middle Indo-Aryan Language—Dr. S.K. Chatterjee.
Modern Review (1918 July, 1919).
Monier-Williams—Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
Mysore and Coorg—Rice.
Nagpur University Journal—Dec. 1940.
An Out Line of Psychology—McDougall.
Outlines of Jaina Philosophy.—Mohan Lal Mehta.
Oxford Concise Dictionary.
Plant Autobiographs and their Revelations—1929, Sir J.C. Bose.
Plant Physiology—Bernard S. Meyer, & Donald B. Anderson.
Periplus of the Erythraean Sea—Schoff.
Philosophy of Non-Absolutism—Dr. Satkari Mookerjee.
Philosophy of Religion—Galloway.
Political History of *Ancient India Dr. H.C.* Ray *Chaudhari.*
Psychology—Robert S. Woodworth
Pusalkar's Bhāsa—A Study, Lahore, 1940.
Pre-Ariyan and Pre-Dravidian-Sylvain—Trans. by Dr. P.C. Bagchi.
Pre-Buddhistic India—Mehta.
Racial Synthesis—Vishvanathan.
Rajputana Gazetteer.
Religion and Rational Outlook—Dr. S.N. Dasgupta.
Social Organization in North-East India in Buddha's time-Fick. R.
Some Historical Aspects of Inscriptions of Bengal—Dr. B. C. Sen.
Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, 1929, Haran Cakladar.
Studies in Indian Antiquities—Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury,
Calcutta—1932.

Tribes in Ancient India—Dr. B. C. Law.
Vedic Age—Bharatiya Vidya-Bhavan.

Watters on Yuan Chwang—II.
Weapons and Armoury Organization—Oppert Gutav.

Inscriptions

Corpus Inscriptionam Indicarum—Vol. III, Dr. Fleet.
Epigraphia Indica (III).
(IV)
Inscriptions of Aśoka II—Dr. B M. Barua.
" of Bengal—Vol. III—N.G. Mazumdar.
Select Inscriptions—Dr. D. C. Sirkar.
South Indian Inscriptions—Sewell.

Coins

Ancient Indian Coins—John Allan.
Andhra Coins—Rapson.
Coins of Indo-Scythic Rulers—Gardener.

INDEX

A

Abhaggasena, notorious robber, 109
Abhaya, 494
Abhayadeva Sūri, 39, 40, 425, 426, 471
Abhayakumāra, prince 204
Abhīcī kumāra, prince, 86, 89, 158
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 426, 515
Abhidhāna Ratnamālā, 438
Abhijit Kumara, 46, 194, 321, 492, 501
Ābhīras, 509
Ācārāṅga Cūrṇi, 245, 454
Ācārāṅga Sūtra, 4, 12, 134, 246, 472, 532, 536
Accha, 62, 531
Acchidda, 437
Acchidya, 417
Accsines (the *Cenāba*), 507
Acirāvatī, 546
Adhākarmādi, 417
Adharimaṁ, 100
Addhāsamaya, 572
adijjaṁ, 100
aduyabandhana, 113
adhyavapūraka, 417
Africa, 318
Agaḍadatta 226
Agāra Dharma, 390, 421
Aggivesāyaṇa, 437
Agnibhūti, 42, 45, 482
Aguri, 503
Aiṇeyaka, 436
Aitareya Āraṇyaka, 529
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 513, 528
Ajitakesakaṁbalī, 436, 489
Ājīvika, 3, 13, 385, 425, 438; the meaning of, 425
Ājīvikism, 448
Ājīviya, meaning of, 425
Ajjā, Pārvatī, 457
Ajjhādhāriṇī, 92, 95
Ajjuna Gomāyuputta, 437
Ajñānavādins, 449, 450
Ajñānikas, 4
Ajñānikavadiṅs, 17
Akesines (*Cenāba*), 552
Akkharika, 340
Akriyāvādins, 4, 17, 449
Alabhikā, 44, 45, 310, 321, 431, 452, 477, 478
Ālabhiyā, 537
Alavi, 538
Alexander, 507, 515
Alexandria, 317, 322
Alisaṁdaga, 317
Al-kikān, 511
Aloka, 518
Amarakoṣa, 135
amātya, 116
Ambubhakṣiṇas, 454
Ambuvāsins, 454
amijjaṁ, 100
aṁkadhālo, 95
Ammaḍa, the *Parivrājaka*, 24, 43, 452, 482, 540
āmosa, 110
Amrapāli, 223
Aṁtaraṅgī, 5
Amusements, 257
Ananda, 5, 54, 138, 161, 163, 175, 307, 430, 473
Ānandarakṣita, 456
anāśakāyana, 168
Anaśana, 404
Āndhras, 513
Aṅga, 62, 501, 528, 621
aṅgamaddiyāo, 95
Aṅga-Mandira, 431
aṅgāra, 417
Anāgāra-Dharma, 390, 391, 421

Aṅgas, 344
Aṅgavairocana, king, 528
Aṅguttara Nikāya, 62, 503, 531, 534
aniṛṣṭa, 417
Annautthiyā, 7
Annavālaya, 483
Antagaḍa, 6
Anurādhāpura, 512
Anuśūcakas, 98
Anuttarovavāiyadasāo, 6
Anuvālaya, 437
Anuyogadvāra Sūtra, 11, 245, 343, 344, 386
Ānvikṣakī, 77
apamitya, 417
Arab, 322
Arabī, 34, 37, 38, 310, 317, 320, 511
Ārādhanā, three kinds of, 400
araṇyāyana, 168
Arddhanārīśvara, 536
Arddha-Māgadhī,
Ariṭṭhanemı, 228
Arjuna, 123
Arjuna Gautamīputra, 341, 436
Arthaśāstra, of Kauṭilya, 77, 79. 81, 82, 93, 96, 106, 115, 116, 119, 120, 124, 126, 128, 133, 136, 145, 180, 184, 188, 196, 376, 506
Āryā, 7
Arya Satyāni, 392
Āsāḍha, 5
Āsamıtta, 5
Asaṇa, 232
āsana, 128, 131
Āsanapaññāpaka, 141
asatīposaṇayā, 101
Asiknī (*Cenāba*), 552
Aśoka, 37, 65, 124, 438
Aśokan Edicts, 196
Aśokavana, 477
Aśrama, 166
Aśrava, 603, 604
Aśrutvā-Kevalī, 423
Assaka, 62
Aṣṭādhyāyī, 536
Aṣṭakula, 141
Aṣṭakulaka, 145
Aṣṭāṅgamahānimitta, 439
Asthikagrāma, 472, 477, 487, 537
Asurukkha, 106
Aśvaghoṣa, 495, 496
Atavatattae, 446
Āṭavyas, 509
Atharva, 336, 528, 530
Atimukta—*Kumāra-Śramaṇa*, 45 170
Atom, definition of, 567
Attha, 531
Aṭṭhakulaka, 144, 145
Aṭṭhiyagāma, 537
Aupapātika Sūtra, 343, 452
Aura-paccakkhāṇa, 9
Avaḍḍhiyā, 5
Avāha, 62, 534
Avamodarıkā, 405
Avanījanāśraya, 511
Avanījñāśraya, *Nausāri* grant of, 38
Avantī, 62, 63 131, 494, 499, 501, 502, 531
Avasarpiṇī, 368, 444
Avasarpiṇī Kāla, 436
Avaśyaka Bhāṣya, 338
Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, 98, 104, 114, 154, 157, 202, 204, 221, 377, 476, 494, 495, 500, 501, 514, 517
Āvaśyaka Sūtra, 12
Āvaśyaka Ṭīkā, 455
Avaviha, 437
Avvattiyā, 5
Ayala merchant, 103, 317
Ayambula, 437
Ayampula, 434, 437
Āyāradasāo, 11
Ayodhyā, 535
Ayoghara Jātaka, 91

B

Babbariyās, 508

Babylon, 318
Bactria, 514
Bahalīs, 514
Bāhubali, 514
Bahula, 152, 156, 263, 473
Bahuragā, 7
Bahurayā, 5
Bakuśa, 17, 418, 419
bala, 116
Bala, King, 78, 91, 156, 158, 171, 190, 200, 201, 205, 206, 209, 217, 218, 219, 223, 224, 324, 480
Baladeva, 197, 468
Balarāma, 9
Bālatapasvin, 169
Balikamma, 170
Balikāri, 92
balikārio, 95
Bambhī, 7
Bambhīlivi, 5, 52
Bāṇabhaṭṭa, 426
Banaousii, 510
Bandha, 604
Baniyāgāon, 505
Barabara Hill, 438
Bārāvaī, 9
Barbaradeśa, 321
Barbarikās, 37, 320
Barua, Dr. B M. 437
Basārh, 471, 505
Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, 529
Bāveru, 318
Bebhela, 310
Bebhela Sanniveśa, 189, 450, 451
Behalla, 69, 119, 125, 130
Beṇṇāyaḍa, 87, 103, 109
Bhaḍa, 121, 137
bhāḍīkamme, 101
Bhadrā, 191, 194, 208, 217, 219, 427, 430
Bhadrabāhu, 32
Bhadrāvatī, elephant, 119
Bhaggas, 547
Bhambhīya, 106
Bhāṇḍāgārika, 139
Bhaṇḍāgāriṇīo, 95
Bhaṇḍāgāriṇī, 92
Bhandarakar, Dr. D. R., 495, 496
Bhāradvāja, 431, 436
Bharata, 90, 157, 216
Bhārata, 343
Bhāratavarṣa, 523; nomenclature of, 524; shape of, 524
Bhaddilapura, 530
Bhadrā, 330, 545
Bhargas, 547
Bharukaccha, 318
Bhāsa, 499
Bhāṣā, the definition of, 342
Bhaṭa, 94, 105
Bhātiyo Bhaṭṭa, 496
Bhattaparinnā, 9
Bhāva, 601
Bheḍa, 128
Bhikṣācaryā, 405
Bhikṣupratimā, 396
Bhīma, 463
Bhogas; 492, 503
Bhoja, king, 531
Bhoṭa, 517
Bhṛgu, 145
Bhūṭāna, 517
Bhūtānanda, war elephant, 118
Bhuttuyās, 517
Bindusāra, king, 112
Binduvāsinī, temple of, 548
Boḍiya, 454
Brāhmaṇa, 115, functions and social position, 151 ; duties, 153
Brāhmaṇakuṇḍagrāma, 44, 190, 319, 324, 467, 468, 470, 471, 478, 479, 542
Brahmaputra, 508, 529
Brāhmī, 504
Brāhmīlipi, 337
Brāhmī script, eighteen kinds of, 339
Bṛhajjātaka, 438
Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya, 82, 225, 228, 239, 244, 246, 256, 288, 380

Bṛhatkalpa-Bhāṣya Pīṭhikā, 97
Bṛhatkalpa-Sūtra, 11
Bṛhatkathākoṣa, 498
Broach, the Gulf of *Debala* and *Al-kikāna*, 511
Buddha, 138, 486
Buddha-Carita, 495, 496
Buddhi, 97
Buddhism, 392
Burdwan, 537
Busantion, 510
Business centres, 310

C

Caḍagara, 121, 137
Caitya, 319, 436;
Bahuputrika, 44, 485;
Bahuśālaka, 2, 44, 59, 155, 182, 191, 224, 258, 260, 393, 467, 479, 542;
Candrāvatarana, 44, 220, 431, 482, 499, 541, 548;
Chatrapalāśaka, 44, 182, 477, 481, 539;
Dūtipalāśaka, 44, 60, 155, 477, 480, 481;
Ekajambuka, 44, 477, 485, 549;
Guṇaśilaka, 44, 190, 477, 479, 482, 483, 494, 545;
Kāmamahāvana, 431, 549;
Koṣṭhaka, 44, 45, 172, 430, 431, 433, 434, 456, 477, 479, 483, 484, 487, 546;
Kauṇḍikāyana, 431;
Mānabhadra, 44, 482, 542;
Nālandā, 482, 543;
Nandana, 44;
Prāptakāla, 431;
Pūrṇabhadra, 44, 477, 478, 479;
Puṣpavatī, 44, 173, 483, 548;
Sālakoṣṭhaka, 44, 484, 543;
Saṅkhavana, 44, 452, 478, 538.
Cakravartin, 197
Cālukya, 511
Cāmaradhārīo, 95
Campā, 34, 44, 46, 73, 89, 196, 230, 256, 310, 321, 431, 477, 479, 491, 492, 493, 497, 499, 501, 528, 538, 611
Cāṇakya, 112
Caṇḍa, 495
Caṇḍajasa, 119
Candanā, 6; *Āryā* 221, 332, 479
Candapaṇṇatti, 8
Candapiyaṇa, 204
Candāvijjhaya, 10
Caṇḍikā, 457
Candra, king, 514
Candragupta, *Maurya*, 112, 491,
Candragupta II, 515, 532
Candraprabhanātha, 546
Carakas, 13, 425, 438, 449, 455, 466
Cāraṇā, 459
Cārasādā, 514
Caru, 177
caste, 150; of lower grades, 164
Caṭakara, 94
Cathaeans, 507
Caturviṁśatistava Vandanās, 9
Cāturyāma Dharma, 419, 456, 483
Cāuraṁtasakkavaṭṭi, 78
Caūsaraṇa, 9
Ceḍaga, of *Vaiśālī* 159
Celavāsins, 454
Cellanā, queen, 34, 69, 114, 189, 204, 219, 483, 492, 494
Cereals, 233
Ceṭaka, King, 36, 65, 69, 72, 122, 125, 130, 131, 134, 137, 376, 377, 488, 492, 493, 494, 497, 498, 499
Cetiya, 62
Chalua, 5
Chanda, 336
Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 168
Chattadhārīo, 95
Chattanti, 97
Cheda Sūtras, 10
cheyāyariya, 94, 121

China, 318, 322
Cilāiyā, 7, 508
Cilātas, 508
Cilātikās, 37, 317
Cilāya, 109
Cināmsuya, 38
Cirrahadae, 508
Citra-Vicitra-Yamaka, 554
Civaññāna cittiyāra, 447
Coḍa, 533
Cola-Rājendra, 533
colapaṭṭaka, 415
Colayaṇagaṁ, 169, 207
Confession, ten kinds of faults of, 402
Council, of monks, 31 ; *Pāṭaliputra*, 47, 49 ; *Vallabhī*, 47, 48, 49
Cullavagga, 227
cunnagapesīo, 95
Cunningham, 538, 550

D

Dadhivāhana, 499
Dāhiṇakūlakā, 453
Dāhira, king, 511
Dakṣina-Lāḍha, 533
dāma, 128
Damilīs, 511, 512
daṁtavāṇijje, 101
Daṁtukkhaliyā, 453
dāna, 128
Dāṇāmā, 163
Dānāmā Pravrajyā, 451
Daṇḍa, 76, 77, 79, 128
daṇḍanāyaga, 107, 121. 137
daṇḍanāyaka, 90, 94
Daṇḍanīti, 77, 79 ; of *kauṇḍinya*, 106
Daṇḍapura, 548
Dantīpura, 88
Darbhaṅgā, 533
Darśaka, 544
Daśā Cūrṇi, 112
Daśakumāracarita, 529, 548
Daśapura, 5
Dasaratha, 438
Dasasuyakkhanda, 11
Daśavaikālika, 12
Dasyus, 513
Davaggidāvaṇayā, 101
davakārīo, 95
Death, 264
Debala, 511
Demetrius, 515
Deśibhāṣā, 341
Devadatta, 502
Devakī, 469
Devānandā, 2, 59, 152, 155, 188, 191, 217, 219, 221, 222, 228, 230, 393, 467, 468, 470, 479
Devarddhi Gaṇin, 32, 33, 47, 52
Devindatthava, 10
Dey, N. L. 496
Dhammalipi, 337
Dhārānagara, 531
Dhāriṇī, queen, 24, 202, 203, 204, 208, 211
Dharmaghoṣa, 3, 156
Dharmapāla, king, 506
Dhavalā, 3, 4, 32, 33
Dhoyī, 536
Dhṛti, 8
dhūmra, 417
Dhyāna, 410
Digambaras, 4, 32
Dīgha-Cārāyana, 74
Dīgha-Nikāya, 143, 353
Dikcaras, 429, 437
Dīpavaṁśa, 512
Disāpokkhiyā, 454
Diśāprokṣiṇa, a graphic account of, 176, 455, 501
Diseases, 348, 450
Diṭṭhivāo, 32
Diṭṭhivāya, 5
Dokiriyā, 5, 7
drammas, 102
Drāviḍī, 37, 320
Dravidians, 512
Dravya, 4
Dravya-Saṅgraha, 574
Dream, 197

Dresses, 241, 243 ; of the monks 243
Drink, 238
Drums, four types of, 380
Dṛṣṭivāda, 2, 4, 227
durbhikṣabhakta, 417
Durdharā, queen 112
durga, 116
dūta, 90
dūya, 94, 121, 127, 137
dvaidhībhāva, 128

E

eṣaṇā, 417

F

Fa-Hien, 547, 548
Family Relations, 187
Festivals, 264
Fruits, 234
Furniture, 252, 255

G

Gaggali, 86
Gāhāvaī, 160; duties of 161 ; 187
gāma, 84
Gaṁga, 5
Gaṇa, 134, 135, 136 ; functions of the 141
gaṇanāyaga, 121, 137
gaṇanāyaka, 90, 94
Gaṇapūraka, 142
Gaṇarāja, 134, 136, 141
Gaṇarājā, 135
gaṇarājās, eighteeen republican chiefs, 64, 65, 117, 122, 130, 131, 134, 137, 144, 223
gaṇarāyāṇo, 134
Gandhāra, 62, 510
Gandharvas, 528
Gaṅgā, 551
Gaṅgadatta, 161
Gaṅgadattadeva, 485
Gangāradai, 515
Gaṅgās, 443
Gāṅgeya, 42, 45, 456, 480
Gaṇiviǰjā, 10
ganthibheya, 110
garuḍavuha, 376
Gautama Indrabhūti, 42, 45, 124, 181, 466, 467, 478, 482, 485
Gaya, 530
Gijjhakūṭa, 545
Girihbaja, 545
Girinagara, 33
Girivraja, 553
Gītā, 123, 124, 126, 127, 149
Gītamārga, 385, 439, 440
glānabhakta, 417
Gobahula, 152, 156, 191, 208, 325, 427, 483, 546
goochaka, 415
Godāvarī, 513
Gods, classification of, 461
Gomatī, 535
Gommaṭasāra, 41, 570
Gomperz, 486
Gopuṭṭhae, 446
Gośāla, 14, 426, 432, 433, 434, 439, 445, 446, 475, 480
Gośāla Maṅkhaliputra, 3, 34, 43, 54, 75, 119, 208, 219, 225, 307, 330, 352, 383, 385, 425, 427, 428, 429, 431, 435, 473, 474, 476, 477, 483, 484, 487, 488, 490, 535, 538, 546
Gosaṁkhī, 163
Ghosh, Dr. Manmohan, 50
Gotra, 186
Goṭṭhāmāhila, 5
Guṇaratnasaṁvatsara, 397
Guṇaratnasamvatsara tapas, 396
Guṇasthāna, 606
Guṇavrata, 400, 422
Gwalior, 516

H

haḍibandhana, 113

Hāla, 47
Hālāhalā, 332, 430, 433, 437, 483, 487
Halāyudha, 438
Halla, 69, 119, 125, 130
Hallā, 434
Harinegamesī, 468
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, 509, 532
Harṣa, king, 426
Harṣacarita, 426
Haryaṅka-kula, 496
Hastanagar, 514
Hastināpura, 23, 34, 44, 78, 89, 91, 189, 256, 258, 259, 307, 308, 310, 321, 324, 330, 457, 477, 478, 480, 482, 485, 492, 493, 501, 538, 611
Hastitāpasas, 454
Hastigrāma, 537
Hatthamaddiyae, 446
Hatthigāma, 503, 537
Hatthivāla, 104
Hazaribagh, 530
Hemacandra, 415
Herbs, 281
Himavata, 552, 553
Hiuen-Tsang, 514, 531, 539, 547, 548
Hoernle, 490
Houses, 252
Hrī, 8
Huṁva-uṭṭiā, 453
Hydaspes (*Jhelam*), 507, 552
Hydraotes (*Rāvī*), 552
Hypasis (*Vipāśā*-Beās), 552

I

Ikkāi, 105
Ikṣvākus, 492, 505
Indrāyudha, 506
Indus, river, 514
iṅgālakamme, 101
Isigaṇikā, 37, 320
Isigaṇiyās, 509
Isigili, 545
Isika, 322
iṣṭa, 168
Itihāsa, 336

J

Jacobi, 49, 437, 471, 490
Jāgarikā, 400
Jalābhiṣeka-kiḍhinagātrā, 454
Jalavāsins, 454
Jamālī, 5, 14, 45, 85, 158, 171, 183, 189, 192, 193, 196, 215, 216, 224, 259, 263, 319, 329, 349, 391, 393, 391, 456, 479, 542, 546
Jamālī's sect, 13, 456
Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti, 8, 90
Jambūdvīpa, 523, 526
Jambūdvīpa Prajñapti, 523
Jaṁgola toxicology, 345
Jaṁtapīlaṇakamme, 101
Janaka, 542
Janapada, 116, 132, 185, 527
Jaṇavaya, the etymological meaning of, 76
Jātakas, 91, 106, 134, 136
Jāti, 185
Javaṇa, 6
Jayadhavala, 32
Jayaghosa, 154
Jayantī, 43, 45, 169, 214, 319, 332, 393, 482, 492, 499
jemāmaṇa, 207
Jinadāsa, 476
Jīvābhigama, 7, 523
Jīvapadesiyā, 5, 7
Jiyasattu, king, 92, 98, 154
Jñāna, 588
Jñāti, 186
Jñātri, 175
Jñātrikas, 505
Jñātṛkṣatriya, 468, 469
Joisāmaya, 336
Joṇhiyās, 510
Jonhikās, 37
Jūnāgaḍha, 536

K

Kaccha, 532
Kajaṅgalā, 310, 321, 477, 478, 481, 539
Kāla, prince, 8
Kāla, 125
Kalāgrahaṇaṁ, 169
Kālakācārya-Kathānaka, 517
Kalanda, 437
Kālāsavesiyaputta, 42, 44, 456
Kālidāsa, 159, 170
Kālika-śruta, 2
Kaliṅga, War, 65 ; Edict 124
Kaliṅgas, 529
Kālyaputta, 45, 456
Kālodāyin, 455, 483
Kalpa Sutra, 10, 11, 104, 137, 154, 197, 202, 239, 468, 469, 470, 472, 488, 537
Kalpātīta, 463
Kalpāvataṁsaka, 8
Kalpavṛkṣas, 303
Kalpikā, 8
Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra, 78, 82
Kāma Sūtra, 188
Kamboja, 62, 318
Kāmbojas, 510
Kamma-Pāhuḍa, 32
Kaṁpillapura, 540
Kāmpilya, 321
Kāmpilyapura, 44, 452, 477, 478, 481, 540
Kaṁsa, 469
Kaṇagasattari, 344
Kanaka Saptati, 344
Kañcanapura, 88
Kañcuijje, 94
Kaṇhavāsudeva, 119, 380
Kaṅkajola, 539
Kannauja, 506
Kaṇṇavehaṇaṁ, 207
Kaṇṇiyāra, 437
Kāntārabhakta, 417
Kapila Muni, 455
Kapilaśāstra, 451
Kapiśā, 529
Kappa, 336
Kappāvaḍaṁsiā, 8
Karakaṇḍu Cariu, 88
Karaṇa, 602
Karma, doctrine of, 599
karoḍiyādhārio, 95
Karpūramañjarī, 50
Kārttikadatta, the president of an economic guild of eight thousand merchants of the town of *Hastināpura*, 162, 164, 174, 189, 307, 308, 485
Kāruśas, 509
Kāśāi, 529
Kāśia, 534
Kāsava, 16, 456
Kasāya-Pāhuḍa, 32
Kāśī, 36, 62, 65, 73, 116, 118, 122, 130, 131, 133, 137, 321, 378, 478, 492, 493, 497, 534, 535
Kāśmīra, 321
Kathaians, 507
Kathaioi, 507
Kātyāyana, 145
Kauravyas, 492, 506
Kauśāmbī, 34, 44, 45, 119, 220, 256, 310, 321, 471, 477, 478, 482, 493, 498, 499, 532, 541
Kauśikī, river, 528
Kauśikīkaccha, 532
Kauṭilya, 128, 506
Kautsa, 532
Kautukamaṅgala, 170
Kāyakleśa, 406
Kāyandī, 540
Kayaṅgalā, 44, 539
Kāyaraya, 437,
Keka, 498
Keralaputta, 553
kesavāṇijje, 101
Keśī, 466
Keśīkumāra, prince, 86, 89, 158, 194, 250, 251, 324, 492, 494, 501, 546
Keśīsvāmin, 456
Ketu, 288
Khāima, 232

Kharoṣṭhī, 339, 504, 514
Khattiyakuṇḍagāma, 541
khīradhāio, 95
khujjāo, 95
Khurāsān, 510
Kirāta, 321
Kirātikā, 320
Kirātas, 508
Kis-saṅkıcca, 436, 437
Koccha, 62
koḍumvinīo, 95
Kolhuā, 505
Koligāma, 541
Kollāḍa, 540
Kollāga, 175, 310, 505, 540
Kollāga Sanniveśa, 473, 474
Kollāya, 540
Kollāya Sanniveia, 487
Kophen (*Kabul*), 532
Koṣa, 116
Kośala, 36, 62, 65, 116, 118, 122, 130, 131, 133, 137, 321, 378, 478, 492, 493, 497, 505, 532, 533, 535
Kośalā Devī, 73
Kośalapura, 535
Kośām, 532
Kośāmbī, 541
Kośī, river, 528, 533
Koṭṭa-*Kiriyā*, 451, 457
Kottha, 532
Koṭṭhāgārīo, 95
Kottiyā, 453
Krīta, 417
Kriyāvādins, 4, 17, 449
Kṛṣipārāśara, 163
Kṛṣṇa, 9, 123, 469
Kṛṣṇikavāda, 450
Kṣatriya, 115, 158, 159
Kṣatriyakuṇḍagrāma, 22, 23, 189, 193, 258, 259, 319, 393, 470, 471, 472, 505, 541
Kūiyaṇṇa, 163
Kula, 145, 186
Kūladhamakā, 453
Kulakara, 303
Kula-Parvatas, 553
Kulavālaya, ascetic, 498
Kulika, 145
Kuluhā, 530
Kumārabhicca, pediatrics, 345
Kummagāma, 540
Kumrahar, 545
Kuṇḍagrāma, 505
Kūṇika king, 8, 64, 65, 69, 71, 72, 74, 79, 114, 129, 130, 134, 324, 497, 498, 501
Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru 64, 118, 120, 122, 125, 377, 378, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 495, 499, 534, 535; of *Campā* 158
Kūṇiya, 34
Kunti, 6
Kūrmagrāma, 169, 310, 474, 475, 476. 540, 547
Kuru, 62, 145, 506
Kurukṣetra, 506
Kuśāvatī, 534
Kuśīla, 418, 419
Kuśinārā, 137, 145, 505, 534, 611
Kusumadhvaja, 544
Kusumapura, 554
Kyrrahadae, 508

L

Labdhi, 601
Lāḍha, 62, 532, 533
Laghamān, 515
Lajhujātaka, 438
lakkha-vāṇijje, 101
Lakṣaṇa, 439
Lalita Vistara, 135, 136, 339
Lambaṭas, 515
Lamvakas, 515
Langhāna, 515
Lāṭa, 512
Lauhitya, 529
Lausiyā, 37, 320, 511
Law Dr. B. C., 537
Leśyā, 585
Lhāsikā, 320,

Lhāsiyās, 37, 322, 511
Licchavis, 36, 65, 71, 118, 122, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 143, 145, 378, 490, 492, 497, 534 ; Consititution of the, 137, 139
Limirike, 512
lipi, 337
livi, 337
Logic, 624
Loka, 518
lomahara, 110

M

Maccha, 62
Mādhora, 344
Madraka, 145
Madruka, 46
Madurā, 533
Madhyadeśa, 539
Magadha, 62, 116, 131, 132, 133, 319, 377, 501. 528, 530, 524, 535, 611
Māgadhiyā, courtesan, 498
Magasthenes, 508
Mahābala, 14, 78, 156, 158, 169, 171, 193, 196, 207, 210, 214, 216, 219, 223, 224, 250, 251, 258, 259, 263, 330, 331
Mahābhārata, 82, 91, 123, 126, 127, 135, 136, 144, 216, 429, 504, 509, 510, 528, 529, 534, 536, 545
Mahābhīma, 463
Mahāgovinda Suttanta, 143
Mahājanapadas, *Solasa*, 62
Mahākalpa, 439, 443, 444
Mahākośala, king, 63
Mahāmantī, 96
Māhaṇakudagāma, 542
Mahānandā, 533
Mahānisīha, 10, 87
mahāṇasiṇīo, 95
Mahānimittas, 3
Mahāniṣadha, 9
Mahāpaccakkhāṇa, 10
Mahāpadma, 496, 545
Mahāparinivvāṇa Suttanta, 70
Mahāpurāṇa, 90, 91, 148, 153, 157, 159, 340
Mahārāṣṭra, 511
Mahārāṣṭri, *Jaina*, 49
Mahāsāla, 86
Mahāsena, king, 132, 158, 488, 492, 494, 501, 502
Mahāśilākaṇṭaka, war 66 ; war engine, 120, 130, 337, 377, 378, 498
Mahāśilākaṇṭaka Saṅgrāma, 8, 15, 17, 65, 67, 75, 118, 122, 125, 133, 160, 319, 323, 376, 446, 481, 488, 489, 490, 492
Mahāsupina Jātaka, 202
Mahattaka, 141
mahattare, 94
Mahāvagga, 70, 539
Mahāvaṁsa, 495, 496, 512
Mahāvīra, life of Lord, 465
Mahāvyutpatti, 513
Māhesariya, 542
Māhiṣmatī, 542
Majjhima Nikāya, 489
Mākandikaputra, 46
Makkhali Gośāla, 436, 489
Mālavaka, 62, 63, 531
Malaya, 62, 530, 531
Mālinī, 528
Malla, 62, 136, 145, 533, 534
Mallakis, 36, 65, 118, 122, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 378, 490, 492, 494, 534
Mallarāma, 431, 436
Malla-Rāṣṭra, 534
Malli, 228 ; a golden image of 384
Mālvā, 513, 531
Mantī, 96
Māṇḍalika, 197
Maṇḍika, 431, 436
Maṇḍiya, notorious robber, 109
Maṇibhadra 457, 463
Maṅkha, 426
Maṅkhali, 191, 194, 208

Maṅkha Maṅkhali, 219, 325, 383, 426, 427, 430
Mantri, 97
Manu, 128
Manusmṛti, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 96, 106, 115, 125, 126, 133, 150, 211, 213, 225
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 509, 513
Marriage, 208
Marudvṛddhā, 552
Maruṇḍa, 515
Marwar, 516
Māṭhara Vṛtti, 344
Mathurā, 32, 502, 504
mātrikāpadās, 5
mātṛkākṣaras, 339
Mātsyanyāya, 77, 83
Matsya Purāṇa, 509
matter, 564
mauna, 168
Mauryas, 65
māuyakkaras, 339
Māyā, mother, 202
Mayaṇamañjarī, the wife of prince Agaḍadatta, 227
Mazandarān, 510
Meat-eating, 237
Meghakumāra, 202, 208, 211, 216
Meharaulī, 514
Mehila, 456
Meṇḍhikagrāma 44, 46, 217, 310, 477, 478, 484, 487, 543
Meṇḍhiyagāma, 543
Milikkha, 6
Milindapañha, 318
miśrajāta, 417
Mithilā, 5, 44, 310, 321, 478, 484, 533, 542, 543
Mleccha, 7, 5, 15
Mola-pā, 531
Moli, 62, 63, 534
Monarchism, 133
Moroundai, 515
Moyā, 44, 478, 482, 543
Mṛcchakaṭika, 106
Mṛgalubdhakā, 453
Mṛgavana, 190, 549
Mṛgāvatī, queen, 188, 220, 319, 482, 492, 494, 498, 499, 500
muhapattiya, 244
Mujavantas, 528
mukhavastra, 415
Mūladeva, 88
Mūlasarvāstivāda, 223
Mūla Sūtras, four, 12
Munisuvrata, 485
Murārī, famous shrine of, 536
Muruṇḍa Swāmin, 515
Muruṇḍī, 320
Muruṇḍis, 37, 515
musuṇḍhī, 379

N

Nābhi, 91, 303
nāḍaijjāo, 95
Nāganattua (Nāgaputra) Varuṇa, 67, 121, 123, 124, 125, 137, 138, 161, 324
Nāgārjunī Hill, 438
Nāgārjunīkuṇḍa, 508, 509
Nalagiri elephant, 119
Nālandā, 310, 429, 472, 473, 477, 478, 487, 540, 543
Namados (*Narmadā*), 553
Nāmavāsakas, 509
Nami, 119
Namudaya, 437, 455
Nāmudaya 437
Nāmudāya, 483
Nanagouna (*Tāptī*), 553
Nanda, a merchant of *Rājagṛha*, 163; the family of N. and Yaśodā, 469
Nandas, 65
Nanda-Vaccha, 436, 437
Nandī Sūtra, 3, 11
Nandīvarddhana, 469
Nāradaputra, 45
Narmadā, 542
Nāsadīya, 555
Nāsikyas, 511

Nāta, 175
Nātaputta, 469
Nausāri grant, 511
navakoṭi-pariśuddha, 417
Nāyādhammakahāo, 5, 90, 91, 103, 114, 126, 195, 202, 203, 208, 211, 228, 230, 239, 352, 384
Nāyaka, 143
Nāyaputta, 16
Negama, 84, 307
Nerbudā, 542
Nhāviyadāsa Nanda, 88
ṇhāviyāo, 95
Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, 436
Nighaṇṭu, 336, 451
Nijjutti, 12
Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī, 536
Nillamchaṇakamme, 191
Nirayāvaliyā Sutta (*Sūtra*), 8, 72, 118, 125, 131, 376, 488, 489, 490
Nirgrantha, 17, 418, 419
Nirgranthiputra, 45
Nirjarā, 606
Nirutta, 336
Niryukti, 12
Niścaya Naya, 558
Nisīha, 10
Nisītha Cūrṇi, 102, 157, 341
Nitisāra, *of Māṭhara*, 106
Niyati, 441
Niyativāda, 429, 440, 449
Nṛtyamārga, 385, 439, 440

O

Ovavāiya Sutta, 79

P

Pada, definition of the term, 41
Pāḍaliputta, 88, 544
Pāḍha, 62, 533
Paḍihārio, 94
Padmapurāṇa, 179
Paiṇṇās, ten, 9
pajjapāvaṇaṁ, 207
Pajjoya, king, 119
Pakkhalavatī, 514
Pakkhalavaḍī, 514
Pakudha kaccāyana, 436, 489
Palace, 253
Palāśaka, 544
Palhvas, 510
Palhavikas, 37, 320, 510
Pallaviyas, 510
Pal lin-tou, 544
Pāṇa, 232
pānabhojana, *esita*, 416; *mārgātikrānta*, 416; *kālātikrānta*, 416; *kṣetrātikrānta*, 416; *pramāṇātikrānta*, 416; *sadhūm*°, 415; *samudānika*, 416; *saṁyojana-doṣaduṣṭa*, 416; *saṁyojana-vipramukta*, 416; *sāṅgāra*, 415; *śāstra-pariṇāmita*, 416; *śāstrātīta*, 416; *vitadhūma*, 416; *vītāṅgāra*, 416
pāṇagāiṁ 446
Pāṇāmā, 163
Pāṇāmāpavvajjā, 450
Pāñcāla, 62, 145, 506
Pāñcamahāvratas, 456
Pañcayāma-Dharma, 420, 480
Pāṇḍava, 545
paṇḍitamaraṇa, 9
Pāṇḍya, 533
Paṇhavāgaraṇa, 6
Pāṇini, 93, 96, 134, 188, 428, 429, 504, 507
Paṇiyabhūmi, 474
Paṇṇavaṇā Suya, 7, 529
pāpasthānas, 594
Paraṅgāmaṇa, 207
Pāras, 317, 320, 516
Pārāśara, 163
Pārasī, 34, 37, 310, 317, 320, 516
Parenos, 552
pariṣahas, twenty two, 413
pārisio, 95
parivartavāda, 438, 439, 440, 476

Parivrājakas, 13, 425, 449, 451, 466
Parivṛtya—parihāra, 431, 432, 436, 439
Parivvāyagā, 7
Parivvāyage, 180
Pārśvanātha, 335, 466, 541
Pārśvanatha'sorder, 13, 466, 483
Pārthava, 510
Parthia, 322
Parthians, 510
Paruṣṇī (*Rāvī*), 552
pasāhiyāo, 95
Pasenadi, 202
Pāṭaligrāma, 70, 544
Pāṭaliputra, 31, 34, 47, 49, 544, 545
Patañjali, 314
Patañjali Mahābhāṣya, 536
Patna, 530
Paumacariu, 322, 516
Pauṣadhas, two kinds of, 400
Pauṣadha Vrata, 423
Pāvā, town, 104, 137, 145, 321, 486, 488, 489, 490, 494, 534, 537, 611
Pavanadūta, 536
Pavenipotthaka, 144
Payaoaṁkamaṇaṁ, 207
Periplus, 508, 510, 512
Penkalaos, 514
Persia, 317, 320, 322, 516
Pesaṇakārīo, 95
Peukelaotis, 513
Phoḍīkamme, 101
Piṁḍavaddhaṇaṁ, 207
Piṇḍaniryukti, 12, 103, 205, 211
Piṅgalaka, 43, 45, 161, 182, 470, 546
Pichel, 49
Piṭṭhī-Campā, 68
Plants, classification of, 355; different species of, 28
Pliny, 516
Poggala, a *Parivrājaka*, 45, 478
Pokkali, 161, 172
Pokkhalī, 306
Polāsapura, 5, 430
Polimbothra, 544
Polimdī, 7
Poras, 507
Pottiyā, 453
Poulindia, 513
Prabhāvatī (Devī), queen, 58, 156, 171, 190, 200, 203, 205, 206, 207, 209, 217, 218, 494
Prācīnajanapada, 472
Pradyota Mahāsena, king, 499, 500, 502
Pradyotas, 495
Prāg, 514
Prajñāpanā Sūtra, 339, 341, 547
Prāṇāmā pravrajya, 450
Prasenjit, king, 6, 73, 74, 505
Pratigraha, 415
Pratikramaṇa, 9
Pratisaṁlīnatā, 406
Pratisevanās, ten kinds of, 402
Pratisūcakas, 98
Pravacana, 2
Pratyākhyāna, 9
Prāyaścitta, 170, 407; ten kinds of 403
Proalais, 514
Ptolemy, 508, 510, 512, 513, 514, 515
Pudgala a *Parivrājaka* of *Ālabhikā*, 182, 538
Pudgala-parāvarta, 368
Pudgala Parivartta, 571
Pūjita, 417
Pukkhalīs, 37, 513, 514
Pulāka, 17, 418
Pulākas, 418
Pulkeśī II, 511, 517
Pulindīs, 37, 320, 513
Pulses, 233
Puṇḍa, 537
Puṇḍra, 478, 513, 529, 537, 545
Pupphaoūlāo, 8
Pupphaoūliā, 8
Pupphāo, 8
Pupphiyā, 8
Purāṇa, 336

Pūraṇa, 161, 163, 189, 450, 451
Pūraṇa kassapa, 436, 489
Pūranti, 97
Purimatāla, 109
Pūrṇabhadra, 457, 463
Purus, 506
Puruṣa Sūkta, 504
Pūrvagata Śruta, 2
Pūrvas, 4, 32, 34, 344 ; table of the contents of the, 3
Pūsanandi, king 195
Pu-se-ke-la-fa-ti, 514
Puṣkalāvatī, 322, 573, 514
Puṣkalī, 320
Puṣkarasārin, 502
Puṣkarāvatī, 514
Puṣpapura, 544

R

Rāḍha, 532, 533, 536
Raghu-kulaguru, 536
Raghuvaṁśa, 159, 170, 529
Rahanemi, 228
Rahassiyā, 97
Rāhudeva, 363
Rāhul Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 539
rāīsara, 94
Rājā, 135, 136, 139, 145
Rājagṛha, 34, 44, 74, 190, 204, 256, 310, 321, 431, 472, 477, 479, 483, 491, 493, 494, 497, 530, 538, 543, 545, 553, 611
rajaharaṇa, 415
Rājaka, 135
Rajamahal, 539
Rājanyaka, 135
Rājanyas, 492, 504
rājapiṇḍa, 417
Rājārāja, Cola king, 438, 472
Rājataraṅgiṇī, 426
Rājeśvara, 501
Rājgīr, 545
Rājīmatī, 228
Rajja, 78
Rajjuyasabhā, 104
Raktapaṭas, 438
Rāmāyaṇa, 91, 216, 343, 505, 528, 532, 542
Rapson, Prof., 510
Rasaparityāga, 405
rasavāṇijje, 101
rāṣṭra, 116
Raṭṭhakūḍa, 105
Rathamusala, war engine, 120, 130, 337, 377, 378, 498
Rathamusala Saṅgrāma, 15, 65, 66, 67, 75, 118, 122, 123, 124, 125, 133, 138, 160, 319, 323, 376, 481, 488, 489, 492, 495
Raychoudhary, Dr. H. C., 496
Rāyapaseṇiya, 7, 338, 382
Republicanism, 133
Revatī, a female householder of *Meṇḍhikagrāma*, 161, 217, 219, 485
Ṛg-veda, 336, 505, 506
Roha, the queens of, 44 ; 431, 436
Roruka, 318
Rorura, 318
Ṛṣabhadatta, 152, 155, 165, 190, 191, 217, 221, 319, 324, 393, 394, 467, 468, 479
Ṛṣabhadeva, 2, 92, 340
Ṛṣabhapura, 5
Ṛṣibhadraputra, 45, 161, 537
Ṛṣigiri, 545
Ṛṣika, 322
Rukkhamūliyā, 454
Rūpadakkha, judge, 106
Rūpajakkha, judge, 106
Rūpanārāyaṇa, river, 548

S

Sabarai, 516
Śabaras, 509, 513, 516
Śabaris, 37, 320, 516
sacrifice, seven articles of, 177
Sadānīrā, 535
Ṣaḍ-āvaśyaka, 9

Saddālaputta, 5, 430
saḍīkamme, 101
Saga, 6
sagaḍavūha, 376
Śahasaṁbavaṇa, 181
Sahasrāmravana, 477, 482
Sahasrānīka, king, 492, 499
Sāhet-Māhet, 546
Sāima, 232
Śaivālabhakṣinas, 454
Śaka Muruṇḍās, 515
Śakas, 516
Śakasthāna, 322
Sāketa, 535
Śakti Saṅgama Tantra, 529
Śākyas, 438
Sāla, 86
Sālāḍavī, 109
Śalākāgrāhāpaka, 142
Sāma, 128, 336
Sāmācāri, ten kinds of, 403
Samahastin, 45, 480
Sāmantarājās, 82, 116
Samavāyāṅga Sūtra, 5, 338, 339
Samayasāra, 389
Sāmāyika, 9
Sambhavanātha, 546
Saṁdhivāla, 94, 121, 132, 137
Samitis, five, 413
Saṁjñā, 586
Saṁjñīgarbha, 444, 445
Śaṁkha, 191
Śaṁkhadhamakā, 453
Saṁkhavālaya, 437, 455
Sāṁkhya-Yoga, 392
Saṁlekhanā, 6, 399
Saṁlekhanā tapa, 398
Saṁpakkhālā, 453
saṁśraya, 128
Saṁthāgāra, 141
Saṁthāraga, 9, 415
Sāmuccheiyā, 5
Samudghāta, 602
Samudragupta, 515; Allahabad
Pillar Inscription of, 37
saṁvaocharapaḍilehaṇaṁ, 207
Saṁvara, 605
Saṁvīha, 437
Saṁyatas, 17; classification of, 419
Saṁyojana, 417
Saṁyūthas, 444
Sāṇa, 437
sandhi, 128
sandhipāla, 90
Saṅgha, 134
Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, 436, 489
Śaṅkha, 161, 162, 172, 306
Saṅkhāṇa, 336
Śaṅkha *Śreṣṭhī*, 45, 217, 332
Saṅkhavālaya, 483
Sāṅkhya-Kārikā, 344
Sannyāsa, 181,
Saonos, 552
Saparnos, 552
Sapartikramaṇa Dharma, 483
saradahataḷāyaparisosaṇayā, 101
Sarasvatī, 506
Saraṭṭhāṇā, 386
Saravaṇa, 325, 427, 477, 483, 546
Sarvānubhūti, 432, 434, 484
Sarvasūcakas, 99
Sasarakkha, 454
Ṣaṣṭhitantra, 343, 344, 451
Śatadvāra, 310, 478, 537, 545
Śatānīka, king, 210, 492, 494, 498, 499, 500, 502
Sātiyaputta, 533
Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama, 369
satthavāha, 94
Saṭṭhitaṁta, 336
sattrāyana, 168
Satyavatī, queen, 204
Sauvīra, 536
Sāvatthī, 535, 538, 546
Sayaduvāra, 537, 545
Sayambhū, 516
Śayyātarapiṇḍa, 417
schims, seven, 5, 7
script, eighteen kinds of, 5; origin of Indian, 340
Secanaka, the *Magadhan* state elephant, 118, 125, 130

Selavālaya, 455, 483
Selodāyin, 455, 483
Senāpati, 139, 144
senāvai, 94, 121
Seṇiya, *216*, *324*
Seṇiya-Bimbisāra, 8, 34, 68, 73, 114, 119, 158, 189, 483, 488, 489, 490, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 499, *505*, *545*
Seṭṭhī, 160
Setu, 288
Sevālodāyin, 455, 483
Seyaṇaga, 68
Siddhārtha, king, 468, 505
Siddhārthagrāma, 310, 474, 476, 547
Siddhatthagāma, 547
Sīhaladdīpa, 512
Sikkhā, 336
Śikṣāvratas, 422
Śīlāṅka 438
Silāpabbhaṭṭhae, 446
Śīlavrata, 400
Siṁha, 244, 484, 485, 489
Siṁhala, 318, 512
Siṁhalī, 310, 512
Siṁhapura, 512
Sindhu, 311, 511, 551
Sindhu-Sauvīra, 34, 86, 89, 131, 132, 190, 194, 250, 319, 321, 394, 465, 477, 480, 492, 494, 499, 501, 502, 536, 537, 549, 611
Siṅghalī, 34, 37, 317, 320
Śiśu-Nāga, dynasty, 495
Śiva, king, *23*, *24*, 34, 89, 132, 158, 172, 176, 178, 180, 181, 250, 266, 284, 305, 324, 492, 493, 501 ; royal sage, 262 ; *Vānaprastha tāpasa*, 45 ; *Vānaprastha ascetic*, 482
Śivabhadra, 23, 85, 89, 158, 172, 176, 219, 250, 251, 501
Siyabiyā, 5
Skandaka 16, 43, 45, 56, 180, 182, 244, 393, 394, 395, 399, 451, 481, 539, 546
Skandilācārya, 32
Skyrites, 508
Smith, V., 538
Snātaka, 17, 418, 419
Soma, 196
Somabhūti, 196
Somadatta, 196
Somila, 43, 152, 155, 481
Soul, proof of existence of, 561
Sovīra, 318, 536
Spices, 234, 278
Sports, 257
Śramaṇas, 390
Śrāvakas, 390
Śrāvaka-Dharma, *390*, 421
Śrāvastī, 5, 44, 46, 74, 192, 256, 307, 309, 310, 321, 332, 348, 430, 431, 435, 437, 456, 470, 477, 478, 479, 481, 483, 487, 493, 535, 538, 546, 611
Śreṇika, king, 204, *208*
Śreṣṭhī, 161
Śrī, 8
Śrī-Vijaya, 548
Śrutvā-kevalī, 424
Sthānāṅga Sūtra, 4, 195, 447
Sthavirāvalī Carita, 31
Sthūlabhadra, *31*, 544
Suari, 516
Subbhabhūmi, 532, 533, 535
Subhadrā, *229*
Sūcakas, 98
sūcīvūha, 376
Sudarśana, 43, 161, 164,, 394 473
Śūdra, 115
Suhatthi, 483, 455
Suhma, 533, 536
suhṛt, 116
Sukumālıyā, queen, 98
Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, 69, 353, 428
Sumbhuttara, 62, 535, 536
Sumati, 545

Sunakṣatra, 432, 434, 484
Sunanda, 161
Sunandā, queen, 494
Sunidha, 70
Sūrasena, 62
Sūriyapaṇṇatti, 8
Susamā (Sohan), 552
Susumārapura, 477, 547
Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 4, 13, 450
Suttadharas, 143, 144
Śutudrī (Sutlej), 552
Suvarṇadvīpa, 318
Svādhyāya, 409
Svāmī, 116
Svapnaśāstra, principles of the, 201
Svapnavāsavadattā, 499
Śvetāmbara, 4, 32, 33
Syādvādbhaṅgī, 599

T

Taittirīya Saṁhitā, 540
Takkana-lāḍam, 533
Takkara, 110
Takkhasilā, 514
Tāla, 437
Tālapalaṁba, 437
Talavara. 90, 94, 107, 501
tāliyaṁtadhārio, 95
Tāmalī, 161, 163, 189, 284, 305, 450, 451
Tāmalitti, 547
Tamaluk, 536, 547
Tāmil, 322
Tāmilakam, 512
Tāmilas, 511, 512
Tammudāya, 483
Tāmralipta, 236, 547
Tāmralipti, 189, 256, 284, 310, 311, 321, 324, 450, 451, 478, 547
Taṇḍulaveyāliya, 9
Tan-mo-li-ti, 547
Tapaḥ, 404
Tāpasas, 13
Tattvārtha-Sūtra, 558
Taxila, 307, 502
Terāsiyā, 5, 7
Terumalai Rock Inscription, 533
Thālaī, 453
Thānā, 511
Tīrthaṅkara, 197
Tīrthikas, 449, 466
Tīsagutta, 5
Tittira Jātaka, 447
To-mo-liti, 547
Town-Planning, 256
Trade routes, 310
Trades and professions, a list of, 162
Trāsadasyava, 506
Trees, 279
Tribes, a list of, 164
Triśalā, 467, 468, 469, 470
Triveṇī-Saptagrāma Pāṇḍuā, 536
Tṛtsu Bharatas, 506
Tukva, 513
Tuṅgabhadrā, river, 512
Tungi, 548
Tuṅgikā, 44, 45, 222, 307, 310, 316, 321, 324, 483, 548
Tuṅgiyā, 548
Turnour, 496

U

Udaṇḍapura, 548
Udaya, 437, 455, 483
Udayagiri, 532
Udayana, king, 34, 119, 158, 169, 220, 319, 324, 436, 471, 482, 488, 492, 493, 494, 498, 499, 500, 502
Udāyana king, 34, 46, 86, 89, 132, 158, 189, 190, 194, 250, 319, 324, 394, 480, 494, 499, 501, 502, 549
Udāyin, king 393, 431, 544; war elephant, 118
Uddaṇḍagā 454
Uddaṇḍapura, 431
Uddeśaka, 417
Ugras, 492, 503

Ujjayinī, 317, 494, 502, 531
Ujjeni, 119
Ukkaraṁ, 100
Ukkiṭṭaṁ, 100
Ullukatīra, 5, 44, 477, 485, 549
Ulluyatīra, 549
Umāsvāti., 558
Ummaddiyāo, 95
Ummāṇaṁ, 100
Universe, centres of the 521 ; extent of the 519 ; order of the 521 ; shape of the, 519
Upacara Vasu, 541
Upāli,489
Upaṅgas, twelve 6, 344
Uparājā, 139, 144
Upāsakas, 5
Upayoga, 621
Ussukkaṁ, 100
Utensils, 240
utpādana, 417
Utpalā, 191, 217, 218, 219 332
Utsarpiṇī, 368
Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, 12, 86, 87, 109, 153, 154, 201, 204, 222, 238, 246, 344, 494
Uttarādhyayana Ṭīkā, 88, 103, 119, 157, 230, 317, 517
Uttarakulakā, 453
Uttara-Lāḍha, 533
uvaṇayaṇaṁ, 169, 207
Uvāsagadasāo, 5, 157, 175, 239, 248, 289, 430, 440, 503, 505
uvaṭṭhāṇasālā, 99
uvaṭṭhāṇiyāo, 95
Uvavāiya, 6
Uvviha, 437

V

Vaccha, 62
Vāgaraṇa, 336
Vāhiya, 495
Vaibhāra, 204, 545, 553
Vaijayanti, 510
Vainayikas, 13, 425
Vainayikavādins, 4, 17
Vaiśālī, 34, 65, 71, 116, 118, 129, 130, 132, 133, 230, 256, 310, 319, 321, 324, 377, 378, 431, 471, 489, 493, 494, 497, 498, 501, 503, 505, 507, 533, 537, 550
Vaiśavānara, 177, 457, 458
Vaiśya, 115, 160
Vaiśyāyana, 475
Vaiyāvṛtya, 409
Vajja, 62, 533
Vajjabhūmi, 532, 533
Vajjī, 62, 134, 489, 496, 533
Vajjians, 130, 134 ; constitution, 138
Vakkavāsinas, 454
Vālavāsinas, 454
Vālhikas, 37, 514
Vallabhī, 32, 34, 38, 47, 48
Vallabhī-vācanā, 31
Vaṁsa, 62, 186
vaṇikamma, 101
Vānaprastha Hastitāpasas (*Hatthitāvasā*), 237
Vānaprasthas, 13, 178, 180, 425, 449, 466
Vānaprastha Tāpasas, 23, 43, 176, 454
Vāṇapatthā Tāvasā, 176
Vāṇārasī, 431, 549
Vanavāsakas, 509
Vanavāsī, 509
Vaṅga, 529, 611
Vaṇhidasāo, 8, 9
Vāṇijyagrāma, 5, 43, 44, 46, 175, 289, 308, 310, 314, 471, 477, 478, 480, 481, 505
Vaṇika, 160
vannagapesao, 95
Vaṇṇao, 19, 35, 52
Varāha, 545
Varāha-mihira, 438
Varaṇa, 531
Vārāṇasī, 256, 310, 493, 534, 549, 611
Vardhamāna, 16, 537
Vārddalikabhakta, 417

varisadhare, 94
Varṇa, stages in the evolution of, 147, 185
Vārtā, 77, 268
Vārttaka, wooden figure of the sage, 383
Varuṇā, 531
Vāsagaṇiyas, 509
Vasantapura, 98
Vāsavadattā, 119, 500
Vassakāra, 70, 71, 130, 138, 377
Vasudāna, 499
Vāsudeva, 197, 468
Vāsukuṇḍa, 471, 505, 542
Vātāpī, 511
Vatsa, 131, 500, 502, 531, 432, 535, 541
Vātsyāyana, 188
Vātsyāyana Kāma-Sūtra, 529
Vattha, 531
Vatthuvijjā, 381
Vavahāra, 10
Vāya-bhakṣinas, 454
Vāyubhūti, 42, 45, 482
Vāyu-purāṇa, 495, 509, 515
Vebhāra, 545, 552, 553
Vebhala, 204, 550
Vegetables, 234
Velavāsins, 454
Vepulla, 545
Vesālī, 550
Vesālie, 185
Vesiyāyaṇa, 169
Viāhapannatti, ten defferent meanings of the title, 39
Videha, 63, 533
Viḍūḍābha, 74
vigraha, 128
Vībhaya, 549
Vijaya, a householder of *Rajagṛha*, 161, 473, 474; notorious robber, 109; the scent-elephant 119
Vijayaghoṣa, 154
Vijaya Siṁha, 37, 512
Vikramajasa, 216
Vikramapur, 529
Vilavāsinas, 454
Vimāna, of *Sūryā hadeva*, 382
Vinaya, 407
Vinaywādins, 449, 450, 451
Vindhyagiri, 321, 478, 537, 545, 552, 553
Vindhyas, 516
Vinicaya-Mahāmāttās, 143, 144
violence, 595
Vipula, 552, 553
Vipulācala, 553
Viratthava, 10
Visāhā, 550
Viśākhā, the city of, 44, 477, 478, 485, 550
Viśvāmitra, clan of, 513
visavāṇijje, 101
Vītībhaya 44, 89, 132, 190, 256, 310, 311, 321, 477, 478, 480, 494, 501, 502, 549
Vitastā (Jhelum), 552
Vivāga Suya, 6, 92, 105, 114, 154, 204, 205
Vividha-tīrtha-Kalpa, 539
Viviktaśayanāsnasevanatā, 407
Vohārikas, 143, 144
Vrātya, 528
Vṛjis, 533
Vṛjjika, 145
Vṛjjis, 134
Vṛṣabha, 545
Vyañjana, 439
Vyantaras, 462
Vyavahāra, five kinds of, 401
Vyavahāra Bhāṣya, 88, 102, 106, 204, 226
Vyavahāra Naya, 557
Vyutsarga, 412

W

Weber, 4, 322
Women, position of, 213
Woolner, 49
Writing Stuffs, 338

Y

Yajña, 168
Yaju, 336
Yakṣa Śūlapāṇi, 537
Yamapaṭṭika, 426
Yamunā, 532
Yāna, 128
Yaśodā, 469
Yaśomatī, 498
Yaunas, 510
Yavanalipi, 337
Yavanas, 510
Yugaṁ, 5
Yugmas, 17

CORRECTION SLIP

1. *Page 38.*

According to other tradition the redaction of the canon was simultaneously effected some time between Vīra Saṁvat 827 and 840 at the hands of a council in ***Mathurā*** under the presidency of Skandilācārya and at the ***Valabhī*** Council under the chairmanship of Nāgārjuna.

Foot note no. 3

Comm. on ***Yogaśāstra***, 3 p. 207. ***Vide***, Vīra Nirvāṇa Saṁvat Aur Jain kāla Gaṇanā, p. 110, Muni Kalyāṇa Vijaya.

2. For the correction of diacritical printing mistakes in the volume,please refer to the Index given.